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COLLECTED WORKS

OF

SIR R G BHANDARKAR

VOL II

COMPRISING REPORTS ON SEARCH FOR SANSKRIT MSS DURING 1882-91, RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL WRITINGS ETC

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PREFACE

The sudden and long protracted illness of Mr N B Utgikar, the Editor of the Collected Works of R G Bhandarkar has prevented him from reading the proofs of the Indexes of this volume The Indexes, themselves were left incomplete by the editor, and have been completed by Mr G N Shrigondekar, B A, of the Publication Department of the Institute Mr Utgikar, I am glad to add, has recovered remarkably well from a very bad attack of paralysis, and it is to be hoped that he will be able to write an Introduction to the first volume of the Collected Works which will, however, be the last to be published

Rsipañcami, Sake 1850
(20th August, 1928)

V G PARANJPE,
Superintendent, Publication Dept
of the B O R Institute

ABBREVIATIONS

Ait Br = Aitareya Brāhmana

Am = Amarakosa

Anuv = Anuvākyā

Āsv Sr = Āsvalayana Srauta Sūtra

Bh = Bhagavadgītā

Bib Ind Ed = Bibliotheca Indica Edition

Gott gel Anz = Gottingische gelehrte Anzeigen

Gr Sū = Grhyasūtra

Ind Anti = Indian Antiquary

J A O S = Journal of the American Oriental Society

JBBRAS = Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Bombay

Mah = Mahābhāsya

Pān = Panini

Rājtaran = Rājatarangini

Rāya = Rayamukuta

Rv = Rgveda

Śārng = Sārngadharapaddhati

Taitti S = Taittirīya-Samhitā

Up = Upanisad

Z D M G = Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.

EXTRACTS FROM THE REPORT ON THE SEARCH FOR SANSKRIT MANUSCRIPTS DURING THE YEAR 1882-83[1] AND ON THE STATE OF THE PRESENT COLLECTIONS OF MANUSCRIPTS

EXPENDITURE

From the beginning of the official year to about the middle of September last[2] I was in sole charge of the operations in connection with the Search Thereafter the work as well as the funds, were divided between Professor Peterson and myself Out of the grant of Rs 8 000, I had up to September spent Rs 2,500, and the balance after deducting Rs 548 which had to be set apart for Inscriptions was Rs 4,952 Out of this, one half or Rs 2 476 was placed at the disposal of Professor Peterson and the other half was entrusted to me Of this I spent Rs 2 455-0-6 so that, in all, my expenses during the year amounted to Rs 4 955-0-6 Manuscripts of the value of Rs 439-0-9 paid for out of this amount were, as stated in the last year's Report included in the list then submitted, wherefore the results now to be reported, have cost Government Rs 4,515-15-9

Of this amount, Rs 3473-13-0 were paid for the 772 Manuscripts purchased this year and the remainder Rs 1,042-2-9 was spent on the salaries and travelling expenses of the agents and Śastrins employed for collecting Manuscripts and cataloguing Private Libraries

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1 Originally published in 1884 at the Government Central Press Bombay [N B U]

2 The original Report is dated 6th September 1883 [N B U]

MANUSCRIPTS PURCHASED IN GUJARATH AND IN THE MARATHA COUNTRY

The catalogue of these Manuscripts is divided into two sections in the first of which are entered Manuscripts collected in Gujarath, and in the second those purchased in the Maratha Country The Gujarath section comprises Nos 1—486 and the other Nos 487—772

I will now give a brief analysis of the collection noticing all the particulars of a literary and historical importance which from a hasty examination of the Manuscripts I have been able to gather

VEDAS

Under the head of Vedas including Upanisads are entered two complete copies of the Vajasaneya Samhitā one in each section (Nos 12 13 and 495), and one of the Pada text of the Kanva Sakha of that Veda (No 489) Nos 3 and 4 are complete copies of two of the four principal song books of the Sāma Veda We have also in this class Manuscripts of eight out of the fourteen Kāndas or divisions of the Śatapatha Brāhmana and double copies of some of them

No 14 is a copy of a part of Ūata's Bhāsya or commentary on the Vājasaneya Samhitā The fragment begins in the middle of Chapter II, and extends up to about the end of Chapter XXI but a good many intermediate leaves are wanting No 16 is a copy of the latter part of the same work, and begins with Chapter XIX, and comes down to the end, one intermediate leaf only being lost This was transcribed in the Samvat year 1431 corresponding to 1375 A D and is one of the oldest paper Manuscripts we possess No 14 and No 15 (which is another fragment of the first part extending from Chapters XII to XVIII) also look as old if not older, though they bear no date

ŪAṬA'S DATE

The date of No 16 itself shows that Ūata or Uvaṭa the author, must have flourished at least five hundred years ago but there is a statement in that Manuscript as well as in No 14 which enables us to determine the precise period when he lived In the colophon of Manuscripts of this author's works and at the end of some of the chapters a couplet occurs in the first line of which the name of his father is given as Vajrata and the place where he lived as Ānandapura The sense of the second line of the couplet as it usually occurs in Manuscripts of the Mantra bhāṣya is "This commentary on the Mantras was composed *after a mature deliberation of* [*the sense of*] *words and sentences* " But in the Manuscripts I am speaking about instead of the words in Italics we have in several places while Bhoja was ruling over the earth" or "while Bhoja was governing his kingdom "

Ānandapura has been identified with Vadanagar in Upper Gujarath, and though Hwan Thsang, the Chinese traveller, tells us that in his time the district in which the town was situated formed part of the kingdom of Malwa still it is questionable whether the town belonged to the kings of that country in the time of Bhoja, especially since a powerful kingdom had been established a good many years before Bhoja came to the throne at Anahilapattana not far from Vadanagar But the point is placed beyond doubt by another couplet occurring at the end of the tenth Chapter of No 14 in which Ūaṭa tells us that he composed the Mantrabhāsya while living in Avanti and while Bhoja was ruling over the country" This shows that though Vajrata, the father of our author lived at Ānandapura, Ūata himself lived in Malwa at the time when he wrote his work The Bhoja therefore mentioned by him must undoubtedly be the celebrated prince of that name who ruled over the country from about 996 to 1051 A D

UPANISADS

No 487 is entitled Aṣtottarasatopanisad or the Hundred and Eight Upanisads The original Upanisads formed parts of the Vedas and these are really works of great antiquity but treatises of this nature gradually multiplied many of them being devoted to the exaltation of particular deities and to the furtherance of such other sectarian objects Most of them are referred to the Atharva Veda, a circumstance partially due to the fact that the literature belonging to this Veda was not clearly defined and specified by the ancient scholars of India The number of Upaniṣads extant is now estimated at about 250

But at some period which cannot be very distant 108 of these were chosen as the best and their names given in one of them entitled Muktikopaniṣad and their study enjoined The Upanisads in our No 487 are the same as those mentioned in the Muktikopaniṣad, and are written and arranged exactly in the same order But out of the 108 two—the Uttarīya and the Mantrika—have dropped out somehow, though their names are given in the table of contents attached to the Manuscript

No 10 in the Gujarath section also contains thirty six treatises of this class, and some of them are different from those enumerated in the Muktikopanisad Besides these we have detached copies of several of them It is not often that so many Upaniṣads are found in a single collection of Manuscripts

VEDĀNGAS AND SACRIFICIAL MANUALS

In the class of Vedāngas and Sacrificial Prayogas or Manuals, there is in the Gujarath section a copy of Devayājñika's Bhāsya or commentary on the Anukramanikā of the Vājasaneya Samhitā (No 25) and in the Maratha section, a copy of two chapters of his commentary on Katyāyana's Sacrificial Sūtras (Nos 504 and 505) Of this last a copy of four chapters was procured by me last year There is also a Manuscript of the first three

chapters of another Bhāsya on this Sutra by an author whose name is not given

Last year's Collection contained copies of the commentaries of Kaika Gadādhara and Harihara, on Paraskara's Grhya Sūtra and this year one of Jayarāma's commentary on the same (No 512) has been added

There are Manuscripts of dependent treatises also such as the Pratijñā Sutra, the Bhāsika Sūtra Yajñavalkya Śiksā &c (Nos 26 28 and 513—521) In the Maratha section there are Manuscripts of several sacrificial Manuals belonging principally to the Vajasaneya Sakhā (Nos 522—541)

ITIHĀSAS PURĀNAS MĀHĀTMYAS AND STOTRAS

The object in making collections of Manuscripts is I apprehend not only to procure copies of rare works but also to secure materials for critical editions of such as though not rare are of great importance, or for the determination of the correct text of any particular passage in them, whenever a weighty issue hangs on it In making my purchases I have always this object in view In the department of Itihāsas and Purānas therefore I have on no occasion rejected a good Manuscript of the whole or a portion of the Mahabhārata offered for sale though the work has been printed once in Calcutta and twice in Bombay But in all cases I paid a good deal less than the ordinary price One copy of the Mahābharata was purchased in 1879 at the rate of one rupee for a thousand Ślokas, and a copy of each of the ten books of the epic with commentaries, at the rate of Rs 1 8 0

In this year's Collection in the Gujarath section there are Manuscripts of eleven books, two of which from the dates given in the colophon, appear to be 300 years old The others also look as old though they bear no dates They were paid for at the rate of Rs 1 8 0 (Nos 56—67) In the Maratha section there is a copy of the whole of the Mahābhārata with the

exception of the Śāntiparvan or the twelfth book, and a copy of the Harivaṁśa (Nos. 565, 566 and 579). These are about two hundred years old, and the price paid was Rs. 1-12-0 per thousand, which was the uniform rate at which a large lot of Manuscripts was purchased at Nasik.

In this class there are also Manuscripts of the Vāsiṣṭha Rāmāyaṇa, the Mārkaṇḍeya, the Viṣṇu and the Vāmana Purāṇas, and of a good many Māhātmyas of shrines or rivers, such as the Māhātmya of Jagannātha in Orissa, of which we have two copies, one engraved on Tāla leaves and the other written on paper, and the Prabhāsa Māhātmya.

DHARMAŚĀSTRA OR RELIGIOUS AND CIVIL LAW

As belonging to the Smṛti branch of the literature of the Hindu Law, religious and civil, I have to announce the acquisition of a valuable commentary on the Manu Smṛti by Rāghavānanda (No. 110). There are also old copies of the Yājñavalkya Smṛti, and of Vijñāneśvara's commentary on it—the Mitākṣarā—one of which was transcribed in Saṁvat 1535 or 1479 A.D., that is more than 400 years ago (No. 106).

We have a somewhat mutilated Manuscript of a work entitled Jñānabhāskara (Nos. 96-97), which consists of a dialogue between Sūrya, the Sun deity, and Aruṇa, his charioteer, and another of that part of it which treats of the duties of widows.

Of digests and manuals, which form an extensive branch of the modern literature of the subject, we have an old copy of the Madanapārijāta (No. 599)—which is considered a work of much importance—and treatises on the domestic rites of the followers of the White Yajurveda entitled Saṁskārabhāskara (Nos. 115 and 611) by Khaṇḍabhaṭṭa, the son of Mayūreśvara, and Saṁskāra-paddhati (Nos. 114 and 610) by Gaṅgādhara. Madanapārijāta is so called because its author Viśveśvara was patronized by a prince named Madanapāla whose history is given in the introduction to

the work This introduction Professor Aufrecht gives in his notice of the work in the Oxford Catalogue

Nos 614 615 and 618 are commentaries on works detailing the duties of the followers of Madhva the originals of which were written by Madhvācārya himself The last of these Manuscripts contains the original also Nos 616 and 617 also belong to that sect besides other works which are well known we have a large number of Manuscripts of rituals employed on special occasions

POEMS, PLAYS FABLES ETC

Among the poems and plays and the commentaries thereon collected this year may be mentioned a large fragment of Ekanātha's commentary on the Kirātārjunīya (No 136) eleven cantos of the Raghuvaṃśadīpana by Hemādri (No 161) an anonymous commentary on the first eight cantos of the Kumārasaṃbhava (No 139) four different glosses on the Meghadūta (Nos 157—160) a complete copy of a commentary on the Naiṣadhīya by Naraharī (No 146) two commentaries on the Khaṇḍaprāśastī (Nos 140 and 620) two old copies of Kādambarī (Nos 134 and 135) a Manuscript of the Pañcatantra more than five hundred years old (No 147), and two poems entitled Rukmiṇīśavijaya and Tīrthaprabandha by Vādirājatīrtha with commentaries (Nos 622, 623 632 and 633) There is a copy of the Madhvavijaya or the triumphant career of Madhva (No 627) but several of its leaves are missing

The last three works belong to the Mādhva sect, and Vādirāja said to be the same as Kavīndra was one of Ānandatīrtha's successors, being the eighth in the list given [later on] He died in 1261 Śaka or 1339 A D

GANGĀDĀSA AND NARAHARI

One of the commentaries on the Khaṇḍaprasastī is by Guṇavinaya a Jaina and the other by Gangādāsa, who in a stanza at the end of each section gives Pociya as the name of

his father and Mahalaksmi as that of his mother He assumed the name of Jñānānanda after he had renounced the world and become a samnyāsin or recluse The stanza is given by Professor Aufrecht in his notice of this work but it is worthy of observation that the line in which his having become a recluse is mentioned, occurs for the first time in the stanza at the end of his commentary on the Rāma Avatāra, or the seventh incarnation of Visnu so that he seems to have assumed that condition after he had finished his commentary on the first six avatars or incarnations

The commentary on the Naisadhiya also contains at the end of each canto a stanza in which the author gives his name as Narahari, and states that he was the son of one Svayambhu whose feet were incessantly adored by the king of Trilinga ' by his wife Nalamā and that he was treated with kindness by Vidyaranya, the Yogin, who probably was his guru or preceptor The king of Trilinga or Telingana alluded to here, must very likely be a prince of the Vijayanagara dynasty and if the Vidyāranya mentioned by the writer was the same as Madhava who, when he renounced the world assumed that name our author flourished in the latter part of the fourteenth century during the reign of Harihara

MINOR POEMS

GĪTA RĀGHAVA OF PRABHĀKARA

Of the minor poems one is the Gīta Rāghava which is one of the several imitations of Jayadeva's Gīta Govinda the hero here being Rāma instead of Krṣṇa The author's name is Prabhākara He was the son of Bhūdhara, and wrote his work in Samvat 1674

BHĀVAŚATAKA OF NĀGARĀJA

Another small poem is the Bhāvaśataka by Nagarāja It consists of a hundred and one verses some of them in the Prakrit in each of which a certain person is represented to be doing a certain thing in a certain condition and the reason why he or she does so or the inner sense of the verse is meant to be found out by the reader It is however given at the end of the verse Nāgarāja the author is spoken of at the end of the poem as a king who was the ornament of the Taka race and in whom the goddesses of Prosperity and Learning having ceased to quarrel lived in harmony with each other He was the son of Jālaya (?) whose fame was sung by a host of bards and who was a praiseworthy offshoot of the Taka race" Jālaya's father was Vidyādhara who belonged to the Kaṛpaya (?) gotra and obtained very great prosperity by worshipping the feet of Kedāra The Ṭāka race here mentioned is probably the same as that to which Madanapāla, the patron of the author of the Madana pārijāta, noticed above belonged It was a family of petty Chiefs whose capital was, as stated in the introduction to the latter a town of the name of Kīsthī situated on the Yamunā to the north of Delhi

BHAIRAVAŚĀHANAVARATNA BHAIRAVAŚĀHA

Another small poem entitled Bhairavasaha navarasa ratna (No 152) contains 41 verses depicting the nine Rasas or poetic sentiments The hero is a prince named Bhairavasāha of the Rāstraudha or Rathor race who was the son of Pratāpa and whose capital was Mayuradri In the Kirtikaumudi a Pratāpamalla of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa race is mentioned as a dependent of the Cālukyas of Anahilapattana Rāṣṭrakūta is the Sanskrit form of Rāstraudha or Rāṭhor but whether this Pratāpamalla was the same as the father of our hero cannot be determined with certainty Bhairavasaha is in some of the verses called

Bahuammasaha which looks like a thoroughly Mahomedan name But it is not impossible that a Rajput may have adopted it

RAMASATAKA OF SOMESVARA

We have also a copy of a poem called Ramasataka (No 166) which contains a hundred verses in praise of Rama the seventh incarnation of Visnu In a verse at the end which is the 101st we are told that the poem was composed by Somesvaradeva in half a Yama or an hour and a half Who this Somesvara was is not stated in the Manuscript but in another copy of the poem since procured, he is represented as the Purohita or priest of Gurjaresvara' or King of Gujarath This Somesvara therefore was the same as the author of the Kirtikaumudi who was the chaplain or priest of Lavanaprasada and his son Viradhavala the founders of the Vaghela branch of the Calukya dynasty of Gujarath and the line about the poem being written in half a Yama occurs word for word in an Inscription composed by him found at Dabhoi in the territory of the Gaikvad (Kathavate's Kirtikaumudi Intr, p ix)

VYĀKARANA OR GRAMMAR

In grammar I have to announce the acquisition of another copy of the Mahabhāsya with the commentary of Kayata (No 185) It wants the first Pada only but in other respects it is a very good Manuscript There is also a fragment of a commentary on the Siddhantakaumudi (No 189), by an author not much known, named Ramakrsnabhatta

The works of Bhattojidiksita and Nagojibhatta with their commentaries which, along with a portion of the Mahabhasya are exclusively studied by modern Pandits who devote themselves to grammar are also well represented in this year's Collection as they were in last year's

Of works belonging to other systems of grammar, we have Bopadeva's Kavikalpadruma and a voluminous commentary

on the Sarasvata by Ramabhatta the son of Narasimha and another entitled Sandipika both of which however are incomplete (Nos 193 and 194)

KOŚAS OR LEXICONS

Among the Kosas or lexicons collected this year there is a Manuscript of Halayudha four hundred years old (No 645) and a copy of the Anekārthatilaka by Mahipa (No 202)

In the Gujarathi section there is a Manuscript entitled Anekarthadhvanimañjarī (No 199) and in the Marathi section another entitled Nanarthamañjari (No 648) On examination I find that they are both copies of the same work In No 199 the name of the author is given as Mahacchapanaka cha being put for ksa and the work is referred to the Krsnaa Āmnaya or Krsnaa literature

In the group of Jaina works there is a copy of the Siddhasabdanava by Sahajakirti, a lexicon that is quoted by Mallinatha and mentioned by other writers (No 466)

POETICS AND METRICS

PUÑJARĀJA, AUTHOR OF THE KĀVYĀLAMKĀRASAṂSUPRABODHA

In the class of Poetics and Metrics we have a mutilated copy of a work unknown before entitled Kavyalamkārasaṃsuprabodha by Puñjaraja (No 210) an old Manuscript of Rudrabhatta's Śringaratilaka two copies of the Kāvyaprakasa with fragments of commentaries two works of Appayadiksita and Bhanudatta's Rasatarangini of which about a leaf is wanting at the end, and his Rasamañjari

Puñjaraja was the son of Jīvanendra and is spoken of as the ornament of the Mālava circle and as belonging to the family of Śrimala He is therefore, the same as the author of the commentary on the Sārasvata grammar

DHVANIPRADIPA, ANOTHER WORK OF THE SAME

Puñjaraja mentions another larger work of his entitled Dhvanipradipa

BHANUDATTA

In the sixth chapter of the Rasatarangini Bhanudatta excuses himself from giving details about certain points because he says they are given in the Rasamañjari From this it is clear that the author of both was the same but there is some question as to his native country In Professor Aufrecht's copy of the Rasamañjari it is spoken of as Vidurbhubhuh or the land of the Vidarbhas and the Manuscript before me agrees with his But Dr Burnell in his Catalogue of the Tanjor Manuscripts calls him Maithila Bhānudatta, i e Bhānudatta the native of Mithilā and the copy of the Rasamañjari purchased by me in 1879 and another procured since the close of the year have Vidarbhubhuh instead of Vidarbhabhuh i e the land of the Vidarbhas of which Mithilā was the capital That Vidarbhabhūh is a misdirection is shown by the fact that the author represents the river of the gods or the Ganges as flowing through his country while the country of the Vidarbhas which corresponds to the modern Berars, is situated to the south of the Narmadā

ANANTA PANDITA

The commentary which accompanies our Rasamanjari is called Vyangyārthakaumudi and was composed by Ananta Pandita the son of Tryambaka Pandita The father of this last was Bilo Pandita and his again was Nilakantha Pandita The family lived at Punyastambha the vernacular Puntāmbem, situated on the river Gautamī or Godāvari Puntambem is a town in the Ahmadnagar District The commentary was written at Kāsi or Benares in the year 1692 for Candrabhānu who was king of Kāsi at the time Candrabhānu was the son of Virasenadeva and grandson of Madhukarasāha, who was the son of Kāsirāja

The date given by the author must be understood as referring to the Vikrama era for if we take the era to be the Saka the Vikrama year corresponding to 1692 Śaka will be 1827, while the Manuscript itself was transcribed in 1817 Vikrama

PINGALA'S PRAKRIT PROSODY

There are in this class incomplete Manuscripts of a work on Prakrit prosody attributed to Pingala and of a commentary on it by Manoharakrsna

VEDĀNTA

ŚAMKARĀCĀRYA'S SYSTEM

WORKS BASED ON THE UPANISADS

Our acquisitions in the department of the Vedānta have been very valuable this year First we have Śamkarācārya's Bhāṣyas or commentaries on the Bṛhadāranyaka and seven other Upanisads (Nos 247 and 227—230), and Nārāyana's Dīpikās or glosses on forty six treatises of that class (No 233) Then there is a copy of Ānandajñāna's gloss (No 248) on Śamkarācārya's Bhāsya on the Brhadāranyaka of the Vārtika or commentary in verse (No 249) on the same Bhaṣya by Suresvarācārya who was a pupil of Śamkarācārya and of a commentary on the fourth chapter of this Vārtika by Ānandajñāna (No 250) Similarly there are copies of Śamkarācarya's exposition of the Mahāvākyas or the great Upanisad texts declaratory of the identity between the supreme and the individual souls (Nos 256 and 661)

WORKS BASED ON THF BRAHMASŪTRA

We have also got Ānandajñāna's voluminous commentary (No 266) on Śamkaracārya's Bhāṣya on the Brahmasūtra which is very valuable, and which I now use for my lectures on the

Bhaṣya a portion of which has to be got up by students who take up English and Sanskrit as an optional subject for the F A Examination

I may also mention a copy of the second half of the Samksepaśārīraka or substance of Śaṁkarācārya's Bhāṣya (No 268) by Sarvajñātman who was a pupil of Śureśvarācārya and grandpupil of Śaṁkarācārya There is also a copy of a commentary by one Rāmatīrtha (No 269) on the fourth or last chapter of this work

A PRINCE OF THE RACE OF MANU

In a stanza at the end of the Samksepaśārīraka the author tells us that he wrote his work while 'the prosperous Lord the Āditya or Sun of the race of Manu who belonged to a Kṣatriya family and whose orders were nowhere disobeyed, was ruling over the earth" Who this Āditya of the race of Manu was it is difficult to determine But princes of the early Cālukya dynasty which ruled over the Deccan from the Narmadā to Mysore spoke of themselves as belonging to the Mānavyagotra or, as the word might be interpreted, to the race of Manu ' and there were several of them the second part of whose name was Āditya, such as Vikramāditya, Vinayāditya, and Vijayāditya But the sovereignty of the country was wrested from them by another family known by the name of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas before the Śaka year 675 or 753 A D while Śaṁkarācārya the preceptor of our author's teacher Sureśvara is said to have been born in 710 Śaka or 788 A D

The Cālukyas however were not exterminated by the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and they probably governed a small province as their dependents But our information with regard to them after the extinction of their power is very scanty There were two princes among them of the name of Vikramāditya and perhaps Sarvajñātman alludes to one of these It, however, the description given by him is considered hardly applicable to

a minor chief and the family of Manu spoken of by him was really the early Cālukya dynasty Śamkarācārya's date must be pushed backwards to about the year 680 A D, so as to place his grandpupil in the reign of at least the last king whose name terminated in the word Āditya viz Vikramāditya II Vikramaditya II ceased to reign in Saka 669 or A D 747 If on the other hand we place Sarvajñātman in the reign of the first prince whose name terminated in the word Āditya i e Vikramāditya I who was a powerful monarch and who ceased to reign in Śaka 601 or 679 A D Śamkarācārya must be referred to about the end of the sixth century

WORKS BASED ON PURĀNIC ORIGINALS

Among the Vedantic works based on Puranic originals may be noticed the Yajñavaibhavakhanda (No 666) with a commentary by Madhvācārya the pupil of Śamkarānanda and the Brahmagita said to form a part of the same Khanda with a commentary by the same author (No 260)

Of those based on episodes of the Mahābhārata we have Śamkarācārya's Bhāṣya or authoritative commentary on the Bhagavadgita, one copy of which is 472 years old (No 252) and his Bhāṣya on the Viṣnusahasranama

INDEPENDENT TREATISES

Of the independent treatises on the subject composed by the great teacher we have copies of eight most of them with commentaries (Nos 225, 231, 232, 243 244 261, 656 667) and of those composed by his followers we have ten (Nos 222—224, 235, 237, 238 &c)

THE SYSTEM OF MADHVA

In the Maratha Section of the Collection, there are fifty five Manuscripts (Nos 668—722) of forty four different works expounding the system of the Vedānta promulgated by

Madhva who is also known by the names of Ānandatirtha Pūrnaprajña and Madhyamandira

SUCCESSION LIST OF THE HIGH PRIESTS OF THE MADHVA SECT

Ānandatirtha was the pontiff or head of the congregation he founded and the members of his sect have kept a regular list of his successors to the present day together with the dates of their death Copies of the list however found in the possession of different persons differ from each other in a few respects It appears that in the older lists the year of the cycle of sixty years in which each High priest died was alone given and from this was determined the Śaka year But this method is uncertain and liable to error if in any case the pontificate of any one of these extended over more than 60 years

I have compared three lists, one from Poona another from Miraj, and the third lithographed at Belgaum, and found that the principal disagreement between the last two is due to this source The second however appears to be correct, since the third assigns to two successive pontiffs, i e, the eleventh and the twelfth, sixty and fifty eight years The results of the comparison are given in [the following table] It will be seen from the list here given that Ānandatirtha died in Śaka 1119 corresponding to 1197 A D

Succession list of the High priests of the Mādhva Sect

No	Name	Date of death				Name before initiation	Place of interment	Notes
		Samvatsara	Saka	Month	Day			
1	Ānandatīrtha	Pingala	1119	Māgha	9 s	Vāsudevācārya	Badarikāśrama	
2	Padmanābhatīrtha	Raktākṣi	1126	Kārtika	14 v	Subhanabhatta[1]	Ānegundi	[1] Ānandabhatta Bel
3	Narahariṭīrtha	Śrimukha	1135	Pausa	7 s	Rāmaśāstrin[1]	Hampi	[1] Śāmaśāstrin Bel [2] Cakratīrtha Bel
4	Mādhavatīrtha	Vikṛti	1152	Bhādra pada	3 v	Viṣnuśastrin[1]	Hampi	[1] Govindaśāstrin Bel " Mannūri Bel
5	Akṣobhyatīrtha	Plavanga[1]	1169	Māgha śuddha	5 v	Govindaśāstrin	Malkhed	[1] Viśvāvasu Bel P agrees with M
6	Jayatīrtha	Vibhava	1190	Āṣādha	5 v	Dhondo Raghu natha	Do	Native of Mangalvedha
7	Vidyādhirājatīrtha	Angiras	1254	Vaiśākha	3 s	Kṛṣnabhatta	Yaragal	
8	Kavīndratīrtha	Pramāthin	1261[1]	Caitra	9 s	Vāsudevaśāstrin	Ānegundi	[1] 1257 M P and Bel agree in the Samvatsara
9	Vāgīśatīrtha	Subhānu[1]	1265	Do	2 v[2]	Rangācārya[3]	Do	[1] P agrees with M Bel has Śarvajit and 1269 Śaka [2] 3 v Bel [3] Raghunathacārya Bel

Succession list of the High priests of the Mādhva Sect—continued

No	Name	Date of death				Name before initiation	Place of interment	Notes
		Samvatsara	Saka	Month	Day			
10	Rāmacandratīrtha	Nala	1298	Pausa[1]	6 s	Mādhavasāstrīn	Yaragal	[1] Vaisākha Bel
11	Vidyānidhitīrtha	Raktāksi	1306[1]	Kārtika	11 s[2]	Krsnācārya	Ānegundi[3]	[1] 1366 Saka Bel 4 v Bel [3] Yaragal Bel
12	Raghunāthatīrtha	Dundubhi	1364[1]	Mārgasirsa	1 v	Krsnasāstrīn	Do[3]	[1] 1424 Bel Visnusāstrīn Bel Malkhed Bel
13	Raghuvaryatīrtha	Pingala	1419[1]	Jyestha	3 v	Ramacandra sāstrīn	Do	[1] 1479 Bel
14	Raghūttamatīrtha	Manmatha	1457[1]	Pausa	11 v	Do	Pinūr	[1] 1517 Bel Inakallu Daksi panikini Bel
15	Vedavyāsatīrtha	Siddhārthin	1481[1]	Caitra	2 s	Vyāsācārya	Pinagundi	[1] 1541 Bel 2 s Bel
16	Vidyādhisatīrtha	Prajāpati	1493[1]	Pausa	14 v	Nrsimhācārya	Hagalūr	[1] 1555 Bel
17	Vedanidhitīrtha	Yuvan	1497[1]	Kārtika	12 s	Pradyumnācārya	Pandharpur	[1] 1557 Bel 11 s Bel
18	Satyavratatīrtha	Bahudhān	1560	Phālguna	6 s	Janārdanācārya[1]	Singali	[1] Rangnāthācārya

19	Satyanidhitirtha	Sarvajit	1582	Māgasirṣa	10 s	Raghunāthācārya[1]	Nivitisamgama	[1] Raghupatyacārya Bel
20	Satyanāthatirtha	Pramādin	1595	Do	11 s	Do	Vircola	
21	Satyābhinavatirtha	Vyaya	1628	Jyestha	14 v[1]	Narasimhācārya[2]	Nacāragundi	[1] 14 s Bel [2] Kesavācārya Bel
22	Satyapūrnatirtha	Parābhava	1648	Do	2 v	Kesavācārya[1]	Kodtikollui	[1] Krsnācārya Bel [2] Kollui Bel M puts between 21 and 22 one of the name of Satyādhirajatirtha who occupied the seat for about ten days
23	Satyavijayatirtha	Siddhārthin[1]	1661	Caitra	12 v[2]	Do[3]	Ārani	[1] Pingala 1659 Bel [2] 11 v Bel [3] Bilācārya Bel
24	Satyapriyatirtha	Raktāksin	1666[1]	Do	13 s	Rāmacandrācārya	Bhāgyanagar[2]	[1] 1664 M [2] Mānāmadhuri Bel
25	Satyabodhatirtha	Śobhana	1705	Phālguna	1 v	Rāmācārya	Sāvnui	
26	Satyasamdhatirtha	Ānanda	1716	Jyestha	2 s	Do[1]	Mahisi	[1] Rāghavendracārya Bel
27	Satyavaratirtha	Pingala	1719	Śravana	7 s	Krsnācārya	Santi Binui[1]	[1] Santi Bedanui Bel
28	Satyadharmatirtha	Vikriti	1702	Do	13 v	Annayyācārya	Hole Honui	

Succession list of the High priests of the Mādhva Sect—concluded

No	Name	Date of death				Name before initiation	Place of interment	Notes
		Samvatsara	Saka	Month	Day			
29	Satyasamkalpa tirtha	Plava	1763	Āsādha	5 s	Śrinivasācārya	Mahisur	15 s Bel
30	Satyasamtusta tirtha	Plava	1763	Phālguna	30 v	Bālācārya	Do	Ghuli bālācārya Bel
31	Satyaparāyana tirtha	Rudhirod gārin	1785	Āsvina	6 s	Guiācārya	Santi Binur	7 s Bel Gurlahosur Bel
32	Satyakāmatirtha	Prajāpati	1793	Pausa	30 v	Śrinivāsācārya	Ātakur then Raichur	6 v Bel
33	Satyestatirtha	Angiras	1794	Bhādra pada	11 s	Narasimhācārya	Ātakur	M omits all except the Diksā name by mistake
34	Satyaparākrama tirtha	Prabhāthin	1801	Āsvina	6 s	Śrinivāsācārya	Chittāpur	5 s Bel
35	Satyavratirtha					Bodhalāyācārya		Now living

M represents the list procured at Mulbagal Bel represents the list published at Belgaum P represents the list procured at Poona s represents the light half of a month v represents the dark half of a month

LIFE AND DATE OF MADHVACĀRYA

Ānandatīrtha was born on the 4th of the dark half of Āsādhī in Kali 4220 corresponding to Śaka 1040 and in the Vilambin Samvatsara He was made a Samnyasin by Acyuta prekṣācārya and afterwards went to Badarikāśrama and came back in 1097 Śaka Ānanda Samvatsara bringing with him idols of Digvijayī Rama and Vedī Vyāsa He was raised to the seat of High priest in the presence of kings Padmanabhatirtha Narahariitirtha Mādhavatirtha and Akṣobhyatirtha were his pupils Narahariitirtha was sent to Jagannātha in Orissa, to bring the original idol of Rāma and Sītā Ānandatīrtha went from country to country putting down the advocates of the doctrine of Māyā and others and established the Vaisnava creed He died on the 9th of the light half of Maghā in 1120 Śaka current and the Pingala Samvatsara, having raised Padmanābhatirthā to the seat of Pontiff in the presence of all his disciples

COMPARISON OF THE DOCTRINES OF SAMKARA AND MĀDHVA

The system founded by Ānandatirtha is so bitterly hostile to that of Śamkarācārya, that its followers consider the latter teacher to be an incarnation of a Daitya or demon whose object was to deceive mankind According to Śamkara's system the world is an unreality and the only reality is an unconditioned and blissful soul All conditions or limitations of which our soul is conscious all feeling even the sense of individuality and the external world arise from the development of a certain principle which consists of ignorance and which represents the soul as otherwise than what it really is and generates mere appearances When this principle is got rid of the soul is free from all limitations and the appearances are dissolved and being free from all misery, it resumes its pristine condition

This doctrine is condemned in unqualified terms by Madhva and his followers, who maintain that the world is

real the feeling of individuality which separates one soul from another and from the inanimate world represents something that is real God as different from the individual souls and from the world is real that the relation between the individual soul and God is like that between a servant and his master and that by worshipping and serving this master, the individual soul is exalted and becomes like God in most respects These are the speculative doctrines of Madhva Practically he enjoins the worship of Visnu who is represented as the supreme God

THE THREE PRASTHANAS

The Vedānta has what are called three Prasthānas or sources (literally starting points), viz (1) the Upanisads (2) the Brahma sūtra by Bādarāyana and (3) the Bhagavadgītā and such other episodes from the Mahabhārata and the Purānas Hence it is necessary that each system should have its own way of interpreting these treatises and accordingly each has its own Bhasyas or authoritative commentaries on them The works of Sankarācārya on these three sets of originals existing in our Collection have been noticed, and I shall now proceed to examine those of Ānandatirtha

WORKS BASED ON THE UPANISADS

Out of the forty four works mentioned above seven are Ānandatirtha's Bhasyas on seven of the principal Upanisads two of them having glosses by two of his successors Our Manuscript of the Bhasya on the Brhadāranyaka, which is the largest of the Upanisads is incomplete

WORKS BASED ON THE BRAHMASŪTRA

We have a copy of Ānandatīrtha's Bhasya on the Brahmasūtra (Nos 704—706), of what is called his Anuvyākhyāna of it, which is of the nature of an independent treatise expounding the

contents of the Sutra (No 709) and of the Anubhasya or a summary of the Sutra (No 708)

JAYATIRTHA

Ānandatirtha's treatises are generally very short but there are large commentaries on them principally by Jayatirtha the sixth in the succession list who died in 1190 Saka or 1268 A D Jayatirtha's name before he was raised to the pontifical seat was Dhondo Raghunātha and he was a native of Mangalavedha near Pandharpur In the Collection there are Manuscripts of Jayatirtha's commentary on the Brahmasutra Bhāsya entitled Tattvaprakāsika (No 679) and of two commentaries on this again one entitled Abhinavacandrika (No 669) by Satyanāthatirtha (the twentieth in the succession list who died in Saka 1595) and the other called Tatparyanirnaya by Vyasayati the fifteenth who died in Śaka 1481 (No 691) The first two however come down to the end of the second chapter there being four in all and the third is but a fragment Jayatirtha's commentary on the Anuvyakhyāna is called Nyāyasudha of which we have got about one half (No 695)

No 713 is a copy of the Bhāvaprakāsa a commentary by Nrsimha on the last of Ānandatirtha's works on the Brahmasūtra the Anubhasya

WORKS BASED ON PURANIC ORIGINALS

The works in our Collection of Ānandatirtha's school on the third source of the Vedānta are three viz a commentary on the Bhagavadgita (No 677) not by Ānandatīrtha, but by Vidyadhiraja the immediate successor of Jayatirtha who died in 1254 Śaka or 1332 A D the Bharata tatparyanirnaya pramānasamgraha (No 712) and a small fragment of Ānandatirtha's Bhāgavata tatparyanirnaya (No 711)

The Bharata tatparyanirnaya pramānasamgraha is a collection of texts from the epics and Purānas supporting some of the

statements of Ānandatīrtha in his Bhāratatātparyanirṇaya. The name of the author is not given

INDEPENDENT WORKS OF MĀDHVA

Of the independent works of Madhvācārya we have ten with the commentaries of Jayatīrtha and in some cases a gloss on these latter by Vyāsatīrtha. One of the most important of these is the Viṣṇutattvanirṇaya of Jayatīrtha's commentary on which we have two copies (Nos. 719—721).

Two more works of Ānandatīrtha have been noticed [above] in connection with Dharmaśāstra so that we have copies of twenty three out of the thirty seven works attributed to him in certain memorial verses [making up the Granthamālikā stotra] which are as follows —

॥ श्रीवेदव्यासाय नमः ॥

॥ श्री० अथ ग्रन्थमालिकास्तोत्रप्रारम्भः ॥

कृष्णं विद्यापतिं नत्वा पूर्णबोधार्थसद्गुरून् ॥
ग्रन्थान्मध्वश्चकारासौ सप्तत्रिंशदमन्दधीः ॥ १ ॥
गीताभाष्यं चकारासौ प्रथमं तुष्टिदं हरेः ॥
भाष्याणुभाष्ये चक्रेऽथ अनुव्याख्यानमव्ययम् ॥ २ ॥
संन्यासपद्धतिं चक्रे न्यायशास्त्रनिकृन्तनं ॥
प्रमाणलक्षणं नाम कथालक्षणसंज्ञकम् ॥ ३ ॥
उपाधिखण्डनं चक्रे मायावादस्य खण्डनं ॥
चक्रे प्रपञ्चमिथ्यात्वमानखण्डनमुच्चधीः ॥ ४ ॥
चकार तत्त्वसंख्यानं साधनं तत्त्वदर्शनं ॥
ग्रन्थं तत्त्वविवेकाख्यं तत्त्वोद्द्योतं हरेः प्रियम् ॥ ५ ॥
कर्मनिर्णयनामानं ग्रन्थं न्यायार्थबृंहितं ॥
सुखतीर्थयतिश्चक्रे विष्णुतत्त्वविनिर्णयम् ॥ ६ ॥
ऋग्भाष्यं च चकारासौ सर्ववेदार्थनिर्णयं ॥
ऐतरेयं तैत्तिरीयं बृहदारण्यमेव च ॥ ७ ॥
ईशावास्यं काठकं च छान्दोग्याथर्वणे तथा ॥

माण्डूक्य नाम षट्प्रश्न तथा तलवकारकम् ॥ ८ ॥
चक्रे भाष्याणि दिव्यानि दशोपनिषदा गुरु ॥
निर्णय सर्वशास्त्राणा गीतातात्पर्यसज्ञकम् ॥ ९ ॥
नरसिंहनखस्तोत्र चक्रे यमकभारत ॥
द्वादशस्तोत्रमकरोत्कृष्णामृतमहार्णवम् ॥ १० ॥
तन्त्रसार चकारासौ सदाचारस्मृति [ति] सुधी ॥
श्रीमद्भागवतस्यापि तात्पर्य ज्ञानसाधनम् ॥ ११ ॥
महाभारततात्पर्य निर्णय सशयच्छिद् ॥
यतिप्रणवकल्प वा प्रणवार्थप्रकाशकम् ॥ १२ ॥
जयन्तीनिर्णय चक्रे देवकीगर्भजन्मन ॥
कृष्णस्य कृष्णभक्तोय द्वैपायनकरावुभौ [*Sic*] ॥ १३ ॥
एतेषा पाठमात्रेण मध्वेश प्रीयते हरि ॥
इति ग्रन्थमालिकास्तोत्र सपूर्ण श्रीकृष्णार्पणमस्तु ॥

INDEPENDENT WORKS BY THE FOLLOWERS OF MADHVA

We have also Manuscripts of eight independent works written by the followers of Madhva and Visnubhaktıcandrodaya (No 270) in the Gujarath section also belongs to this school

SYSTEMS OF RĀMĀNUJA AND NIMBĀRKA

DOCTRINES

Another system of the Vedānta was founded by Rāmanuja in the South and by Nimbārka who was a Southern Brahman in the North There is not much difference between the doctrines of these teachers According to them there is an unity of substance as well as plurality The individual souls and the inanimate world form one substance with God in so far as he animates them He is the soul of our souls and the soul of the world, and these are his body and as the human soul with the human body forms one individual, so does the supreme soul with his body viz the world

and the dependent souls form one substance. Thus we have unity. But plurality also is true in so far as the distinction between the three—the supreme soul, the dependent souls and the world—is never obliterated. Practically Kumarila enjoins the worship of Narayana generally, but Nimbarka seems to have attached particular importance to the Krishna incarnation, and in this respect was a precursor of Vallabhacharya.

WORKS OF THE NIMBARKA SYSTEM.

SIDDHANTA.

We have no work expounding Nimbarka's system in the Collection, but there is a Manuscript of a tract entitled the Siddhantagita (No. 83) in which all great persons from Brahma, Siva and Vyasa down to Bhattojidikshita and Caitanya are represented as having held a meeting at Kasi and extolled the doctrines of Nimbarka and recommended them to all mankind. According to one of the speakers all inconsistent doctrines finally resolve themselves into those of Nimbarka, as rain water wherever it may drop finally reaches the ocean and is absorbed in it.

There is a copy of another work belonging to the sect entitled Hari guru stavamala (No. 84) which contains Stotras referring to Vishnu in one or more of his forms and to the Gurus or leaders of the sects.

SUCCESSION LIST OF THE NIMBARKA HIGH PRIESTS.

In connection with one of the latter sort, a succession list of the High priests is given which contains forty names up to Govindadeva the author of the work. The first three of these are mythological persons. The thirtieth from Nimbarka is a person of the name of Kesava Kasmiran who wrote a Bhasya on the Vedantasutra. It is published in the Eighth Volume of the Benares Journal the Pandit. In the introduction Kesava

renders his obeisance to Nimbarka and speaks of Śrinivasa his immediate successor as the author of the principal Bhāsya He also mentions Sundarabhatta and others occurring in our succession list and his preceptor Mukunda

SYSTEM OF VALLABHĀCĀRYA

Of the latest system of the Vedānta that founded by Vallabhācarya we have copies of five works (Nos 270—274)

NYĀYA AND VAIŚESIKA SYSTEMS

COMMENTARIES ON THE SŪTRAS

The founder of the Nyāya system was Gautama of whose Sutra No 748 is a copy The Bhasya or authorised commentary on this is that by Vatsyāyana a Manuscript of which was purchased by me in 1879 In the present Collection, there is a fragment equal to about one fourth of the whole of a more modern commentary entitled Nyāyarahasya (No 743) by Rāmabhadra who represents himself as the son of Bhattācāryacūdāmani This person was in all probability the same as Janakināthabhaṭṭā caryacudamani the author of the Nyayasiddhāntamañjari to be hereafter mentioned

The Sutra of Gautama and that of Kanāda the founder of a kindred system the Vaiseṣika are however rarely studied in modern times The literature of the two systems the study of a portion of which at least, is considered indispensable to one who wishes to become a Naiyayika or Nyaya Pandita was developed in Bengal during the last six or seven hundred years

LITERATURE CENTRING ITSELF ROUND THE TATTVACINTĀMANI

It centres principally round one book entitled Tattvacintamani by Gangesamahopādhyāya Of the first and fourth part of this

we have Manuscripts in the present Collection (Nos 731 and 732) and of a large portion of the third in addition to these two in last year's

There is a commentary on this work entitled Cintāmaṇiprakāśa by Rucidātta who speaks of himself in one place as a pupil of Jayadeva probably the same as the author of another commentary called Ālolā and in another as having learnt the whole Śastra or system from a number of teachers There is a copy of the first part of this work (No 279) and another of the second part (No 278) amongst our acquisitions of this year

This commentary however is very rarely read and the one generally studied in modern times is that entitled Didhiti by Raghunāthabhattācāryottamaṃ of the second part or Anumānakhaṇḍa of which we have a copy (No 740) We have also Manuscripts of the Anumānakhaṇḍa or inference portion of Mathuranātha's commentary on Gangeśa's work (Nos 737—739) and of the Pratyakṣakhaṇḍa or first part and the Śabda or fourth of the same in last year's Collection

The Didhiti again has been commented on by this same Mathurānātha who represents himself as the son of Rama by Jagadīśa by Bhavānanda and by Gadādhara and the Ślokas mentioned above by the first and the Śabda or fourth portion of it by the last All these are largely represented in this and last year's Collections

NATURE OF THIS LITERATURE

These commentaries instead of elucidating the system have in a sense mystified it The great object and aim of the writers is accuracy of thought and speech But to attain this, they have invented a very difficult and artificial terminology and by its means, seek to define every thing they are concerned with, in their branch of learning, in a manner to obviate all possible objections, howsoever flimsy and ridiculous Then definitions

have thus become unwieldy and usually consist of an extremely long compound and are unintelligible to all except the initiated Still the end they seek to attain is good and their method is to a certain extent worthy of adoption especially in its application to grammar or to the accurate determination of the sense of words and sentences (Śabdakhanda) Whatever is useful in their mode of treatment can however be acquired by studying the little manuals on the Nyaya and Vaiseṣika systems with some of their smaller commentaries, and these I shall now proceed to notice

MANUALS OF THE NYĀYA AND VAIŚESIKA SYSTEMS WITH COMMENTARIES

(I) NYĀYASIDDHĀNTAMAÑJARĪ AND COMMENTARIES

One of the large manuals is the Nyayasiddhāntamañjarī by Jānakinatha bhattācārya cūdamani of which Nos 745 and 746 are copies There is another in my Collection of 1879 A valuable commentary on this is the Tarkaprakasa by Śrikaṇṭha or Śitikantha, a fragment of which we have in this Collection (No 737) but a complete copy in that of 1879 The Naiyāyika of modern times whose study of the works of Mathurānātha Jagadisa and Gadadhara is restricted to the parts on Anumāna or Inference and Śabda or Interpretation derives his knowledge of the Pratyakṣakhanda or the first part from the Tarkaprakasa Another commentary on the work is by Śrikṛṣna nyāyavāgisa bhaṭṭacarya of the Śabdakhanda of which No 747 is a copy and No 742 is a small fragment of a third entitled Nyāyaratnāvali

(II) BHĀSĀPARICCHEDA AND COMMENTARIES

The Bhāṣāpariccheda by Visvanāthapañcanana is another manual which is always studied along with the Siddhanta muktavalī, a commentary on it by the author himself There are two copies of the first (Nos 288 and 727), and one of the

second (No 292) in our Collection Another work of this nature is the Padarthamālā of Jayarāmapancānana of which we have a fragment (No 753)

THE SMALLER MANUALS

(I) TARKASAMGRAHA AND COMMENTARIES

Of the smaller manuals the Tarkasaṃgraha is the one generally studied It has a great many commentaries of which we have two the Tarkasaṃgrahadīpikā (No 738) attributed to the author of the manual himself and the Tarkacandrikā by Vādyanātha Gaḍgila (No 736)

The Tarkamṛta of Jagadīśa the Saptapadārthī of Śivāditya and the Tarkabhāṣā of Keśavamiśra are similar works but the last follows the system of Gautama

(II) TARKAMṚTA AND COMMENTARIES

On the first there is a commentary called Tarkāmṛtaśaśikā by Gangārama Jaḍī who was the son of Nārāyaṇa pupil of Nīlakaṇṭha and son of the daughter of Dinakara the author of the Muktāvalīprakāśa a commentary on the work of Viśvanātha noticed above No 277 is a commentary on this Śāstra apparently by the author himself, without the original Gangārama states that his work was looked over by his grandfather Another commentary on the Tarkāmṛta entitled the Tarkāmṛtataraṅgiṇī is in my Collection for 1879

(III) SAPTAPADĀRTHĪ AND COMMENTARIES

The Padarthacandrika by Śeṣānanta, of which we have two good copies (Nos 286 and 287) is a commentary on the second, the Saptapadarthī, and there is a commentary on this again by Nṛsiṃha of which we have a small fragment (No 750) Another commentary in the Collection on Śivāditya's manual is by a Jaina named Jinavardhanasūri (No 291), and a third entitled

Mitabhāsini by Madhava Sarasvati is among the Manuscripts collected by me in 1879

JINAVARDHANASŪRI'S DATE

Jinavardhanasūri is represented in the colophon to have been the successor of Jinarājasūri High priest of the Kharatara gaccha Jinarāja died in 1461 Samvat or 1405 A D and Jinavardhana occupied the seat vacated by him till 1475 Samvat when he was deposed on account of his having transgressed one of the vows[1] Jinavardhana appears to have been a zealous student of the Nyāya Among the Palm leaf Manuscripts in our Collections No 28 of 1880 81 (which is a copy of Udayana's Tātparyaparisuddhi) is stated at the end to have belonged to Jinavardhanasūri the successor of Jinarājasūri and the year there given is 1471 Samvat[2] Śivaditya the author of the Saptapadārthi commented on by Jinavardhana must thus have flourished before the fifteenth century

(IV) TARKABHĀSĀ AND COMMENTARIES

The third manual or Tarkabhāṣā has been commented on by Govardhanamisra Mādhavabhatta and Cinnabhatta Govardhana misra was the son of Balabhadra and his wife Vijayasri and had two elder brothers named Padmanābha and Visvanatha He was the pupil of Kesavamisra the author of the work on which he has commented Of Govardhanamisra's work we have two copies (Nos 282 and 283) and one of that of Madhavabhatta (No 284) and of that of Cinnabhatta (No 285)

CINNABHATTA'S DATE

The last is called Tarkabhasaprakāsikā Cinnabhatta was the son of Sahajasarvajña and the younger brother of Sarvajña and was patronized by Harihara king of Vijayanagara He thus

1 Ind Ant Vol XI p 249

2 Prof Kielhorn's Report on Manuscripts for 1880 81 p 19

lived in the latter part of the fourteenth century and the Tarkabhāṣā therefore commented on by him must have been considerably older

JYOTISA

ITS THREE BRANCHES (SKANDHAS)

The Hindu Jyotiṣa is divided into three branches entitled Siddhanta Samhitā and Horāśāstra The first is also called Ganita and comprehends Mathematics and Astronomy proper the second embraces a variety of miscellaneous subjects —science astrology alchemy portents, omens &c — and the third comprises Horoscopy or Jātaka and Tājika or Judicial Astrology and Divination

SIDDHANTAS OR GANITA

Of works belonging to the first branch we have a copy of the Suryasiddhānta (No 360) and of the Brahmasiddhānta in six chapters, described as forming the Śākalyasamhitā (No 314)

BHASKARĀCĀRYA'S WORKS

There is also a Manuscript of the first part of Bhāskarācārya's Siddhāntaśiromaṇi (No 357), and of the Goladhyāya or the fourth chapter with the author's annotations entitled Vāsanābhāṣyā (No 358) This last Manuscript was transcribed in Samvat 1576 or A D 1520

KARANAKUTŪHALA

We have three copies of this author's Karaṇakutuhala a work which expounds methods of various astronomical calculations and among them that of determining the positions of the Sun, Moon and Planets at any given time from their positions on a certain day in a certain year (Nos 293—295)

DATE OF THE WORK, SAKA 1105

This year or epoch in the present work is, as is well known, 1105 Saka or 1183 A D, and Bhāskarācārya was born in 103

Śaka as he himself tells us in the Siddhāntaśiromaṇi which he wrote in the thirty sixth year of his age

The methods given in the Karaṇas differ from those given in the Siddhāntas in this that while the latter use as an epoch the beginning of a Kalpa or a fabulous period of an extremely long duration and consequently involve tedious multiplications and divisions the former take their start from a certain year of the Śaka era as an epoch and are less cumbrous The astronomical data are the same as those given in the Siddhāntas

PITAHMATUTYA

Our author's Karaṇa follows the data given in the Brahma siddhānta and is hence called Brahmatulya or 'like the Brahma' There are three other copies of the Karaṇa with the commentaries of Sodhala Padmanābha and Śaṃkaṇakavi the pupil of Harṣakaṇṭha (Nos 296—298) Our Manuscript of the first was transcribed in 1519 Saṃvat or 1463 A D i e 280 years after the work had been composed by Bhāskarācārya

ŚAMKARAKAVI'S DATE, ŚAKA 1541

The last commentator exemplifies the author's rules by making actual calculations for the Śaka year 1541 or 1619 A D which therefore is the date of his work Śaṃkaṇakavi mentions Śrīpati Brahmagupta and Keśava to be noticed below (No 344)

BRAHMATULYATIPPANA

This is an anonymous work containing calculations according to Bhāskara's rules for the Śaka year 1523 No 303 is entitled Khetakasiddhi or methods of astronomical calculations and its epoch year is 1500 Śaka or 1578 A D The author's name is Dinakara who also wrote a small tract called Candraṇaki of which No 308 is a copy

DAMODARA'S BHATATULYA ŚAKA 1339

No 346 is a Manuscript of a Karaṇa by Damodara, the pupil of Padmanābha based on the astronomical data given by

Āryabhata, and hence it is called Bhaṭatulya Damodara's epoch is 1339 Śaka corresponding to 1417 A D and the Manuscript is dated 1559 Samvat or 1503 A D

SRĪNĀTHA'S GRAHACINTĀMAṆI, ŚAKA 1512

No 304 is the Grahacintamani by Śrinatha son of Rama and younger brother of Raghunatha and the year used as an epoch is 1512 Saka This Rama was probably the same as the author of the Muhurtacintamani

BRAHMADEVA'S KARAṆA ŚAKA 1014

There is also a copy of another Karana entitled Karanapurasa (No 299) by Brahmadeva son of Candrabhatta But its first leaf is lost and that of another Manuscript substituted in its place hence its epoch cannot be easily made out Amongst a number of Manuscripts however since collected in the Maratha country I found the first two or three leaves of a copy of this Karana and these have been added to No 299 From the first two verses I gather that Brahmadeva follows the astronomical data given by Āryabhata and the Śaka year used by him as an epoch is 1014 This therefore is the oldest of the Karanas in the present Collection

GANEŚA'S GRAHALĀGHAVA WITH VIŚVANĀTHA'S COMMENTARY

There is in the Collection a copy of the Grahalaghava (No 306) with the illustrative commentary of Visvanatha This is the work that is ordinarily used by the Hindu astronomers and astrologers of the day The author's name is Ganesa who was the son of Kesava, himself the author of a Jatakapaddhati to be mentioned below and other works

GANEŚA'S NATIVE PLACE

They belonged to the Kausika Gotra and lived at Nandigrama which name is Nandgaon in the Vernacular This is placed by Colebrooke near Devagiri, the modern Daulatabad that is, he identifies this Nandgaon with a town of that name in the Nasik

District on the G I P Railway line But in the Manuscript before me I find a statement of Ganesa himself that his Nandigrāma was situated in Aparānta which is the Sanskrit name for Northern Konkan and the commentator mentions in the introduction that it was situated near the sea coast Ganesa's Nandigrāma therefore is the Nandgaon which is about four miles to the north of Janjira and forty miles to the south of Bombay and is now in the territory of the Habasi Chief

The epoch year in Ganesa's Grahalāghava is 1442 Saka corresponding to 1520 A D and the year for which the illustrative calculations are made by Visvanatha is 1534 Śaka, or 1612 A D

PĀTASĀRANĪ ŚAKA 1444

There is another work of Ganesa entitled Patasarani with Visvanātha's commentary (No 335) The Saka year occurring in the former is 1444 and Visvanātha's explanatory calculations are for the year 1553 Śaka

SAMHITĀ BRANCH

TODARAMALLA'S JYOTIHSUKHA-SAMHITĀ

Of the second branch of the Jyotisa I have to announce the acquisition of the Samhitaskandha (No 317) of Todaramalla's Jyotihsukha This is one of the volumes of what might be called an encyclopedia of Indian science and lore entitled Todarānanda caused to be compiled by Todaramalla who is represented to have been a Rājā and who was the financial minister of the Emperor Akbar

HORĀŚĀSTRA OR THIRD BRANCH OF THE JYOTISA

Of the third branch we have got a large lot and first I shall speak of the Jatakas or works teaching the casting of nativities

JĀTAKAS OF VARĀHAMIHIRA AND OTHERS

The first that deserves mention is Varāhamihira's Laghujātaka with two commentaries one by Mahidāsa and the other by Manidhara (Nos 311—313) There is a copy of Utpala's commentary on it in the last year's Collection Then we have in the present Collection a Manuscript of Utpala's commentary on Satpañcāśikā by Pithuyasas the son of Varāhamihira (No 310) No 311 is a copy of the Jātakapaddhati by Śrīpati who flourished before Keśava of Nandigrāma—the father of Ganeśa—and No 312, of a commentary on it by Mādhava

JĀTAKAPADDHATI BY KEŚAVA FATHER OF GANEŚA

No 314 is a copy of the Jātakapaddhati composed by Keśava of Nandigrāma with a commentary written by himself In this he refers to or quotes the following works and authors with others whose dates are well known —

Kalyāṇavarman	Rāmakṛṣṇapaddhati
Keśavamiśra	Vallabhapaddhati
Jīvaśarman	Śrīpati
Dāmodara	Śrīdharapaddhati
Bhaṭṭotpaddhati	Śrīdharācārya
Yavana	Sārāvali

Horāmakaranda

The Śrīpati mentioned by Keśava is the same as the author of No 311 since a quotation from Śrīpati in Keśava's work is found in that Manuscript There is a copy of the Horāmakaranda in last year's Collection The author's name is Guṇākara, who was the son of another Śrīpati Another commentary on Keśava's Paddhati by Viśvanātha, the son of Divākara we have in last year's Collection The illustrative calculations in it are made for the year 1508 Śaka or 1586 A D Viśvanātha therefore wrote this commentary twenty six years before that on Ganeśa's Grahalāghava

There are Manuscripts of several other Jātakas among which may be mentioned the Yavanajātaka (No 349) which is probably the one referred to by Kesava of Nandigrāma The date of the Manuscript is 1621 Samvat or 1563 A D We have however not got a complete copy of this Jātaka and the section on the subject of Kesava's quotation is wanting

JYOTĪRATNAMĀLĀ

No 316 is Śrīpati's Jyotiratnamālā with a commentary by Mahīdeva the son of Lumga Whether this Śrīpati is identical with the author of the Jātakapaddhati it is difficult to determine The author of the Jyotiratnamālā was the son of Nagadeva and grandson of Kesava who of course was a different person from the father of Ganesa This Kesava belonged to the Kāsyapa Gotra while Kesava of Nandigrāma was a Kausika

In a Manuscript of the Jyotiratnamālā with the commentary of Mahīdeva existing in a private Library at Nasik occur a few verses at the end in one of which the date of the composition of the commentary is given as 1185 Śaka or 1263 A D Śrīpati therefore must have lived previous to the latter half of the thirteenth century

No 348 is a copy of a commentary on Kesava's Muhurtatattva by his son Ganesa

MUHŪRTACINTĀMANI BY RĀMA

We have also a copy of the Muhurtacintamani by Rāma who gives his genealogy thus —In Dharmapura on the banks of the Narmadā there lived a learned man of the name of Cintāmani who knew a great many Śastras including Jyotiṣa He had a son named Ananta who was an astrologer and wrote a Jataka paddhati and a commentary on the Kamadhenu —Nos 300 and 301 are copies of a Kāmadhenu very probably the same as this —Ananta had two sons Nilakantha and Rāma the latter of whom was the author of the work before us He wrote it at Benares in 1522 Śaka or 1600 A D

TĀJIKA

SAMARASIMHA'S TĀJIKASĀRA

We have several Manuscripts of works on what is called Tajika or General Astrology of which I shall notice a few Nos 320—322 are copies of different parts of the Tajikasara by Samarasimha The author traces his descent to Candasimha of the Prāgvāta family who was a minister of the Calukya king of Gujarath He was probably the same person as Candapa who as stated by Somesvara in the Kirtikaumudi (III 1-1) also belonged to the Prāgvāta family and was a Mantrin or counsellor and an ancestor of Vastupala From Candrasimha sprang Śobhanadeva who had a son of the name of Samanta Śāmanta's son was Kumarasimha who was the father of our author No 322, which is a copy of the third section of the work was transcribed in 1491 Samvat corresponding to 1435 A D

TEJAHSIMHA'S DAIVAJÑĀBHARAṆA

No 327 is Daivajñālaṁkāra by Tejahsimha The pedigree of the author is given in the colophon, but the reading is very corrupt and what appears likely is this Tejahsimha like Samarasimha belonged to the Prāgvāṭa family but he is much older than the latter Śārangadeva of the Calukya dynasty of Gujarath, who reigned from 1277 to 1297 A D, had a Mantrin or counsellor whose name appears to have been Vikrama Of him was born another Mantrin of the name of Vijayasimha, and his brother was Tejahsimha, the author of the work before us

SŪRYA'S TĀJIKĀBHARAṆA

We have also a copy of the Tajikalaṁkara by Surya (No 326) who lived at Pārthapura on the northern bank of the Godavari His father's name was Jñānarāja who was himself an astronomer of great repute being the author of a work called the Siddhantasundara[1] Sūrya gives a list of his own works at the end of the

1 See Colebrooke's Essays

Tājikālamlāla The passage is corrupt but on comparing it with another copy of it given by Professor Weber in the Berlin Catalogue I find he wrote the following works —Glosses on (1) the Līlāvatī and (2) the Bījaganita (3) computations according to Śripatis Paddhati (4) a new Bījaganita (5) Tajika the present work (6) another Tājika (7) a Kāvyastaka and (8) Bodhasudhākara a Vedantic work The dates 1460 and 1463 Śaka are given by Colebrooke as occurring in two of his works

TĀJIKAKAUSTUBHA BY BĀLAKRSNA

No 318 is a Manuscript of the Tājikakaustubha by Balakrsna who lived at Jambusara His father was Yadava whose great grandfather Rāmajit (Rāmji) was according to Balakrsna a very learned man and lived at a place situated on the northern bank of the Tapi Rāmajit had a son of the name of Nārayana and his son was Rāmakrsna who was the father of Yādava Balakrsna's other works are —Stotras of Narāyana Śamkara Śivī (Durgī) Ganapati and Trivenī Yogīnyaṣtadasākrama, of which we have a copy and Samkrantinirnaya

MANITTHA TĀJIKA

Another Manuscript that deserves notice is called Manittha tājika (No 324), and the work is ascribed to Manitthācārya Manittha is mentioned by Varāhamihira in his Jataka and identified by Professor Weber with Manetho author of the Apotelesmata Varāhamihira's commentator Utpala quotes passages from the work attributed to Manittha which however I have not been able to find in the present Manuscript A man of the name of Manittha could not have composed this treatise since in one place the author says he is "going to give what is stated by Manittha and others" with reference to a certain subject The work is a modern compilation since the name "Tājika" itself for astrology was adopted by Hindu writers in about the thirteenth century, while Varāhamihira who mentions

Manittha flourished in the early part of the sixth The author's object was to state the views of foreign writers whom he speaks of as 'Yavanas or ancient Yavanas and he uses Manittha's name only because he was acquainted with the tradition which represented him to be a distinguished foreign writer on astrology

PĀTASIPRAKĀSA BY VEDĀNGARĀYA WRITTEN DURING THE REIGN OF SHAH JEHAN

I may also here mention a Manuscript of a work entitled Patasiprakasa (No 366) by an author named Vedangaraya In this work are given methods for converting Hindu into Mahomedan dates and vice versa and the Arabic and Persian names of the days of the week the months the planets the constellations the signs of the Zodiac &c Several Arabic technical terms of astronomy and others that are ordinarily used in astrological treatises are explained and the influences of the planets in different positions are mentioned The book is intended for the use of astrologers and was written for the purpose of pleasing the Emperor Shah Jehan and gaining his favour" Shah Jehan was on the throne of Delhi from 1627 to 1657 A D and the date of the composition of this treatise is 1565 Saka and 1053 A H corresponding to 1643 A D

This Vedangarāya was the same person as the father of Nandikesvara the author of a work entitled Gaṇakamandana which is a sort of introduction to the study of astronomy In that work a copy of which exists in my Collection for 1881-82 Nandikesvara states that his father's name was Mālajit (Malji) that he was conversant with the Vedas and Vedāngas and got from the Emperor of Delhi (Dhillīsvara) the title of Vedangarāya Mālajit or Vedangarāya was the son of Tigulabhatta who was the son of Ratnabhatta Ratnabhatta lived at Sristhala in Gujarath

WORKS ON DIVINATION

BHOJA'S VIDVAJJANAVALLABHA

Copies of a few works on Divination are also to be found in this year's Collection One of them is entitled Vidvajjanavallabha (No 337) and is ascribed to king Bhoja who is represented to have been a powerful sovereign

NARAPATIJAYACARYĀ BY NAPAPATI

The last Manuscript in this class that I shall notice is the Narapatijayacarya (No 331) a treatise on omens by Narapati The author wrote this book at Anahilapattana in the reign of Ajayapala who occupied the Calukya throne from 1174 to 1177 A D[1] He finished the work on Tuesday the first of the light half of Caitra in the year 1232 of Vikrama corresponding to 1176 A D Narapati's father was Āmradeva who lived at Dhārā the capital of Malwa which country was, according to our author the abode of learning" There is another copy of the Narapatijayacarya in the last year's Collection

MEDICINE

CARAKA SUŚRUTA VĀGBHATA

In the class of works on Hindu Medicine we have fragments of the Caraka and Susruta Samhitas and a copy of Vagbhata's important work the Aṣṭāngayogahrdaya, which however is incomplete The last Manuscript was caused to be transcribed in the Samvat year 1486 or 1430 A D at Bhrguksetra or Bharoch by Araddhasera (Ardesar) who was a learned Ādhyaru or priest of the Parasika race for his son to study This shows that about four hundred and fifty years ago Parsi priests valued and cultivated the study of Sanskrit lore

There are several other smaller treatises and among them may be mentioned two copies of Bopadeva's Śatasloki and another

1 Ind Ant, Vol VI p 213

of his commentary on the work which however wants a few leaves (Nos 378—380) Lopadeva as is well known was the son of Kesava and pupil of Dhanesa He was patronized by Hemādri the minister of Mahādeva the Yādava king of Devagiri This fact is however mentioned not in his medical treatises but in the Hariliā a summary of the Bhāgavata At the end of the Śatasloki it is stated that both Bopadeva's father and teacher lived at a place called Sutha situated on the banks of the Varada Bopadeva therefore was a native of Berar

TĀNTRIKA LITERATURE

Of the Tantrika literature we have Manuscripts of two Tantras the Sivarahasya and the Gautamiyamahātantra (Nos 100 101 and 385) The rest are digests or extracts from some of the larger Tantras, one of the former being the Tantrasāra by Krsnānandabhattacarya (No 388)

ART

There are copies of four works on technical subjects Two of these are on architecture one entitled Rājavallabhamandana (No 404) and the other Vāstumandana (No 405)

ARCHITECTURE

MANDANA'S WORKS

In the colophon of the first it is stated that Mandana a Sūtradhāra or architect who was in the service of Kumbhakarna king of Medapata, composed the work and by his devotion to Ganapati and to his teacher and the propitiation of the Goddess of Learning he expounded the 'art of building as taught by the Munis" Medapāta is Mevad and a king of the name of kumbho ruled over the country according to Tod from 1419 to 1469 A D He had a taste for the arts, and constructed many temples as well as strongholds It is not unlikely, therefore, he had in his service, persons who had read

the literature of architecture and could compose such treatises as the one under notice

Vastumandana also is ascribed to Mandana, and it is stated that he wrote this work at the request of his son Devasimha He is here spoken of as the son of Ksetra

KUNDAMĀRTANDA WITH COMMENTARY

The third work entitled Kundamartanda treats of the construction of altars according to the Śulva Sutras composed by the Rsis of old The author is Govinda who was the son of Gadādhara and lived at Junnar The Manuscript contains a commentary by Ananta the son of Siddhesvara The original was composed in 1613 Saka or 1691 A D and the commentary in 1614 Saka or 1692 A D

SAMGĪTA

COMMENTARY ON THE SAMGĪTARATNĀKARA

The last of the four is a commentary on the Samgitaratnākara (No 406) The Manuscript is in a bad condition, the edges of all the leaves being torn off and the writing on a good many having faded away The Commentary is attributed to a king of the name of Singa, who is spoken of as the supreme sovereign of the Āndhra circle Who this Singa was it is difficult to say but it is not unlikely that he was the Yādava prince Singhana who reigned at Devagiri For, the country ruled over by the Deccan Calukyas is sometimes called Telangana by Northern writers such as Merutunga and Rajavallabha who in their life of Bhoja speak of Tailapa as king of Telangana Telangana is the same as the Āndhra circle and the Yadavas succeeded the Calukyas as rulers of the country

In Professor Aufrecht's Catalogue there is a notice of a Manuscript of the Samgitaratnākara by Śarngadeva in the introduction to which Singhanadeva, who appears to have been

the author's patron is mentioned A commentary on his work therefore, written either by himself or some other court dependent may have been dedicated to the king

MISCELLANEOUS

LEKHAPAÑCĀŚIKĀ

Under the heading 'Miscellaneous' there are three Manuscripts one of which possesses a good deal of historical importance It is entitled Lekhapañcaśikā or fifty letters or deeds (No 410) The author's name is not given at the end and the first leaf is missing The work contains forms of letters deeds patents bonds &c and is divided into two parts The names being variable are in most cases represented by the word amuka, i e, a certain one" or anya namadhe ya, by a certain name" The date, however, used in the forms which constitute the second part, is Monday the 10th of the light half of Vaiśākha Samvat 1288 except in one case where it is the 3rd of that half This date is meant of course to serve as an example but the author's having used that in particular may safely be regarded as showing that he wrote his work in Samvat 1288 i e, in 1232 A D

THE AUTHOR'S DATE, SAMVAT 1288

The Manuscript itself was transcribed in 1536 Samvat or 1480 A D In a few cases the names of real persons also are used as examples, wherefore the deeds in which they occur must be considered to be such as it was possible should have been executed

SAMPLE OF A TĀMRAŚĀSANA OR COPPER PLATE GRANT BY LAVANAPRASĀDA

One such deed is a Tāmraśāsana or a royal deed of grant to be inscribed on copper In this the grantor that is introduced is Lāvaṇyaprasāda son of Ānaladeva of the Cālukya family,

and what is represented to have been granted by him is a village not named for the worship of Somanātha Lāvanyaprasāda was a Rānaka i e a Rana and a Mandalādhipati or a dependent chief The grant is represented to have been executed in the reign of Bhimadeva while Bhābhuya was his minister Bhimadeva's name is preceded by those of all the Calukya princes who reigned at Anahilapattana and they are as follows —

1 Mūlarāja	6 Karnadeva
2 Camundadeva	7 Jayasimha
3 Vallabhadeva	8 Kumārapāla
4 Durlabhadeva	9 Ajayapāla
5 Bhima or Brhadbhima	10 Mūladeva

11 Bhimadeva

This agrees with the genealogy given by other writers Bhimadeva was the reigning sovereign in Samvat 1288 according to them also and we see that Lāvanyaprasāda whose grandson Visaladeva finally took possession of the throne at Anahilapattana, had at that time acquired sufficient influence to be considered worthy of being introduced as the grantor of a village He appears to have been the *de facto* sovereign of Gujarath at the time

SAMPLE OF A TREATY OF ALLIANCE BETWEEN SINGHANADEVA AND LAVANAPRASĀDA

Another such deed in the work before us is a treaty of alliance between Simhanadeva who is styled Mahārajādhirāja or king of kings, i e, paramount sovereign, and Lāvanyaprasāda who is called a Mahāmandalesvara The place where the treaty is concluded is the victorious camp and the provisions are that 'each of these two princes should confine himself to his own country as before neither of them should invade the territories of the other if a powerful enemy attacked either of them they

should both undertake a joint expedition against him if only the general of an enemy did so troops should be sent to encounter him and if a prince from the country of either fled into that of the other taking away a certain valuable thing he should not be allowed quarter and the thing removed by him should be restored

Singhana who is also called Simhana was the most powerful of the Yadava princes of Devagiri and reigned from 1131 to 1169 Saka or 1209 to 1247 A D He invaded Gujarath twice at least once in the time of Lavanyaprasada and on another occasion when his grandson Visaladeva was on the throne Of the first invasion Somesvara gives a graphic account in his Kirtikaumudi All Gujarath was terrified when the intelligence of Singhana's march against the country was received, and Lāvanyaprasāda and his son Vīradhavala proceeded at once to meet him But being attacked from behind by four princes of Marvad and abandoned by the chiefs of Godhra and Lāta, the father and son retreated The army of Singhana however did not advance But Somesvara does not give us any reason further than what is involved in the observation which is simply rhetorical and not historical, that deer do not follow the path of a lion even when he has abandoned it" The reason, however, is supplied by the document before us

Though the object of our author was to give the form of a treaty of alliance, he could not have thought of using the names of Singhana and Lavanyaprasāda unless such a treaty had been actually concluded between them, and it should be remembered that Singhana's invasion of Gujarath must have taken place but a short time before the composition of the treatise Instead of giving a blank form, therefore, the author must be supposed to have here placed before us what might be considered a specimen of a treaty

Singhana, therefore did not advance when Lavanaprasāda and his son retreated because the two latter had submitted to him and concluded a treaty of alliance

YAVANAPARIPĀTYĀ RĀJARĪTI

No 409 is a work composed by one Dalapatiraya for a prince named Mādhavasimha who is styled Sārvabhauma or 'paramount sovereign It contains forms of letters and orders from a king to his subordinates written in Sanskrit according to the manner prevalent among Mahomedans and also Sanskrit equivalents of Mahomedan political terms From the colophon, Mādhavasimha the Sārvabhauma appears to have been Savai Mādhavarao or Mādhavarao II of the Peshwa Dynasty of Poona

THE JAINA LITERATURE

SŪTRAS AND THEIR COMMENTARIES

Of the literature of the Jainas we have sixty one Manuscripts in Sanskrit and the old Prakrit and eight in the vernacular There are sixteen of the Sūtras and their commentaries among which may be mentioned a new commentary on the Kalpasutra entitled Kalpamañjari by Sahajakirti (No 421) This was composed in 1685 Samvat while Jinaraja was the head of the Kharataragaccha

INDEPENDENT TREATISES ON RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY

We have also copies of independent treatises on religion and philosophy among which may be mentioned the Anekasāstrasa rasamuccaya (No 413) which looks like a collection of several small works by different authors the Vivekavilāsa (No 455) by Jinadattasūri in which the author gives the principles of several branches of learning and which also contains moral as well as religious precepts the Saddarsanasamuccaya (No 460) giving a brief account of the Brahmanic as well as Jaina and Bauddha systems of philosophy and the Samayasāraprabhrta (No 462) a work belonging to the Digambara sect by Kunda kundacarya who was a celebrated teacher of that sect

SOMAPRABHĀCĀRYA'S SŪKTAMUKTĀVALI

The Suktamuktāvali of Somaprabhācārya (No 169) may also be mentioned in this connection

Somaprabhācārya represents himself to be the pupil of Vijayasimha who occupied the seat of High priest after Ajitadeva All these names occur in the succession list of the pontiffs of the Tapagaccha and Somaprabhācārya seems to have lived in the latter part of the twelfth century [1]

GRAMMAR AND LEXICONS

HARSAKĪRTI'S DHĀTUPĀTHA WITH A COMMENTARY

We have copies of the Desināmamālā of Hemacandra (No 438) of the Siddhahaimabṛhannyāsa of Sāhajakīrti (No 166) mentioned above of Hemacandra's Prākrit Grammar (No 158) of the Śabdabhūṣaṇa a metrical treatise on Grammar by Dānavijaya (No 457) of a Dhātupāṭha or list of roots according to the Sārasvata system together with a commentary by Harṣakīrti (Nos 439 and 440) all of which belong to the branches of Lexicography and Grammar In the Vṛtti or commentary on his Dhatupatha Harṣakīrti gives the senses as well as the verbal and other forms of the several roots quoting the Sārasvata Sūtras and sometimes mentions idiomatic modes of expression The work thus resembles to some extent Mādhava's Dhātuvṛtti Harṣakīrti was the High priest of the Nāgapurīya branch of the Tapagaccha and was the pupil of Candrakīrti He mentions the following eminent persons belonging to his sect who were honoured by kings and emperors —

(1) Jayasekhara, who was adored by Hammīra

(2) Vajrasena, to whom at the suggestion of Sīhada, the emperor Allavadi gave a valuable garment and Phārmāna (firman) in the town of Runā

1 Ind Ant Vol XI, p 254

(3) Ratnaśekhara to whom Perojasīhi gave valuable garments

(4) Hamsakīrti a Pīṭhaka or reader whose greatness was manifested before Sīhi Sikandara

(5) Ānandarīya who obtained the title of Rāya from Humāyum

(6) Candrakīrti highly honoured by Sihi Sālema

(7) Padmasundaragani who defeated a great Pandita in argument at the court of Akbar and was rewarded by the emperor with a garment a village an easy chair (sukhāsana) and other things

(8) Pacchā a Pāṭhaka, honoured by Māladeva king of the Hindus at Yodhapura (Jodhpur)

Of these Hammira was the celebrated Chohan prince who ruled over Mevad from 1301 to 1365 A D and successfully resisted the encroachments of the Mahommedans Allāvadi must be Allauddin Khilji who occupied the throne of Delhi from 1295 to 1316 A D Perojasīhi must be Pheroz Shah Taghlak who reigned from 1351 to 1388 A D and Sahi Sikandara, Sikandar Shah Lodi (1488—1518 A D) Humayun's first reign extended from 1530 to 1540 A D Salem Shah (1545—1553 A D) was one of the Delhi Emperors who ruled during the period of his humiliation and Akbar, the celebrated Mogul prince reigned from 1556 to 1605 A D Māladeva was a prince of the Rāthor family who reigned at Jodhpur from 1532 to 1583 A D Candrakīrti who was honoured by Salem Shah was our author's teacher

PLAYS

KARPŪRAMAÑJARĪ

No 418 is a copy of the first act of the Karpuramañjari a dramatic play in the Prakrit in four acts and No 419 of the second act In the colophon of both Manuscripts, the play is

ascribed to a Vīranāgya pupil of Jinasiṃha who styled the sun in the sky of Khaṇḍilā" Jinasiṃha was the first High priest of a new branch of the Khaṇḍilā sect which was established in Samvat 1686 or 1630 A D[1] The Kalpaprakāśa however of which we have two texts here is the same as that written by Rājaśekhara the preceptor of Mahendraprabha who flourished about the tenth century and even his name is mentioned in the introduction

HISTORICAL, BIOGRAPHICAL AND LEGENDARY WORKS

Among works of a historical biographical and legendary nature we have Merutunga's Phoja-prabandha (No 150) Rājavallabha's Bhojacaritra (No 419) Sumatisaṃha's Lives of certain Jaina High priests originally forming part of his Vṛtti or exposition of Jinadattas Gaṇadharasārdhaśataka (No 126) a Gurvāvali or succession list of teachers (No 127) a Pārśvanātha caritra (No 444) Pāṇḍavacaritra (No 113) Kumaracaritra (No 452), &c

MERUTUNGA'S BHOJAPRABANDHA BHOJA'S DATE

In the Bhojaprabandha, Merutunga states that in Samvat 1078 when Bhoja ruled over the Mālava circle Bhīma the paramount sovereign of the Cālukya race governed Gujarath This cannot be the date of Bhoja's accession According both to Merutunga and Rājavallabha Muñja the uncle and predecessor of Bhoja crossed the Godavarī against the counsel of his aged minister Rudrāditya and invaded the dominions of Tailapa the founder of the Later Calukya dynasty of the Deccan He was defeated and taken prisoner At first he was well treated by his captor but when secret intrigues for his release were discovered Tailapa subjected him to indignities and put him to death This last fact is mentioned in Tailapa's Inscriptions also Now Tailapa

1 Ind Ant Vol XI, p 250

we know died in 920 Śaka or after 919 years of the era had elapsed This corresponds to 998 A D wherefore Muñja must have been slain by Tailapa before that year A Jaina author named Amitagati tells us at the end of his Subhāsitaratnasamdoha as was first pointed out by Colebrooke that he wrote or compiled the work in Samvat 1050 or 994 A D while Muñja was reigning at Dhārā Muñja therefore must have been put to death by Tailapa between 994 and 998 A D or about the year 996 Bhoja was crowned king after him and since he is said to have reigned for fifty five years he must have died about 1051 A D

SUMATIGANI'S LIVES OF THE YUGAPRADHĀNAS OR JAINA PONTIFFS

Sumatigani was a pupil of Jinapatisuri the forty sixth head of the Kharatara gaccha who died in 1277 Samvat or 1221 A D His work[1] contains an account of the lives of Vardhamāna Jineśvara Jinacandra Abhayadeva Jinavallabha and Jinadatta who were the High priests of the sect successively

(A) LIFE OF VARDHAMĀNA

In the account of Vardhamāna that sage is represented to have gone to the court of Durlabha the Calukya king of Anahila pattana who reigned from 1010 to 1022 A D and held a debate with the Caityavāsins or those Jaina teachers who advocated the propriety of a residence in temples His opponent was Sūracarya with whom however he did not hold a controversy in person but directed his pupil Jineśvara to do so Vardhamāna was victorious and was highly honoured by the king whereupon the Caityavāsins left the town Jineśvara had the title Kharatara ('very keen') given to him on the occasion of the debate and when he succeeded his master Vardhamāna it became the name of the Gaccha or sect which he led

1 This Manuscript was read and a short abstract of it prepared for me by Mr Shridhar R Bhandarkar M A The above is based on that abstract

(B) LIFE OF JINESVARA

Jinesvara is represented to have gone on some occasion to Āsapalli and Dindiyānaka on visitation. At the former place he composed in Samvat 1092 or 1036 A.D. a kathā (story) entitled Līlāvati. When he was at Dindiyānaka he asked of the Caityavāsins of the place for the loan of some book which on account of their disagreeable relations with him they refused. He then wrote the Kathānakakosa in the four rainy months composing during the last two watches of the night as much as was necessary to read to his audience the next morning.

(C) LIFE OF JINACANDRA

Jinacandra succeeded Jinesvara. He composed the Samvegaranigasalā containing 18,000 slokas in Chandrāvalipura in Samvat 1125. In Javalipura he explained the Gāthā beginning with 'Civandanamāvassayam' and the doctrines taught by him were noted down by a pupil and embodied in a tract entitled Jinacaryā containing 300 slokas.

(D) LIFE OF ABHAYADEVA

Jinacandra's successor was Abhayadevasūri the author of Vrittis or comments on nine of the Angas of the Jainas. A long story is related as to how he was led to compose these commentaries. He had been afflicted with an incurable disease that rendered him unfit for any work of the kind but a certain deity appeared to him in a dream and directed him to go to Stambhanakapura (Cambay?) where there was an image of Pārsvanātha. He went there, bowed down before the image, and composed while standing the Namaskāradvātrimsikā or "thirty two bows," beginning with 'Jayatihuyana.' The last two of these stanzas he was obliged to omit at the request of the deities, so that the Stotra or hymn now contains thirty only.

(E) LIFE OF JINAVALLABHA

The next head of the Gaccha was Jinavallabha. He had the eight grammars of Pāṇini and others by heart and was conversant

with the Mahākāvyas or great poems Meghaduta and others, as well as all the other kāvyas or poems with the works on poetics of Rudrata Udbhata Dandin Vāmana Bhāmaha and others the eighty four dramatic plays the whole of the Jyotihsāstra all metrical works such as those of Jayadeva and others the Anekāntajayapatākā of Abhayadeva and other works that expounded the doctrines of Jinendra (i e Jainism) and with works of other systems of philosophy such as the Nyaya treatises Tarkakandalī and Kiranāvalī and Śamkaranandana and Kamala sila He was regarded as a man of learning at Citrakuta (Chittor) and many people even such as belonged to other systems of religion resorted to him and got their doubts cleared Jinavallabha caused temples of Mahāvira and Parsvanatha to be constructed at Citrakuta and of Neminātha at Nagapura and Naravarapurī

On one occasion two Panditas from a foreign country went to the court of Naravarman the grandson of Bhoja at Dhārā and proposed some poetic riddle, which the Panditas of Naravarman were not able to solve At the suggestion of a courtier the riddle was sent by the king to Jinavallabha who solved it at once and the solution was sent to Naravarman with all despatch On this account when after some time, Jinavallabha went to Dhārā Naravarman received him with great honour and offered him a large sum of money This he declined to accept but asked the king to make some endowment to the temples constructed at Citrakuta Naravarman died in 1190 Samvat or 1134 A D , according to an Inscription deciphered by Colebrooke

The installation of Jinavallabha in the place of Abhayadeva took place after he had done all that is related above He did not long survive this event, having died six months after, in the last quarter of the night on the twelfth of the dark half of Kārtika in Samvat 1167, i e 1111 A D

He wrote the following works — (1) Sukṣmārthasiddhanta (2) Vicārasāra, (3) Ṣadasiti, (4) Sārdhasataka a karma grantha

(5) Pindaviśuddhi (6) Pauṣadhavidhi (7) Pratikramaṇasāmāchāri (8) Saṃghapaṭṭaka (9) Dharmaśikṣā (10) Dvādaśakulaka (11) Praśnottaraśataka (12) Siṃhāsanabatrīśī and many other kavyas (13) Sarasvatīsahasranāmastuti and (14) Stotras Several of these exist in the former Government Collections while in the present Collection there is a stotra written by him

(F) LIFE OF JINADATTA

Jinadatta the author of the work on which Sumatiganin comments succeeded He was the son of Vāhaḍadevī and Vachika and was born in Samvat 1132 or 1076 A D He read his Pañjikā at the Dharmaśālā of Bhavadevācārya and was taught all the Siddhantas by Harisimhāchārya He was installed in Jinavallabha's place at Chitrakuta by Devabhadrāchārya On one occasion he went to Ajayameru (Ajmir), where he was well received by Arno the king of the country At the request of the Śrāvakas of the place the king granted a site for Jaina temples and on a second visit Jinadatta laid the foundation stone He made many converts to Jainism as well as to his particular sect He wrote the Gaṇadharasaptati for exorcising a man possessed by a ghost and also a Caccharī on the precepts engraved by Jinavallabha on the walls of certain temples He once went to Nāgaura and thence to Tribhuvanagiri where he preached the truth to king Kumārapāla

Besides the works named above Sumatiganin quotes from or refers to the following —Pravachanasāra a Smṛti, Bhāvaśataka Damādhyāya a Prāyoga Āvaśyakaṭippaṇa Daśavaikālika Chitrakuṭīyaprāsāda by Jinavallabha, and Upadeśamālā He also quotes some verses which are now found in the Pañchatantra

RAMACARITRA

The Rāmacaritra in prose was composed by Devavijayagaṇin, pupil of Rājavijayasūri who himself was a pupil of Vijayadānasūri, the Yugapradhana or head of the Tapāgaccha It was written at Śrīmālapura in Marusthalī or Marvad in the year 1652 Samvat

or 1596 A D in the reign of Akbar The author tells us that in the composition of his work he followed Hemacandra's Rāmāyana and that he wrote it in prose though there was a Rāmacaritra in verse in the Prakrit as well as Sanskrit to divert himself and also to put an end to his Karman

EXAMINATION OF PRIVATE LIBRARIES

As to the other branch of the work, the Libraries of the following persons at Nasik have been catalogued this year —

Sitārāmasastri Patvardhan	Rāmasāstri Chamdorkar
Narayanasastri Sathe	Yadusastri Fakle
Visnu Gangadhar Michegan	Devrav Hosing
Acyutasastri Datar	Govindbabar Vaidya

Eighteen Libraries were reported to have been catalogued last year so that twenty six in all have been examined at Nasik The printing of these catalogues has now been begun There is very little work left to be done at Nasik and my Sastri intended to go to Trimbak to catalogue the private Collections existing there But in the month of June last he was carried off by cholera which prevailed widely at Nasik about that time He was a man of learning and great intelligence and did very good service He possessed much influence with the people at Nasik and hence was able to examine for us so many Collections at the place Otherwise the jealousy as regards one s literary treasures is still so strong that it would not have been possible to do that amount of work there

ACCOUNT OF THE MANUSCRIPTS IN THE GOVERNMENT COLLECTIONS

I will close this Report by a short account of the present state of the Collections in my charge and the number of Manuscripts collected for Government since 1868 69 and the number lent to scholars and that forwarded to Germany to be catalogued according to Professor Kielhorn's scheme

The total number of Manuscripts in the collections is 4 482 of which 78[1] have been lent to scholars in Europe 65 in India and 13 in America while 113[1] have been sent to be catalogued— 22[1] to Professor Kielhorn 33 to Professor Pischel and 58 to Professor Jacobi In all 273 Manuscripts are out and the rest 4 209 are in the Library

AGES AND MATERIALS OF MANUSCRIPTS

PALM LEAF MANUSCRIPTS

Of the 4 482 Manuscripts about a third bear dates There are 108 written on Palm Leaves of which 37 are dated Three were transcribed in Samvat 1138 1115 and 1116 corresponding to 1082 1089 and 1090 of the Christian era eight from Samvat 1164 to 1218 i e from 1108 to 1162 A D twenty from Samvat 1260 to Kali 4398 i e from 1201 to 1297 A D and six from Samvat 1359 to 1450, i e, from 1303 to 1394 A D

PAPER MANUSCRIPTS

The earliest Paper Manuscript in the Collection was transcribed in 1376 Samvat corresponding to 1320 A D and there are eight bearing dates from 1426 to 1491 Samvat i e from 1370 to 1435 A D There are 48 Manuscripts transcribed in the first half of the fifteenth century of the Christian era and 91 in the latter half In some of the published lists an earlier date than 1376 Samvat occurs against one or two Manuscripts and one is represented to have been transcribed in Samvat 1101 I have examined the Manuscripts themselves and found all these entries to be erroneous I have however not been able to examine one Manuscript the date of which is in the list given is 1415 Samvat as it has been lent The rest of the dated Manuscripts were transcribed after the close of the fifteenth century

Manuscripts written on Palm leaves are found in Gujarath and Marvad principally at Cambay, Patan, and Jesalmir From the above statement it is clear that in Gujarath and Marvad Palm leaves

were used as a writing material before the introduction of paper The earliest Palm leaf Manuscript we possess was, it will be seen written in 1082 A D , and our earliest Paper Manuscript in 1320 A D So far as our present researches go therefore paper did not come into use till the beginning of the fourteenth century and since our latest Palm leaf Manuscript is dated 1450 Samvat or 1394 A D it appears that Palm leaves continued to be used as well as paper till about the end of that century From the beginning of the fifteenth we find paper only employed

EXTRACTS FROM THE REPORT[1] ON THE SEARCH FOR SANSKRIT MANUSCRIPTS DURING THE YEAR 1883-84

ACCOUNT OF A VISIT TO PATAN

In the month of December 1883 I paid during the Christmas recess a visit to Patan[2] in company with my friend Professor Abaji Vishnu Kathavate of the Gujarat College. We could make only a week's stay there, and consequently were not able to examine minutely the several Jaina Libraries at the place. Still we collected a good deal of information with regard to them and actually visited some and compared the Manuscripts contained in them with the lists placed in our hands.

JAINA LIBRARIES AT THE PLACE

Each Gaccha or sect of the Jainas residing in a city possesses a halting place called Upasraya for their itinerant priests, and each of these Upasrayas is provided with a more or less extensive Library. This Library is the property of the Gaccha and is in the charge of the prominent lay members of the sect. When, however a priest makes an Upasraya his permanent residence, the Library is always in his charge and practically he is its owner. The Upasrayas and the Libraries attached to them are named after the street or ward in which they are situated. Patan contains the following Libraries or Bhandaras —

1. Bhāndara of Pophlinopādo belonging to the Tapagaccha.
2. Another (smaller one) in the same ward do. do.

1 Originally published in 1887 at the Government Central Press, Bombay. [N B U]

2 In his report for 1874-75 Dr. Buhler calls the place Pithan, but it should be called Patan, the Sanskrit form being Pattana and the name being so pronounced by the people.

3 Bhāndāra of Bhābhūnopādo belonging to the Vimalagaccha
4 Do Samghavinopādo
5 Do Rūjavijaya Dayāvijaya
6 Do Limrinopādo
7 Do Vādi Pārsvanatha Mandira
8 Do Rūpasāgarji
9 Do Ratanvijaya Khetarsi Mahāl
10 Do Makāmodi Vāni
11 Do Hemacandra in the charge of Svarūpacandra Yati

Of these No 7 was not accessible to us because we were told that one of the keys was with the Śrīpujya or high priest of the sect to which the Library belonged and he was not in Patan at the time The owner of No 8 left the place the day after we arrived there and the Bhandāra had been locked up by him Ratanvijaya the practical owner of No 9 had removed a great many of the Manuscripts to Ahmedabad where he generally resided Makāmodi Vāni (No 10) who possessed it appears, Manuscripts written on Tāla leaves had, we were told, sent them away somewhere It is not unlikely that the Tala Leaf Manuscripts added to our Collection in 1880 81 originally belonged to him Svarūpacandra Yati who has charge of the Bhāndāra said to have originally belonged to Hemacandra, the great Jaina Scholar of the twelfth century, was as immovable as he was in 1874 75 when Dr Buhler wished him to show his Manuscripts to him We paid two visits to him but he put us off with a variety of excuses and showed us only a few fragments of certain works that he had before him at the time Rūjavijaya Dayāvijaya (No 5) showed us three or four of his boxes No 6 is a small Collection and after we had obtained access to the first four we did not think it very desirable to examine it especially since we had little time to spare

(I) THE LIBRARY IN THE POPHLIĀNOPĀDO

The Manuscripts in the Bhāndara in the Pophlianopādo (No 1) are stowed in 80 boxes (Dābdas) mostly made of thick paper boards

each box containing a list of its contents The man in charge showed us also a general list in which the title of each Manuscript and the number of folios were given I got a copy of it made but owing to some misunderstanding on the part of the man in charge my copyists were not able to get the numbers of folios of the Manuscripts in about 28 of the Dabdas We examined some of the boxes at random and compared their contents with the entries in the general list and found the latter to be correct [1] It will be seen that the number of Manuscripts in the Bhandara is 2 801 This appears to be the Bhandara of the Tapagaccha that Dr Buhler speaks of in his Report for 1874 75 The number of boxes or Dabdas mentioned by him agrees with that found by me but the number of Manuscripts is given by him as upwards of 1,200 There are several copies of one and the same work in the Collection

We were very greatly anxious to examine closely this splendid Collection and spent two days in the work but were able to effect little After going over the long list we selected the following for examination, as likely to be interesting and important —

Box No 1

Jaina Kumārasambhava

Box No 2

Naranārāyanānandakavya	Pañcamibhavisyaduttā by Dhanapāla
Kandalivṛttī by Bālacandra	Vijayadevamāhātmyakāvyā
Karpūraprakarābhidhanakosa	Sadbhāṣṭavana
Dhurtākhyāne pañcamakhyā nakam	

Box No 3

Balinarendracarita	Kumārapālacarita

1 This list is printed in the original Report as its Appendix IA (pp 161 206) [N B U]

Box No 5

Kalpalatā

Box No 6

Śataslokıtıkā
Pṛthvısuddhı
Nyāyavatāratıppanıkā
Nyāyasūtra

Box No 7

Mugdhamedhākaıı alamkāra vṛttı
Śūktāvalī
Pāndavı gītā
Rāmacaṇdrakāvya
Muktāvalı
Pramānamañjarı

Box No 10

Bṛhatpañcākhyāna
Pañcākhyāna
Nandopakhyāna
Nyāyamakaranda
Jaınatarkabhāṣā by Jasa vıjaya
Hāsasmrtıpurāna

Box No 11

Bṛhadratnakaravṛttı
Rāghavanātıka (ā)—tīkā
Hemaprākṛtadhundhı
Kīrtısoḍasapāda
Prākṛtaprakrıyāvṛttı
Nyāyavṛttı

Box No 12

Harıvıkramacarıta
Veda
Kumārapālacarıta
Vıbhātavıbhāvanā, Nışadha tīkā
Kālıdāsakrtakāvya

Box No 13

Puñjarājaṭıkā
Dānapradīpa

Box No 14

Nyāyārthamañjūṣā
Prākṛtaprabodha
Nyāyavṛttı

Box No. 15

Kālidāsakṛtagranthāḥ

Box No. 16

Kumārapālacaritra	Tarkavṛtti

Box No. 17

Hitopadeśavṛtti

Box No. 20

Vastupāla Tejapālacaritra	Devarājaprabandhaḥ
Dṛṣṭāntaratnākara	Kīrtikaumudī
Brahmadattakathā	

Box No. 29

Vijayaprasastī	Rājamatiprabodha

Box No. 32

Kāvyaprakāśaṭīkā	Harivikramacaritra
Mahāvidyāvidambana	Śaśidhaiśanyāya
Raghuṭīkā	Prabandhacintāmaṇi

Box No. 33

Saddarśanavṛtti	Kāvyakāmadhenu
Vṛttaratnākarakāvya	

Box No. 35

Mahābhāṣya

Box No. 36

Cānakya	Candraśenanṛpakathā(?)—prabandha
Kumārapālapratibodha	
Ratnāvalīṭīka	Vastupāla Tejapālaprabandha
Dūtāṅgadanaṭaka	Dharmaśarmakāvya

Box No. 37

Sanatkumāragīta

Box No 38

Vastupālacarita
Jñānavidyākavya
Kumārapalacarita

Box No 40

Ārambhasiddhivṛttikāvya
Bhūgolasāstra
Therāvalı
Ratnamālāyam Anekārthakosa
Kumudacandranataka
Prāsadavidhıprakarana

Box No 42

Śrutāyurveda

Box No 43

Rıvanasamvadı
Nıgodavicāra
Gırnāracaıtyapravādı
Kumāravihārasataka
Mīhesvaravāda
Bhāsyacurnı
Harıvikramacarıtra

Box No 44

Mohapatıajoharanavıcāra
Laghusatapadı
Samayasarapaıamagamanātaka
Gurvāvalı

Box No 45

Asokacarıta
Kumārapalacarıta

Box No 47

Prabandhacıntāmanı

Box No 48

Kumārapālacarıta

Box No 49

Rāghavanātıka (a)
Karpūramañjarıtıkā
Desıkosanāmārtha
Hemavıbhrama

Box No 51

Andhrakumāıavıvāha
Sukrtasamkırtana

Box No 65

Vıjayaprasastı

But the examination of so many Manuscripts would have taken many more days than we were able to devote to it and we had to give up the task after having inspected a few These are as follows —

1 Pramānamañjarī (boxes Nos 7 and 44) folios 9 lines 15, letters 60 in a line a treatise on the Vaisesika system by Tarkika Sarvadevasūri There is a commentary on this by Balabhadramisra

2 Vyutpattidipikā or Prākṛitaprakriyāvṛitti (box No 11) folios 138 lines 15 letters 55 This is a commentary by Udaya saubhāgyagani pupil of Subhāgyasāgarasūri of the Tapā gaccha on Hemacandra's Prākrit Grammar which forms the eighth chapter of his Sabdānusāsana Verses from original works are given to illustrate Hemacandra's rules and the verses quoted by Hemacandra—especially in the section on the Apabhramsa dialect—are explained I have since been able to procure a copy of this work for our Collection It will be noticed in next year's Report

3 Rajmatiprabodha (box No 29), folios 5, lines 17 letters 58 This is a drama in five acts by Yasascandra The hero is Nemi

4 Vijayaprasasti (box No 29), folios 279, lines 13 letters 40 This is a poem on Vijayasena, the successor of Hīravijaya the 58th high priest of the Tapāgaccha according to Dr Klatt but 60th according to a Gurvāvalī to be presently noticed It was composed along with a commentary in Samvat 1688 by Gunavijayagani

5 Kirtikaumudi (box No 30), folios 11, lines 19, letters 61, author, Gūrjaresvarapurohita Somesvara This Manuscript was written in Samvat, 1507 and would, Professor Kathavate tells me, have been of great use to him for his edition of the work if he had got it earlier The Manuscripts he possessed did not give

satisfactory readings in a good many places and he was in search of a fresh one but was not then able to procure it

6 Mahābhāṣya (box No 35) This is an incomplete copy of Patañjali's work with the commentary of Kaiyata It was transcribed in Samvat 1543

7 Gurvāvali (box No 44) folios 10 lines 18 letters 58 The Manuscript contains 20 Gāthās with a full commentary It begins with Sudharmasvāmin and ends with Hiravijayasūri the 60th successor Hīravijaya is mentioned as having died in Samvat 1622 on the 12th of Vaisākha Sudi at Vatapalli According to Dr Klatt he was the 58th successor and died at Umnānagari on the 11th of Bhādra Sudi 1652

8 Laghusatapadi (box No 44) folios 24, lines 17 letters 53 This is a work by Merutunga and contains at the end a history of the Vatagaccha The date of Jayasimha of the Cālukya dynasty of Pītan is given as 1169 Samvat

9 Śesasamgraha (box No 44) folios 4 lines 17, letters 48 This is a supplement by Hemacandra to his Abhidhānacintā mani

(II) LIBRARY IN THE BHĀBHĀNOPĀDO

We next spent a day in examining the Bhāndāra in the Bhabhā nopādo The paper Manuscripts are stowed in 27 boxes or Dābdās and there is one Manuscript written on Tāla leaves The following came under our inspection —

1 An incomplete copy of the Abhilasitārthacintāmani by Someśvara, a king of the Deccan Calukya dynasty

2 A commentary by Madhavasarasvati on Śivāditya's Saptapadārthi From a stanza at the end it appears that Mādhavasarasvati was a native of the country of Gorāstra in the South in which is situated Gokarna Mahābalesa The country referred to is thus a portion of North Kanara There is a copy

of this commentary in my Collection for 1879-80 but this verse does not occur at the end

3 Another commentary on the Saptapadārthī by Bhāva vidyeśvara folios 13 lines 13 letters 17

KĀVYAKALPALATĀ AND AMARACANDRA

4 Kāvyakalpalatāvṛtti folios 57 lines 17-20 letters 64 total quantity 3 357 Anustubhs The original work called the Kāvyakalpalatikā was composed in part by Arisimha and completed by Amaracandra who also wrote the Vṛtti or commentary Amaracandra was a pupil of Jinadatta of the Vāyaḍa gaccha who must be the same person as the author of the Vivekavilās to be noticed hereafter He lived as will be shown about the middle of the 13th century Madhava mentions both him and his work in his account of the Bauddha and Jaina systems in the Sarvadarsanasamgraha Arisimha was the author of a poem called Sukṛtasamkīrtana and Amaracandra wrote besides the present work the Chandoratnāvali the Kalākalāpa and the Bālabhārata They were fellow students and lived according to the account given by Rājasekhara in the Prabandhakośa in the time of Visaladeva before he got possession of the throne at Patan, i e, about the middle of the 13th century Copies of the Kāvyakalpalatāvṛtti are by no means rare and there is one in my last year's Collection while in this year's we have a Manuscript of the original The copy in this Bhandara has the date 1455 of Vikrama corresponding to 1399 A D which must be the date when the Manuscript was written

5 Kumārapālacarita folios 136 lines 16 letters 49 The author's name is Jayasimha In the first part the genealogy of Mularāja the founder of the Calukya line of Patan is given The work was composed in 1422 of Vikrama

6 Sammatitarkatikā, folios 502 lines 15 total quantity 25,000 Anustubhs The author of the original is Siddhasena Divākara and of the commentary Abhayadeva

7 Nyāyabhūsaṇa folios 252 The author's name does not appear Umāpati is adored in the opening stanza

8 Nyāyakandalitikā by Śridhara folios 124 lines 15 letters 60 The opening stanzas and the Prasasti at the end have been given by Dr Buhler under No 384 Kasmir Report The readings however in this Manuscript are in several cases better than those given by Dr Buhler

9 Āptamimāmsalamkāra This appears to be the Digambara work of that name

10 Complete copies of Vallabha's and Cāritravardhana's commentaries on the Raghuvamsa

11 A commentary on the Raghuvamsa by Dharmameru folios 136 comes down to the end of Canto XVII the first leaf missing Another copy of the same to the end of Canto III

(III) RĀJAVIJAYA DAYĀVIJAYA'S LIBRARY

Among the Manuscripts shown us by Rajavijaya Dayāvijaya there was a copy of Jayasimhasuri's Kumārapalacarita the same work as that noticed above and an abridgement of Haribhadra's Samaraditycacaritra by Pradyumnacārya

(IV) COLLECTION IN THE SAMGHAVĪNOPĀDO

We devoted a day to the examination of the Bhandāra in the Samghavinopādo All the Manuscripts are written on Tala leaves and some of them (such as those of the old works in illustration of the Nyāyasutra of Gautama and of Vātsyāyana's Bhāsya) are very valuable They are however not well arranged and it was with difficulty that any desired Manuscript could be found Dr Buhler had prepared a catalogue of the Collection and on comparing some of the entries with the corresponding Manuscripts we found them to be correct so that we did not deem it necessary

to pursue the examination further especially as the time at our command was short

(V) SECOND LIBRARY IN THE POPHLIYĀNOPĀDO

From the list of the second Bhandara in the Pophliyanopado put into our hands it appears that it is made up of several collections belonging to different individuals and the list gives us an insight into the manner in which these Jaina Bhandaras have grown up On entering the room there is to the left a large box which contains 17 smaller ones or Dabdas in twelve of which the Manuscripts belonging to Śāntidāsa Devakaraṇa are kept The list of these was made out in Samvat 1853 Of the rest Dabdas 13 and 14 contain Manuscripts belonging to or presented by another individual the statement about whom occurring in the list is not intelligible, and the list was compiled in Samvat 1836 The Manuscripts in Dābdās 15and 16 belonged to Gaṇavijaya gaṇi pupil of Labhavijayagaṇi and their list was made out in Samvat 1751 (?) Those in the last or seventeenth Dabda seem to have been owned by another person Besides these there are 19 Manuscripts written on Tāla leaves in the same large box and four more written apparently on paper Then there is a smaller box which contains the collection belonging to Satyavijaya my asa stowed in fourteen Dābdās The list was prepared in 1853 Samvat In another box we have nine Dabdas containing the Manuscripts belonging to —? Vijeji the list of which was made out in 1853 Samvat The contents of the tenth Dabda seem to have originally belonged to another person who kept them here in Samvat 1860 while Dabdas 11 and 12 contain the Manuscripts presented to the Bhandara by Dipachand Hemachand in Samvat 1861 There is another Dābda in which are stowed the Manuscripts left in the Bhandara by Śrīpūjya Jinendrasuri There is another large box in which there are two Dabdas containing the Manuscripts deposited in the house of Śāntidāsa Devakaraṇa by Mohana Vijaya in Samvat 1853 with a list

COLLECTIONS OF BRĀHMANIC WORKS

Three Collections of Brāhmanic works were also brought to my notice in Pātan The owner of one of them is Jasvantrai Gopalrai who belongs to the Ramānuja sect As might be expected his Collection contains copies of many valuable works of the Ramānuja school I notice the following in the list he was good enough to furnish me with —

1 Vedāntasutrabhasya or Śribhaṣya with the Śrutaprakasikā

2 Do do without do Granthasamkhyā 9 600

3 Vedāntadipa an abridgement of the above Gr s 3,000

4 Vedantasāra a brief commentary on the Vedāntasutra Gr s 1,700

5 Prapannāmrta or Life of Rāmānuja, Gr s 5 440

6 Divyasūriprabhāva, or Lives of the principal Ācāryas of the Sect Gr s 1,200

7 Bhāsyas on the principal Upanisads, according to Rāmānuja s system

8 The following Samhitās from the Nārada Pañcarātra
   (*a*) Laksmi Samhitā Gr s 3 350
   (*b*) Jñānamrtasāra Samhitā Gr s 1 450
   (*c*) Paramāgamacūdāmani Samhitā Gr s 12,500
   (*d*) Pauṣkara Samhitā Gr s 6,350
   (*e*) Padma Samhitā, Gr s 9 000
   (*f*) Viddhabrahma Samhitā, Gr s 4 533

9 Guruparamparā from Rangācārya to Laksminārāyana

10 Guruparamparā of the Ramānuja sect

11 A good Collection of Smrtis &c

The owner of the second Collection is Manisamkara Krpāsamkara from whom I received but an incomplete list He is a follower of Śamkarācāryā's school and as such possesses the most im

portant works of that system In his list is mentioned a commentary by Gaudapāda on the Bṛhadāraṇyaka If the entry is correct it is a rarity

The owner of the third Collection is Tirumalai Ānandāl from whom, however no list could be procured

KAVIRAHASYA, AND THE HERO OF THE POEM—KRSNA OF THE RĀSTRAKŪTA FAMILY

At Patan we came across a copy of the Kavirahasya or Kavigṛhya by Halayudha It is well known that the hero of this grammatical poem is a king of the name of Krsna who is represented as the paramount sovereign of Dakṣinapatha or Southern India Professor Westergaard identified this Krsna with the Kṛṣṇarāya of the Vijayanagara dynasty who reigned in the first half of the sixteenth century and this identification seems to have been accepted by Professor Aufrecht But the copy of the Kavirahasya I found at Pātan contains a verse in which the hero Krsna is spoken of as having sprung from the Rāṣṭrakūṭa race' (Rāstrakutakulodbhavam) In another he is called the ornament of the Lunar race' (Somavamsavibhusana) and we know from the Khārepātan plates that the Rāṣṭrakūṭas who ruled over the Deccan were considered to have belonged to the family of Yadu which was an offshoot of the Lunar race The Krsna of the Kavirahasya, therefore must have been one of the three Krsnas of the Rāstrakuta line who were sovereign lords of the Deccan The first of them reigned about 775 A D, the second was on the throne in 911 A D and the third in 956 A D Halayudha therefore must have lived at a time when the memory of one of these three Krsnas was still fresh, that is between the beginning of the ninth to about the end of the tenth century

And the comparatively high antiquity of Halayudha is indicated by the circumstance that the text of the Kavirahasya prevailing in one part of the country differs widely from that in use in another I have since obtained a Manuscript of the work

in the Maratha Country and find on comparison that its text shows as considerable divergences from that of the Patan copy if not more as the Nagari rescension of Kalidāsa's Śakuntalā from the Gaudi Such divergences are not found in Manuscripts of a work written only three hundred years ago and I am inclined on account of this circumstance to identify Halayudha's Krsna with the first Rastrakūta prince of that name and to refer our author to the beginning of the ninth century I must however not omit to mention that the Maratha copy of the Kavirahasya omits the expression Rastrakutakulodbhavam ' and reads the whole verse very differently Similarly instead of Somavamsavibhusnah ' we have in that copy Para lokanugrahayah (yi) ' But these must be regarded as later corruptions For if the names of Rastrakuta family and the Soma race did not exist in the text as Halayudha wrote it nobody could have afterwards added them Corruption must proceed from what is particular to what is general or from one generality to another but not from what is general to what is particular There can be nothing to lead a later reader or writer to introduce such a particular name as Rāstrakuta

Probably our Halayudha was the same as the author of the Abhidhānaratnamala For in the first place the two works are on kindered subjects and in the next Halayudha the author of the Kavirahaysa, is in the last verse of the Maratha copy called Sadabhidhanidhana " or the store of good names ' And he must be supposed to be spoken of thus in two senses first in the sense of his name being a good name, and secondly, in so far as he compiled a thesaurus and probably by the word Sadabhidhanas good names " the Abhidhānaratnas or ' gems in the shape of names " of which we have a necklace in the Abhidhanaratnamalā are referred to In the third place a connection has been established between both the works and Kavis or poets The necklace of gems in the shape of names " was we are told in the second verse

prepared for adorning the neck of a Kavi (Kavikanthabhūsanārtham) and the second work is 'the secret [that leads to the success] of a Kavi'

A MUTILATED MANUSCRIPT OF A HISTORICAL WORK

An old and mutilated Manuscript of a curious work written in broken Sanskrit and at the end in Gujarati also came to my notice As the owner would not part with it I got a transcript made I had no opportunity of comparing the transcript with the original, and probably the mistakes of the original have been added to by my copyist The fragment does not contain the beginning and the work has no chapters At first we have the story of Jamadagni and Sahasrarjuna, and then the foundation of a town of the name of Puṣpamati is mentioned The building of another town of the name of Ratnamati with a river serving as its moat in the front and a fortress behind is likewise mentioned and we are then carried to Pattana There somebody is represented to have expatiated on the strength of Devagiri and its seven fortresses before Siddharaja, who thereupon led an expedition against the place From Devagiri Siddharaja proceeded to Paithana which submitted to him and there he is represented to have induced certain families called Vrajas or Viravamsajas, who appear to have been silk weavers to go with him to his capital Anahilapaṭṭana and settle there The glories of the city and its previous history were recounted to the Vrajas and this is what is stated —

DATES OF THE CAPOTKAṬA PRINCES

1 Pattana was founded by Vanarāja who reigned for sixty years, up to 862 of the Vikrama Era, or 806 A D He was succeeded by

2 Yogarāja who was on the throne up to 897 Vikrama or 841 A D After him reigned

3 Ksemarāja for 25 years up to 922 Vikrama or 866 A D Then came to the throne

4 Vairisimha and Bhuyada who reigned for 29 years i e up to 951 Vikrama or 895 A D But the year of Vikrama is not given He conquered Dvārāvati and the whole country to the west down to the sea coast He was succeeded by

5 Virasimha who was on the throne for 25 years i e up to 976 Vikrama or 920 A D though the year is not given and we have instead 951 Vikrama which must be the year of his accession Then followed

6 Ratnāditya who reigned for 15 years i e up to 991 Vikrama or 935 A D But this year is not given, and we have instead of it 976 Vikrama which as in the last case, must be the year of the king's accession After him reigned

7 Sīmantasimha for seven years up to 998 Vikrama or 942 A D

This was the last prince of the Cāpotkata line, and the sovereignty of Gujarath fell into the hands of Mularāja, the son of Sāmanta s sister who founded the Calukya dynasty

DATES OF THE CĀLUKYAS

1 Mūlaraja reigned for 55 years, up to 1053 Vikrama and was succeeded by

2 Chāmunda who was on the throne for 13 years till the year 1066 of Vikrama Then followed

3 Vallarāja who reigned for six months Vallaraja is the same as Vallabharaja His successor is represented to have reigned for eleven years and six months up to the Vikrama year 1078 (1022 A D) but his name is not given He was Durlabha as we know after whom came

4 Bhima The date of his ceasing to reign is not given Bhima was succeeded by

5 Karna No date occurs even here Karna was followed by

6 Siddharāja A date is given here but two or three letters have dropped away Still it appears to be 1150 Vikrama corresponding to 1094 A D Siddharāja conquered many countries and acquired immense wealth Thirty five crores of Indian of gold were brought and placed before him and Siddharāja asked his ministers what to do with this wealth They advised him to construct a tank in the city The King then sent for an engineer and ordered him to build a tank with a fortress and a thousand temples of Siva on the margin and one temple in the centre The work was completed in five years

After this whole account had been given to the Virajas they agreed to go to Pattana and did accordingly A great deal of wealth was given to them and a site for building houses was granted in the north eastern part of the city After they settled in Pattana silk manufacture began to flourish in the town But the Virajas, being foreigners could not get wives there and they carried their complaint before Siddharāja It was ascertained that they belonged to the Kshatriya caste While Parasurāma was carrying on his work of the destruction of the Kṣatriyas some members of that caste gave up their trade of war in fear and became weavers and from them these Virajas derived their descent Intermarriages appear then to have been arranged between the new settlers and some of the Kshatriya tribes in Gujarath and thus in time the Virajas came to have 84 distinct families The names of these are then given in the Manuscript and thus the main story ends

7 Siddharāja is then spoken of as having been succeeded by Kumārapāla whose mother Ratnasenī was, it is stated the sister of Siddharāja He reigned for 31 years and introduced the Jaina religion which is "the path of universal love" His reign lasted, it is said, till 1199 Vikrama but that must be the year of his accession Then we have a mere list of the kings

that followed with the dates of their accession But the first line in which Mula the younger is spoken of as having come to the throne in Samvat 1230 must have crept in through some mistake for in the third line that same prince is represented as having got possession of the throne in Samvat 1233 and in the second Ajayapāla is stated as having begun to reign in Samvat 1230 The first line being then struck out the list is as follows —

8 In Samvat 1230 (1174 A D) Ajayapala succeeded and reigned for 3 years

9 In Samvat 1233 (1177 A D) Mula the younger succeeded and reigned for 2 years

10 In Samvat 1235 (1179 A D) Bhima the younger succeeded and reigned for 63 years

11 In Samvat 1298 (1242 A D) Tihunapāla (Tribhuvana pāla) succeeded and reigned for 4 years

Thus there were 11 princes of the Calukya line, and they reigned for———years " The total number of years is given as 3,400 but there is evidently a slip here 304 must have been meant

THE VĀGHELAS

1 In Samvat 1302 (1246 A D) Visaladeva succeeded and reigned for 18 years

2 In Samvat 1320[1] (1264 A D) Arjunadeva succeeded and reigned for 13 years

3 In Samvat 1333 (1277 A D) Sarangadeva[2] succeeded and reigned for 20 years

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1 This date is not given in the Manuscript The figure 10 occurs in the place of the date and this is certainly a mistake either of my copyist or of that of the original from which my transcript was prepared But the date is got by adding 18 to 1302

2 Ind Ant, Vol VI, p 190

4 In Samvat 1353 (1297 A D) Karna the younger succeeded and reigned for 7 years

Thus for 58 years the Vāghelī family was in possession of the sovereignty Then Suratrāna (Sultān) Alla ud dīn's army came from Delhi and the Hindus lost their kingdom The Turkas came

The names and dates of the kings of Gujarāth here given agree with those mentioned by the chroniclers Merutunga and others There are a few inaccuracies as we have seen, but these are rather to be attributed to the bad condition of the Manuscript than to the author's imperfect information The name of Tribunapāla or Tribhuvanapāla which is omitted by the chroniclers but which occurs in a grant dated 1299 Vikrama translated by Dr Buhler is, we see given by our author But the duration of his reign was unknown before and Dr Buhler simply inferred it was very short Here we see it distinctly stated that he reigned for four years Our author states the number of the Calukya princes to have been 11, from which it appears that in common with some other writers he includes the six months' reign of Vallabha in that of his brother Durlabha

The accession of Vīsaladeva to the throne of Pātan is placed in the Vikrama year 1302, while in the Vicārasreni it is represented to have taken place in 1300 The Vicārasreni and our author agree as regards the duration of the reigns of Visala deva Arjunadeva, and Karna the younger, and as regards the date of the extinction of the Vaghela line which took place in 1360 of Vikrama But a reign of 22 years has been assigned to the third prince Sarangadeva in that work and of 20 years by our author Hence it is that the author of the Vicārasreni has pushed Vīsala's accession two years backwards, and thus according to him the dynasty was in power for 60 years while our author expressly states that it lasted for 58 years The statement of our author is correct and the Vicārasreni is wrong

for the dates given by him agree with those given by Dharma sāgara in the Pravacanaparīkṣā as will be hereafter seen

WORTH OF THE VICĀRASRENI

The Vicārasreni appears to me to be a curious composition It places the foundation of Patan in 821 Samvat instead of 802 the accession of Mularāja in 1017 Samvat instead of 998 omits the reign of Camunda, assigns fourteeen years to Vallabharāja instead of six months represents Visaladeva to be a brother of Viradhavala instead of a son and contains several other mistakes It is therefore not entitled to our confidence at all, though Dr Buhler follows it in giving the dates of the Vaghelā princes

The list in our Manuscript then goes on thus —

MUSSULMAN SOVEREIGNS OF GUJARATH

Samvat 1393 (1337 A D) Udekhāmi reigned for 25 years

Do 1418 (1362 A D) Suratrāna Mudapar reigned for 18 years

Do 1436 (1380 A D) Suratrāna Ahimud, reigned for 32 years, 7 months, and 7 days Founded Ahimudābād

Do 1468 (1412 A D) Suratrāna Kutabadin, reigned for 10 years 5 months and 6 days

Do 1479 (1423 A D) Suratrāna Dāudasāh reigned for 36 years

Do 1515 (1459 A D) Māgha Śudi 12th, Patasāh Mahimud

Do 1568 (1512 A D) Margasirṣa Śudi 4 Suratrāna Madafa (r)

Do 1582 (1526 A D) Suratrāna Śakandar reigned for 8 days

Do 1582 (1526 A D) Jyestha Vadi 5, Thursday Pātasāh Mahimud, reigned for 1 month and 10 days

Do 1582 (1526 A D) Śrāvana Śudi 2, Pātasāh Bāhādār, reigned for 10 years

He conquered a large portion of the country Then came Patasah Humau who was a Mugal He stayed for 8 months in Gujarath Then came Bīhīdar He died in the sea

Samvat 1593 (1537 A D) Pātasāh Mahimud reigned for 17 years He was killed by the murderer Bahadur (By mistake this date is put down as 1583)

Samvat 1610 (1554 A D) Pātasāh Mahimud reigned for 10 years This date is put down as 1600

THE MOGHULS OF DELHI

Samvat 1617 (1561 A D), Vaisākha Sudi 6 Pātasāh Mudafu The kingdom lost the country destroyed Then came Akbar the son of Humau in 1628 (1572 A D), and having established his power in Gujarath went back to Delhi

If the date 1583 in the case of the last Sultān but two and 1600 in the case of the last but one had really been meant by the author he would have given 1610 for the last instead of 1617 The first therefore must be 1593, the second 1610, and the duration of the reign in the second case 7 instead of 10 In this way only does the last date come out right

Then Akbar came back on the 2nd of Mārgasīrsa Sudi (There is a lacuna in the place of the date)

Samvat 1682 (1626 A D), Magha Śudi 5 Pātasāh Jahangir, reigned for 21 years

(Lacuna) Sudi 7, Śāh Jhām (Jehan) reigned for 31 years

Samvat 1714 (1658) (lacuna), Pātasāh Auraṅgjīb

The first of these Mahomedan princes is not mentioned in Forbes' Rāsamala or Prinsep's Table, and Mahammadshah, the third according to these is not mentioned by our author The dates also of Muzafar and his three successors given above do not agree with those given in the two works From Mahamud

Begarra however who began to reign in 1459 the dates and the names agree But in Prinsep s Table Mahammad Faruki of Malwa is brought in two years after Bahadur's accession He is omitted by our author Bahadur s corpse having been found in the sea is confirmed by our author s statement that he died in the sea The prince who came to the throne in 1554 A D is Ahmadshah in Princep s Table while he is called Mahammad in our Manuscript The date Samvat 1682 or 1626 A D is the date of Shah Jehan's accession put in the line above by a mistake of the scribe while he has left a lacuna against the name of that emperor The date of Aurangzeb and the duration of the reigns of his two predecessors are given correctly by our author [1]

A PATTAVALĪ WITH A LIST OF DATES OF IMPORTANT EVENTS

I also came across a slip of paper on which the Pattāvali or Succession list of the High priests of one of the Gacchas or sects of the Śvetambara Jainas is given along with dates in a few cases The slip is probably three hundred years old and the Pattāvali appears to be that of the Vata Gaccha Below the Pattāvali is a list of important events together with their dates I quote some of the important dates —

Vikrama Samvat 1084 Kharataragaccha

Samvat 1159 Pūrnimāpakṣa

Samvat 1159 the establishment of Añcalagaccha, a branch of the Cardragaccha

Samvat 1285, doctrine of the Tapāgaccha establishment of the Gaccha through Vastupāla

Samvat 1532, the doctrine about the disuse of images

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1 Extracts from this Historical Work in Broken Sanskrit are given at pp 314-319 of the Original Report under Appendix III L [N B U]

Vikrama 585 Haribhadrasūri son of Yākini

Vikrama 800 birth of Bappabhattisuri 895 went to heaven converted Āmarāja

Vikrama 802 Pattana founded by Vanarāja An image of Pañcāsara Parsvanatha was placed in the Rayavihara

Vikrama 1096 84 Ācāryas were consecrated under a Pipyala (vata) tree

Vikrama 1088 construction of Vimalavasati (Vimala's temple) and the placing of a brass image of Ādinatha

Vikrama 1166 Hemacārya raised to the dignity of Sūri

Vikrama 1199 reign of Kumarapala

Vikrama 1198, Rudramālā erected by Jayasimha

Vikrama 1288, Vastupāla placed an image of Kasoti in the temple of Lunīga on Mount Abu

Vikrama 1298, death of Vastupāla, and 14 years afterwards, death of Tejahpālā

Vikrama 1302 temple of Satrumjaya by Candadeva of the Śrīmala caste

Vikrama 1315, three years' famine Vīsaladeva being king

Vikrama 1441 rise of Merutungasuri

YASOVARMAN, BHAVABHŪTI ĀMA AND VĀKAPTI

We learn from Rajasekhara's Prabandhakosa that the Āmarāja converted by Bappabhatti was the son and successor of Yasovarman king of Kanoj A king of the name of Dharma who was a hereditary enemy of Āma ruled over the Gauda country at that time, and Lakṣanāvatī was his capital He had Vākpatirāja a poet, in his service, who composed a Prakrit poem entitled Gauḍavadha or Godavaho after his patron had been killed by a neighbouring prince of the name of

Yaśodharma It would thus appear that Vākpatirāja belonged to the next generation after Yaśovarman and I have given reasons in the introduction to my edition of Mālatīmādhava to believe that he belonged to the next generation after Bhavabhūti also The Rājatarangiṇī speaks of both the poets as having been patronized by Yaśovarman wherefore it must be concluded that Vākpatirāja first came into prominence in the latter part of his reign while Bhavabhūti belonged to the first part Rājaśekhara gives 807 Vikrama as the date of Bappabhaṭṭi's initiation as a Jaina monk and 811 Vikrama as the date of his being raised to the dignity of a Sūri These dates are hardly consistent with the date of his birth given above and generally accepted by the Jainas But this latter seems to have been arrived at by an inference from the statement that when Bappabhaṭṭi was first seen by his Guru Siddhasena he was only six years old and was soon initiated and it is not given by Rājaśekhara at all It must therefore be pushed backwards Similarly the date of his death must be considered as very doubtful

Bappabhaṭṭi met Āma for the first time soon after his initiation while the latter was living as a voluntary exile in Gujarath being displeased with the treatment he had received from his father, and was made a Sūri at the request of Āma after he had succeeded to the throne on his father's death Yaśovarman thus died between 807 and 811 of the era of Vikrama i e about the year 753 A D Lalitāditya of Kashmir who subdued Yaśovarman reigned from 693 to 729 A D, according to the chronology of Rājatarangiṇī as interpreted by General Cunningham by the use of the key furnished by Kalhana himself viz that Śaka 1070 corresponded with the Kashmir year 24 The date of Yasovarman's death now determined agrees well enough with this at least it does not furnish any reason for supposing an error in Kalhana's dates and applying

a correction to them as General Cunningham afterwards did though even the corrected date of Jaitrādityā (760 A.D.) would be equally consistent with it. And Jayabhaṭṭi must be referred to the last quarter of the seventh century and the first of the eighth.

Before proceeding I must here give expression to my deep sense of obligation to Mr. Pamchandra Dhondiā Vaidya the Subordinate Judge of Patan without whose assistance we should have been able to do nothing. The good man has since died and cannot now receive my thanks. But I feel it to be a duty to place on record the valuable services rendered by him to the cause of Oriental Research.

AHMEDABAD

We left Patan and returned to Ahmedabad. I could make only two days stay there but with the assistance of Professor Kathavate and an old pupil Mr. Subhāṣa Maṇibhāṣa Hathisiṅg I was able to make good use of the short time at my disposal.

LIBRARIES AT AHMEDABAD

The principal Jaina Bhaṇḍāras at Ahmedabad are the following —

1. Bhāṇḍāra of Dehalāno Upāsrayā
2. Bhaṇḍāra of Dayā Vimalā
3. Lohvarni polanum Bhaṇḍāra
4. Mulchandji's Bhāṇḍāra
5. Jaysiṅg Hathesiṅg's
6. Premābhāṣa Hemābhāṣa's

A PORTION OF THE LIBRARY IN THE DEHALANO UPĀSRAYA

The first Bhāṇḍāra has now been divided into three parts, one of them being deposited in the Upāsrayā, another in Hamsanāthji's temple belonging to Umābhāṣa Hāthesiṅg, and

the third being in the charge of a private individual The second we were able to see The list was placed in our hands and I took a copy of it[1] The Bhandara contains 53 Dabdas and on examination we found that the entries in the list and the contents of the Dabdas agreed Sometimes however there were two Dabdās with the same number and this appeared to us to be due to some confusion that must have taken place on the occasion of the distribution of the original Bhandāra As at Patan we went over the list and selected certain Manuscripts for examination Though the examination was short it yielded not unimportant results The following Manuscripts were seen by us —

1 Rūpamañjarināmamālā (box 31), fols 7, ll 12 vv 120 a thesaurus by Rupacandra the son of Gopāla composed in the reign of Akbar in 1644 Samvat or 1588 A D

2 Anaighyarāghavatippanaka (box 31), fols 36 ll 21 letters 50 commentary on Murāri's Anaighyarāghava by Naracandra suri pupil of Malladhārin seven acts MS transcribed in 1434 Samvat The date of this Manuscript shows that the commentary itself was composed before the end of the fourteenth century The original therefore must be considerably older It will hereafter be shown that Murari flourished before the thirteenth century

3 Srutasabdārtha mahamiyasamuccayah (box 47) fols 32 ll 17 Gra s 1208 composed by Somesvara pupil of Yogesvaracarya

4 Mugdhabodha (box 47) fols 18 ll 19 letters 54 A thesaurus composed in 1450 Samvat Date of MS Samvat 1517

5 Nalodaya (box 47) This is usually attributed to Kalidasa but in this Manuscript the name of the author is given

1 Not printed here It forms Appendix IB to the Original Report, pp 206 265 [N B U]

is Ravideva's son of Narayana. There are one or two Mānu scripts in our Collection in which also the same name occurs.

6 Bhāvadyotanikā (boxes 47, 49 and 59). A commentary on the Naisadhacarita by Śeṣa Rāma, pupil of Śeṣa Narayana; cantos 1, 13, 15, 17, 18, 20, 22.

7 Vidvadbhūsana by Balakrsna with a commentary entitled Manjubhāsini by Madhusudana (box 17), fols. 38, ll. 19, the original 68 vv., total Grs. 2332, Samv. 1740. There is a copy of it in this year's Collection.

8 Karikāṭikā by Upadhyaya Sucarita (box 19), fols. 109, ll. 12, letters 43. This is a commentary on the Ślokavārtika of Kumārilabhatta, and the Pratika Visuddheti is the first word of the first Kārikā. But of this more hereafter.

9 Nyāyasara (box 49), fols. 11, ll. 12, letters 51, three Paricchedas by Bhāsarvajña. It follows the system of Gautama. Manuscript written at Devagiri by Ānandaviśvanātha in Samvat 1505.

10 Kumarapalapratibandha (box 49), fols. 58, by Jinamandra nasuri. Composed in Samvat 1492.

11 Prabandhakośa by Jayasekhara, which must be a work of the same nature as Rājaśekhara's Prabandhakośa or Merutunga's Prabandhacintāmani.

12 Śiśuhitaisini, a commentary on the Kumārasambhava by Vyāsavatsa (box 52), fols. 63, ll. 13, comes down to the end of the eighth canto.

13 A Manuscript of the Prakrit anthology with a Chāyā or Sanskrit translation and a few notes also came to my notice. There are two copies of the work in our Collections also. It is called Prakrit Padyalaya, which title is in several places transcribed as Vidyalaya. Vajjā (Padyā) is explained by the author as Paddhati, and a collection of Gāthā or Gāthāh on the

same subject is called Vajjalaya written often as Vajjalagga The author's name is Jayavallabha who was a Svetambara Jaina and that of the author of the Chaya is Ratnadeva The number of Gāthās or verses is 704 and the Granthasamkhyā of the whole work is 3 000 The Collection embraces 48 subjects and these are given in four Gāthās The names of the works from which the 704 Gāthās are collected are unfortunately not given but I observed some verses from the Gaudavadha and some quoted in the Kāvyaprakāsa The Chāyā was composed by Patnadeva in the year 1393, which must be of the Vikrama era though it is not stated at the instance of Dharmacandra pupil of Haribhadrasūri the successor as High priest of the Prithugaccha of Manabhadrasūri

14 We found in this Bhāndāra a large portion of a commentary on the Kavyaprakāsa by Bhānucandra and a complete copy of Jayanta's Kavyaprakāsadipikā In 1875 76 Dr Buhler came across a Manuscript of this last and got a transcript made for our Collection but it is only a fragment I have therefore got the complete Manuscript found at Ahmedabad copied for Government It is besides valuable in consequence of its giving the date of Jayanta and some particulars about him Jayanta calls himself a Purohita and was the son of Bhattavija who was Purohita or family priest to the minister of Sarangadeva sovereign of Gujarath He finished his work on Sunday the 3rd of the dark fortnight of Jyestha in the Samvat year 1350, in the triumphant reign of Sarangadeva, the Mahārājadhirāja while his victorious army was encamped near Āsapalli Jayanta bestows very extravagant praise on his father and tells us that the king of Gujarath threw himself prostrate at his feet Sarangadeva as we have seen was the third of the Vaghela sovereigns who reigned at Patan and was on the throne between Vikrama 1333 and 1353 i e 1277 1297 A D The Manuscript was transcribed in 1475 (Samvat)

A MANUSCRIPT OF THE VIKRAMĀNKADEVACARITA THE SECOND YET DISCOVERED

15 We discovered in box 1 a Manuscript of Vikramānkadevacarita or life of Tribhuvanamalla Vikramāditya of Kalyāna (1076-1127 A.D.) by Bilhaṇa. A copy of this highly valuable historical poem written on Palm leaves was discovered by Dr. Buhler at Jessalmir in Marwar in 1874-75 and his edition of the work is based on that Manuscript. Our Manuscript is a fragment beginning with the second line of stanza 6 of the first canto, and coming down to the end of the seventh canto. But I feel almost sure that if I had had time enough and if the men in charge of the Bhandars had been more patient as regards this our laying hands on their treasures and more confiding, I should have been able to trace the whole work. This Manuscript is in the list put down as Vikramāṅkacarita and there is another with the same title in box 18 and a third called Vikramādityacarita in box 34. One portion of the commentary on the Naiṣadhacarita by Śeṣa Pūrṇa, noticed above, was found in one box and two other portions in two other boxes. It is therefore extremely likely that one or both of the other Manuscripts the titles of which begin with the name of Vikrama contain the remaining part of the Vikramāṅkacarita. There is still another Manuscript entitled Vikramacarita in box 31 but on examination I found it to be a legendary account in prose of Vikrama the celebrated king of Ujjayinī.

I have compared the Manuscript with Dr. Buhler's edition and give its readings in Appendix III (B)[1]. Dr. Buhler's Manuscript was written on Palm leaves and must be older than mine and on the whole it is much better. But there are many cases in which my readings are better, while Dr. Buhler's do not yield any sense or good sense and consequently they must be the correct or original readings.

1 Not here printed. [N. L.]

A POEM ENTITLED SURATHOTSAVA BY SOMESVARADEVA

16 I have also to announce the discovery of a Mahakavya or poem hitherto unknown by Somesvaradeva whose Kirtimukudi has now been before Sanskrit scholars for some years and whose Pūrnasitaka was mentioned by me in my last Report[1] The poem is called Surathotsava and contains fifteen cantos The plot is the same as that of the Saptasati or Devimahatmya contained in the Markandeya Purana At the beginning the poet addresses various deities devoting the first five stanzas to Bhavani or Durga He then renders his obeisance to him who in the temple of his poem placed the image of the fame of Rama ' and to the son of Satyavati as well as to their works the Ramayana and the Mahabharata Then are mentioned with admiration the following poets —

1 Gunadhya the author of the Brihatkathā whose Prakrit composition surpassed the Sanskrit composition of other poets

2 Subandhu

3 Kalidāsa

4 Māgha

5 Murari and others This Murāri must be the author of the Anarghyaraghava a Manuscript of a commentary on which transcribed in Samvat 1434 has been already noticed[2]

CANTO I

The poet then devotes a good many stanzas to such general subjects as poetry good men wicked men &c, and afterwards introduces his hero Suratha to his readers The first canto ends with the mention of his Visvavijaya or conquest of the world

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1 Ante, p 10 [N P U]

2 Ante, p 83 [N B U]

CANTOS II AND III

At the beginning of the second canto Suratha's counsellors are represented to have played into the hands of his enemies who with their assistance vanquished him and deprived him of his kingdom Suratha then betook himself to a forest where he met a Muni or sage to whom he recounted his misfortunes He advised him to have recourse to austere practices (tapas) in order to propitiate Bhavānī and narrated the glorious deeds of that goddess Sumbha and Nisumbha had obtained from Brahmadeva the boon of freedom from death at the hands of any but a woman and through the virtue of that boon they made themselves all powerful and oppressed all creatures The gods thereupon went to Brahmadeva and laid their complaints Brahmadeva explained to them the nature of the boon the Demon (Daitya) had received, and advised the gods to go to Umā or Bhavānī and entreat her to kill Sumbha Thus ends the third canto

CANTOS IV—XI

The gods then went to the Himālaya a description of which in accordance with the orthodox rules of poetry constitutes the fourth canto A description of the seasons all of which came to wait upon the gods in the course of their march follows in the fifth and a description of a moon rise in the sixth The seventh canto opens with a description of a sunrise and then Bhavānī is represented as going out to gather flowers Thence she goes to the Gangā to bathe and as she is returning, the gods see her from a distance and sing her praises They then lay their complaints before her and implore her to kill the Daitya Sumbha She allays their fears and promises to destroy the demon

In the eighth canto, Bhavānī transforms herself into a beautiful maiden and resides on a peak of the Himālaya

The report spreads that a beautiful maiden has appeared on the Himalaya, and reaches the ears of Śumbha He sends a person to propose to her a marriage with himself Bhavani tells the messenger that she has vowed that that man only shall be her husband who will fight with her while she is riding a lion The messenger goes back to Śumbha and informs him of this Śumbha wonders at the woman's oddity and sends a demon of the name of Dhumralocana to induce her to give up what she called her vow and if she remained still obstinate to use force and bring her away Dhumralocana goes to Bhavani and while about to execute his master's commands he is reduced to ashes by the power of the goddess

Then in the ninth canto Śumbha is represented as marching against Umā in person with a large army the fight between them is described in the tenth and the death of Śumbha in the eleventh

CANTOS XII—XIV

Having heard of this glorious deed of Bhavānī from the mouth of the Muni Suratha makes up his mind to propitiate her by the severest austerities These are described in the twelfth canto and in the thirteenth Pārvatī sends a beautiful woman to test his firmness but he is proof against her blandishments and goes on with his religious exercises Then in the fourteenth, Bhavani is pleased and manifests herself to Suratha she pronounces a benediction and promises him supreme sovereignty for a thousand years and the dignity of the eighth Manu after the present or seventh is over in a future life

In the meanwhile such of the counsellors of Suratha as were faithful to him destroyed those who had acted as traitors and sent men in all directions to trace him out One of them reached at last the forest where Suratha had been practising

austerities and gave intelligence of his being there to the counsellors. They then went to the place with a large number of followers and conducted Suratha to his capital where he enjoyed supreme sovereignty in accordance with the promise of Uma.

CANTO XV.

THE HISTORY OF SOMESVARA'S FAMILY.

In the fifteenth canto Somesvara gives the history of his family and his own, and at the end devotes a few verses to the praise of Vastupāla. There is a place called Nāna where reside Brahmans and which is rendered holy by the sacred fires kept by them and the sacrificial rites they perform. The gods themselves seeing the holiness of the place and the prosperity conferred upon it by Siva live there as it were assuming the forms of Brahmans." At that place dwelt a family of the name of Guleva (?) belonging to the Gotra of Vasistha. In that holy family was born Sola, who was created by Mularāja, (the founder of the Calukya dynasty of Patan), his family priest. He performed the Vājapeya sacrifice and attained great influence over the king. His son Lalla was the spiritual adviser of Camunda, and his son Muñja, of Durlabha.

Muñja's son was Soma by whose blessings Bhima became victorious everywhere. Āma the son of Soma, was the family priest of Karna. He performed the seven kinds of Jyotistoma and obtained the title of Samrāt and spent the wealth received from the Calukya prince in building temples of Siva, digging tanks of water and making gifts to Brahmans. When the Calukya prince harassed the territory of the king of Dhārā the priest of the latter conjured up, by means of charms, an evil spirit (Krtyā) for the destruction of his master's enemy. But by countercharms, Āma succeeded in turning

back the evil spirit against the conjuror himself who was instantaneously killed by it

Āma's son was Kumāra and it was in virtue of his good wishes that Siddharāja made the king of Sindhu a captive though he was a man of great prowess cast into prison the ruler of Mālava along with his family and made the proud king of the country of 'a lac and a quarter[1]' bow his head to himself Kumāra performed sacrifices and built tanks His son was Sarvadeva who knew the essence of the laws laid down by Manu He was a worshipper of Visnu performed sacrifices like his predecessors and was too proud to beg money of others After his death his son Āmiga took his place Āmiga had four sons Sarvadeva Kumāra Muñja and Āhada(?) The relation of the elder Sarvadeva and his son Āmiga to the Calukya princes is not stated Probably Kumārapāla the successor of Siddharāja being a Jaina had very little to do with them

But after Kumārapāla's death Sarvadeva the younger, threw his bones according to Brahmanic rites into the Ganges and gratified the Brahmans of Prayāga and Gayā by his gifts Sarvadeva constructed tanks in many places worshipped Śiva every day and was hospitable to all Brahmans

Kumara was offered heaps of jewels by the king the son of Kumārapāla on the occasion of a solar eclipse but he did not accept them He propitiated Siva in the form of Katukesvara and cured the severe wounds received by Ajayapāla in a battle When in consequence of a famine, the people were reduced to mere skeletons he interceded with Mularāja and obtained for them a remission of the assessment on land He was made chief minister by Pratāpamalla who belonged to the Rāṣṭrakūta family and being entrusted

1 The country about the Sambhar lake in Rajaputana was so called

with the charge of the army by the Cālukya prince, achieved victory for his arms by defeating his enemies He fought a battle with the king of Dhārā, who after receiving a wound skin deep left the battle field though puffed up with pride, and Kumāra, destroying a town named Gogasthāna (?) belonging to him, sank a well in the place where his palace stood He plundered the Malava country and took away all its wealth though he did not find gold or silver, and gave gold and silver to Brahmans when he performed a Śraddha at Gayā He defeated an army of the Mlecchas near the Queen's lake, gratified the manes by performing Śraddhas on the bank of the Ganges and brought down rain in rainless districts As a Brahman he performed his sixfold duty and as a soldier, he had recourse to the six modes of dealing with foreign princes his fame reached the three worlds and he always repeated the three sacred words (Bhūr, Bhuvar Svar), he manifested his knowledge of the Sastras[1] in sacrificial matters as well as of the Sastras (weapons) of war and he had the holy Brahmanic thread on his bosom and held the thread of power in his hands

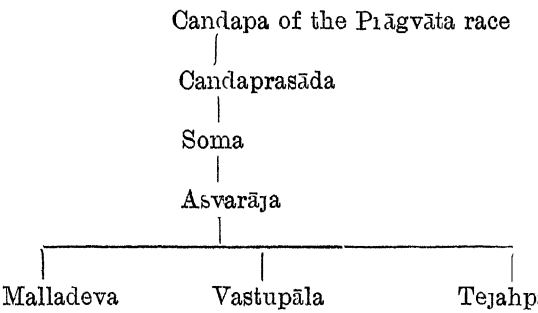
The name of his wife was Laksmī and they had three sons, the eldest of whom was Mahadeva the second Someśvara, and the youngest Vijaya The great poets Harihara, Subhata, and others knowing the great qualities of Someśvara spoke of his poetry in terms of his highest praise By means of a drama composed in an hour and a half and a poem depicting the highest sentiment, he pleased the hearts of the attendants of king Bhīma's court

A PANEGYRIC ON VASTUPĀLA

Then follows a panegyric on Vastupāla, in whom according to the poet 'learning" which after the death of Hemacandra had

1 This and other sacrificial terms are explained in the Section on sacrificial literature [later in this Report]

been without a resting place found an abode, and also the vow of universal benevolence, which after Prahladana left the world had not been assumed by anybody Vastupala s genealogy is thus given —



In an Inscription in a temple on Mount Abu composed by Somesvara Luniga is mentioned as the eldest brother but as he is said to have died young his name is omitted here Prahlādana was a chief of the Paramāra race who ruled over the country about Abu, and was a feudatory of the Calukyas of Anahila pattana Somesvara wrote this poem while Vastupāla was alive

This Manuscript of the Surathotsava was transcribed in Samvat 1495

NOTICES OF MANUSCRIPTS

I will now proceed to notice the Collection of Manuscripts made for Government this year The funds were equally divided between Professor Peterson and myself Rs 3250 fell to my share and about the end of the year I drew Rs 476 more out of the unexpended balance of the allotment for Inscriptions Out of the total of Rs 3 726 Rs 2 265 were paid for the Manuscripts collected in Gujarath Rajaputana, and Delhi, and Rs 930 5 6 for those collected in the Maratha Country The salaries and travelling expenses of the agents and sundries absorbed Rs 530-10 6

The Gujarath and Rajputana Section of the Collection comprises 325 Manuscripts (Nos 1-325), and the Marathi Section 412 (Nos 326-737) In the Gujarath section there are a good many Kashmir Manuscripts purchased at Delhi, most of which are written in the Śāradā character and 26 of works belonging to the Digambara sect of the Jainas The Manuscripts have as usual been arranged in classes according to the subjects

VEDAS INCLUDING UPANIṢADS

In this class there is an incomplete copy of the first part of the Sāmasamhitā and of the Pada text of the second part, as well as a Manuscript of one of the song books in the Gujarath section and copies of the Sāmans sung in connection with various sacrificial rites in the Marathā section

A MANUSCRIPT OF THE KRAMA TEXT OF THE VĀJASANEYA MANTRABHĀGA

This last contains a Manuscript of the Krama text of the Mādhyamdina rescension of the Samhitā of the white Yajurveda as well as of the Pada text (Nos 354 and 355)

Krama, Jatā and Ghana are certain arrangements of the Padas or words of a Mantra the nature of which has been explained by me in an article published in the Indian Antiquary Vol III [pages 132 ff] These schemes or arrangements as well as the Samhitā and Pada texts are learnt by a Brahman who devotes himself to a religious life from the mouth of a Guru or teacher But since Manuscripts are of use to the pupil and they serve to refresh the memory at an advanced age they also are resorted to Every first class Vaidika or reciter of the Vedā must know by heart the first or Mantra portion of a Veda, usually called Samhitā in these five forms and actually one meets with many reciters especially of the Taittirīya and Mādhyamdina rescen

sions of the Yajurveda who know it in this way But while we have many Manuscripts of the Samhitā and Pada texts we have but a few of the other forms No 354 contains the Krama of thirty seven out of the forty chapters of the Vajasaneya Samhitā and Jatā of a portion of the twenty eighth chapter

ATHARVOPANISADS

No 1 (Gujarāthi Section) contains a copy of the Āsramopanisad and of the Garbhopanisad written in the Sāradā or Kashmir character At the end the names of the fifty two Upanisads usually attributed to the Atharva Veda are thus given —

1 Mundā
2 Prasnā
3 Brahmavidyā
4 Ksurikā
5 Culikā
6 Sarva
7 Sikhā
8 Garbha
9 Mahop
10 Brahmā
11 Prānagnihotrā
12 Mandukya
13 Vaitathya
14 Advaitā
15 Alātasānti
16 Nīlarudra
17 Nādabindu
18 Brahmabindu
19 Amritabindu
20 Dhyānabindu
21 Tejobindu
22 Yogasikhā
23 Yogatattva
24 Sannyāsa
25 Āruneya
26 Kanthasruti
27 Pindā
28 Ātmā
29 Nrisimhapūrvatāpanī
30 Tripurāyi Maho
31 Tripurāyā Maho
32 Tripurā
33 Nrisimhatāpani Maho
34 Uttaratāpani
35 Kathavalli
36 Kathavalli [U] tiravalli
37 Kena(e)se(i)ta
38 Nārāyana
39 Brihad Narayana
40 Brihad Nārayana
41 Sarvopanisatsara
42 Hamsa
43 Paramahamsa
44 Ānandavalli
45 Bhriguvalli
46 Gāruda
47 Kālāgnirudra
48 Ramapurvatapaniya
49 Rāmottaratāpaniya
50 Kaivalya
51 Jābāla
52 Āsrama

OBSERVATIONS ON THE LIST

The list is introduced with the observation that the first fifteen Upanisads from the Munda to the Alata belong to the Saunakiyas,

and the remaining thirty-seven from the Nārāyaṇa to the Āśrama, to the Paippalādas and others.

This list differs from that given by Professor Weber in his Catalogue (p. 95) in the latter part but agrees perfectly with that given by Colebrooke. He only calls both the 6th and the 7th Atharvasiras while the latter should be called Atharvaśikhā as it is here. That this group is not arbitrary but represents some fact of literary history is shown by the circumstance that we have many Manuscripts in which these Atharvaveda Upaniṣads are written exactly in the order in which they are given in this list. Thus No. 328 (Marāṭhī Section) which is but a fragment contains the first thirty-three and No. 10 of last year's Collection forty-seven. No. 110 of 1879-80 which is also a fragment, begins with the thirty-fifth in the list and comes down to the forty-seventh after which we have the Jābāla and Kaivalya, the two Rāmatāpinis being omitted. After Kaivalya we have the Ātmabodha and the Śvetāśvatara.

Some of the names, however, in the above are not correctly written. Upaniṣad No. 12 is called Māṇḍūkya but Māṇḍūkya is the name of all the four from 12 to 15; it should therefore be called Āgama the first of the four parts of the Māṇḍūkya. In Manuscript No. 10 of last year, all these four are included in Upaniṣad 12. Nos. 29 to 33 in the above ought to be named Prathama Māho, Dvitīya Māho &c., all the five constituting the Nṛisiṃhapūrvatāpinī. These five and also the thirty-fourth are included in Upaniṣad 26 of No. 10 of 1882-83. Nos. 35 and 36 are the two chapters of the Kāṭhopaniṣad called Atharvavallī in last year's No. 10, and included in Upaniṣad 27. Nos. 39 and 40 together constitute the Mahānārāyaṇa Upaniṣad or the 30th of the latter Manuscript, and Nos. 44 and 45 are included in the 34th. Of these, the two Atharvavallīs or Kathavallīs are the same as the Kāṭhopaniṣad of the Black Yajurveda; the two parts of the Bṛihad Nārāyaṇa or Mahā-

nārāyaṇa the same as the Nārāyaṇopaniṣad of that Veda and the Ānandavalli and Bhṛguvalli the same as the Taittirīya There are of course various readings

VEDĀNGAS AND WORKS ON THE SACRIFICIAL RITUALS

ŚRAUTASŪTRABHĀṢYAS

In the Gujarath Section we have a copy of a fragment of the Bhāṣya on Āśvalāyana's Śrautasutra by Siddhāntin (No 8) A copy of three chapters of the work was purchased by me for our Collections in 1879

No 19 is a Manuscript of Dhurtasvāmin's Bhāṣya on the Śāmānyaśūtra or general sacrificial topics forming a part of the twenty fourth Praśna of Āpastamba's Sūtra and No 14 is a copy of Bhavasvamin's Bhāṣya on Baudhāyana's Sutra on the Caturmāsya rites All these three are very old authors as will be shown below

No 10 is an incomplete copy in the Kashmira character of Kātyāyana's Śrāddhasutra with a commentary In the Maratha Section we have a Manuscript of chapters X and XXV of Devayājñika's Bhāṣya on Kātyāyana's Śrautasūtra (Nos 367 and 368)

ŚRĀDDHAKĀŚIKA

No 382 is Śrāddhakāśikā, which is a very full commentary on Kātyāyana's Śrāddhasutra by Krsna Kṛṣṇa was the son of Viṣnu whose father was Atisukha and grandfather Nityānanda Kṛṣṇa states in the beginning that this Sūtra was expounded by Karka in words the sense of which was deep The exposition therefore was difficult to understand and hence another commentary was written by Halayudha This also did

not render the sense of the Sutra plain, and therefore he wrote his commentary to dispell 'the darkness in the shape of a mass of doubts" The commentary abounds with quotations from the Purāṇas and Smṛtis The author also quotes a work called Dharmapradipa which must be the work of that name written by an author of the name of Dravida (See below)

MAHIDHARA

No 363 is a commentary on Kātyāyana's Sulvasutra by Mahidhara At the end we are told that Mahidhara composed it at Benares on Sunday the 13th of the bright half of——— in the year 1646" at the command of his Guru or master Ratnesvaradīksita the son of Kesava after duly studying the Bhāsya the Vṛtti composed by Rama, and the Sutra themselves The commentary itself is based on the Bhasya and the Vṛtti The date 1646 refers to the Samvat or Vikrama era For at the end of a Manuscript of the Mantrabrahmadhikaraṇa together with a commentary composed by Mahidhara (which forms No 26 of our Collection of 1868 69) there is a statement to the effect that the work was composed in 1645 of the Vikrama era This Mahidhara must be the same person as the author of the Vedadipa or commentary on the Samhita of the white Yajurveda

No 383 is a commentary on Kesava's Siksa by a man of the name of Alamūrimāci and No 371 on Kātyāyana's Srāddhasutra by one who calls himself Trimallātmaja or son of Trimalla

THE HAUTRAKĀRIKĀS OF NRSIMHĀSRAMAN

Among works on the Sacrificial Ritual there are some deserving of notice No 95 is a copy of the Hautrakārikās by Nrsimhāsrama which appear to form part of a larger work entitled Prayogaratna The first four folios are missing The work explains the duties of the Hotṛ priest in the smaller

sacrificial rites beginning with the Darśa Pūrṇamāsa and ending with the Cāturmāsya

At the end of each section the author gives a short history of himself But in our Manuscript the opening words only are given and the complete verses must have existed in the leaves which are lost Gangādharaśāstri Datar of Poona, however possesses a copy of the work and the verses are there given in an entire form The author therein tells us — There is a village of the name of Vaiurvalu in the Hosala country where flourished Nrsimha whose son Nārāyana bhatta of the Atri gotra went to Kāśi, and he and Ammāyi gave birth to a son the learned Gopinātha Gopinātha's younger brother Nrsimha composed the Prayogaratna" The Hosala country must be Mysore For in an Inscription dated 1277 Śaka or 1355 A D published in the Journal of the Bombay Asiatic Society Bukkarāya probably the same as that who founded the Vijayanagara dynasty but who was only a Mahāmandaleśvara or minor prince at the time, is represented to be ruling at his capital Hosapattana in the Hoysala country And the Hoysala Yadavas ruled over the country of Mysore and the surrounding districts and the country probably derived its name from theirs or *vice versa* they derived theirs from that of the country

PRĀYAŚCITTA KĀRIKĀS OF GOPĀLA

No 27 is a Manuscript of the Prāyaścittakārikās based on the Sūtra of Baudhāyana by Gopala and No 397 of the Maratha Section contains his Kārikās on the Soma sacrifice Gangādhara Śastri Datar tells me that Gopāla is quoted by Sayana in his commentary on the Darśa Pūrnamāsa portion of the Baudhāyana sūtra Gopāla therefore must have lived before the fourteenth century The Prāyaścittapradīpa of which No 428 is a copy and which is regarded as a work of great authority though the

author's name is unknown mentions Gopāla in the introductory verses as the expounder of the Prāyaścittas laid down by Baudhāyana The author of the Prāyaścittapradīpa professes to follow Bhavisvāmin in the decision of the knotty points concerning his subject

TRIKĀNDAMANDANAS KĀRIKĀS

An important work belonging to this sub division is the Āpastambadhvanitārthakārikās by Trikāndamandana Bhāskara Misra the son of Kumārasvāmin The work consists of four parts The first is called Adhikārakānda in which the requisite qualifications of one who has to keep the sacrificial fire and perform the several rites are discussed The second is called Pratinidhikānda wherein are considered what times for the performance of the sacrificial rites and what materials should be chosen when the principal ones that are laid down in the scriptures cannot be availed of In the third part which is called Punarādhānakānda, the circumstances and manner in which the old sacrificial fire becomes either polluted or destroyed and in which it should be resumed are discussed In the fourth part which is called Ādhānakānda the inauguration or first assumption of the sacrificial fire the initial Isti after the inauguration the treatment of the fire when the keeper goes on a travel the Isti consisting of the first offering of the grain of the season to the gods (Āgrayana) and such matters are considered

There is a Manuscript of the first three Kāndas in the Collection of 1871 72 (No 22) and others are noticed by Burnell in his Catalogue of Tanjor Manuscripts But Manuscripts of the fourth or last Kānda are extremely rare No 21 is a copy of this fourth or last Kānda Gangādhara Sāstrī possesses a Manuscript of the whole work including the last Kānda also

TRIKĀNDAMANDANA QUOTED BY HEMĀDRI

Quotations from the second or Prayogakāṇḍa of Trikāṇḍamaṇḍana occur in the Kālanirṇaya of Hemādri about the end of the work Thus verse 150 of the former according to Gangadhara Śastri's copy is quoted on folio 360*b* of the Manuscript of the Kālanirṇaya No 237 in my Collection A of 1881 82 verses 159 and 160 on f 361*b* and verses 161 and 162 on f 362*b* In his introduction to these quotations Hemādri calls the author Trikāṇḍamaṇḍana Hemādri we know was a minister of Mahādeva the king of Mahārāṣṭra of the Yadava dynasty who reigned at Devagiri from 1260 to 1271 A D and for a short time of his nephew and successor Rāmacandra Trikāṇḍamaṇḍana Bhāskara miśra therefore must have lived one or two hundred years at least before him and may have lived still earlier His work abounds with references to previous works and writers on sacrificial subjects whose views on different matters are succinctly stated

No 21 which is a small Manuscript of 34 leaves containing matter equal to about 850 Anuṣṭubhs contains the following names —

AUTHORS AND WORKS QUOTED BY TRIKĀNDAMANDANA (ĀDHĀNAKĀNDA)

I—VEDIC ŚĀKHĀS OR WORKS

Kaṭhaka or Kaṭha (compounded)[1] 1*b* 2 17*b* 5 19*b* 2 32*b* 2 33*b* 4
———asūtra 15*a* 3
Kauṣītakisūtra 13*b* 1 2 3
Bahvṛcāḥ 18*b* 5, 19*b* 5
Maitrāyaṇīyakāḥ 14*b* 4
Vājasah 4*b* 1 5*b* 7 34*b* 1
——— as Vājasaneyinah 13*b* 6
Śāṅkhyāyana 13*b* 5 17*a* 7

1 The number in brackets shows the number of the line from the bottom of the page

II—AUTHORS OF SŪTRAS

Ārāṇyaniyama Matsya 10*b* 2
Āpastamba 1*b* 2, 11*a* 3 13*a* 2 Āp—pathah 2*b* 2
Āśvalāyana 2*a* 2 8*a* 3 11*b* 4 17*b* 1 20*a* 3 20*a* 4 27*a* 4 Āśv—pathe 11*a* 4
Upavarsa 5*b* 1 Upav—pathah 11*a* 6
Kātyāyana 6*a* 8 8*a* 3 8*b* 1 9*a* 7 10*b* 2 10*b* 4 21*b* 1 27*a* 3 29*a* 2 31*a* 2 33*b* 2
Paninīya 17*a* 2
Baudhayana 8*a* 3, 10*b* 2 12*b* 2, 14*b* 2 15*a* 2 17*b* 2, 19*a* 1 19*b* 3 21*b* 1 23*a* 3 30*a* 2 22*b* 2 23*b* 1*a* 1 Gārhya 21*a* 2
Bhāradvāja 1*b* 2 11*a* 4 17*b* 1 19*a* 7, 19*b* 3 23*b* 2 24*a* 2 26*a* 3 29*a* 3 33*a* 1 33*b* 2
Laugakṣi 6*a* 9 10*b* 2, 17*b* 4 21*a* 2 33*b* 2
Satyasādha 1*b* 2 12*a* 1
————as Hiranyakesin 31*a* 3

III—AUTHORS OF COMMENTARIES ON SŪTRAS AND OF PRAYOGAS

Ṛṣideva 14*a* 4 19*b* 4 22*a* 2 23*b* 1 4 33*a* 1
Karka 6*a* 8 14*a* 1
Kesava 16*b* 6 18*a* 2 28*b* 1, 2 4, 29*b* 2, 30*a* 1 30*a* 6 30*b* 4 32*b* 1
————as Kesavasvāmin 33*b* 2
————as Kesavasuri 8*a* 1
Dravida 8*b* 2, 9*b* 3 19*a* 1
Dhūrta 14*a* 4 17*a* 5, 17*b* 2, 18*a* 2, 23*b* 2 30*b* 3 32*a* 2
————as Dhurtasvāmin 34*a* 2
Nārāyana 2*a* 2 12*a* 2 24*b* 3
Bhavanāga 2*a* 2 13*a* 4 20*a* 1
Bhavasvāmin 7*a* 6 15*a* 7, 23*b* 3
Bhāradvājīyabhāṣyakṛt 26*a* 4
Varāha 19*b* 1
Vidhiratnakṛt 14*a* 3 22*a* 2

Viddha 23*b* 2 23*b* 3 26*b* 5 34*a* 2
————as Viddhācārya 18*b* 6 31*a* 5
Śuba 17*b* 7
Sāmkhāyakāndasyābhāsyakāra 26*a* 4
Siddhānta 20*a* 2 27*a* 5

IV.—OTHER AUTHORS

Gārga 26*a* 1
Jaimini 7*a* 1
Śaṅkha as author of a Dharmaśāstra 26*b* 5

V.—WORKS

Āthārvaṇasūtra 7*a* 2
Kātyāyana Dharmaśāstra 27*a* 1
Kātyāyanasūtra 9*a* 7
Kaṇvasya Paddhati 17*b* 6
Kūrmapurāṇa 12*b* 5
Chāndogyapariśiṣṭa 16*a* 1
Taittirīyagrantha 20*b* 5
Dharmādipa 28*a* 4
Bhāṣyabhāsya 1 1*b* 7
Bhāradvājyabhāṣya 12*b* 2, 19*a* 4 20*a* 5 34*a* 1
Laugākṣiṇāmnātasūtra 9*a* 6
Vidhānatna 9*b* 1
Viṣṇusmṛti 27*a* 1
Viddhāgrantha 19*b* 4
Sāmkhāya Kāṇḍa 23*a* 1 27*b* 5
Sūtrānibandha by the author (asmatsūtrānibandhasca) 22*a* 3
Smṛtidipa 34*b* 1

By the word Kaṭha in the first group of names it is probable that in some cases at least the Sūtra of the Kaṭhacaraṇa is meant, for in the first of the references to that name Āpastamba, Bharadvāja and Satyāṣāḍha are associated with Kaṭha

NOTICES OF SOME OF THE AUTHORS REFERRED TO ABOVE

(1) UPAVARṢA

The name Upavarṣa as that of the author of a Sutra is new but there is no question that Trilochana Kandamandana means to speak of him as such For we are told 'Upavarṣa and others have laid down that when one has performed the ceremony of the inauguration of the sacred fire he should feed a hundred (Brahmans) but this is not prescribed in other Sutras" Similarly in discussing the relations between the Gotras the lists of which are different in the different Sutras Trilochana Kandamandana says 'the Usijas Vamadevas and Dirghatamasas are Gautamas i e branches of the Gautama race according to the reading of Upavarṣa and others and consequently they should not intermarry but may have connection with the Bharadvajas'

But Upavarṣa is the author of a Vritti or commentary on the Mimāṃsa and Vedānta Sutras is spoken of in terms of reverence by Śaṅkarāchārya in his Bhāṣya on the Vedānta Sutras (III 3 53) And the name occurs in the story of Kātyāyana narrated in Somadeva's Kathāsaritsāgara and Kṣemendra's Bṛihatkathā along with others which are historical Upavarṣa was the father of Upakośā, the wife of Kātyāyana and the brother of Varṣa, the teacher of the latter Like Kātyāyana Vyāḍi and Pāṇini who figure in the story Upavarṣa too must have been a historical person and the author of the Sutra mentioned by Trikandamandana or of the Vritis or of both must be the person intended to be spoken of

(2 and 3) LAUGĀKṢI AND BHĀRADVĀJA

The Sutras of Laugākṣi and Bhāradvāja are often referred to in other works and are well known and one of our author's references is in express words to the 'Sūtra composed by

Laugākṣi" Copies of Bhāradvāja are also to be met with though rarely

(4) MATSYA

The name Matsya supposing Araṇyanivāsin to be an epithet signifying Muni or a sage living in a forest is unknown It occurs in a compound of which those of Baudhāyana Laugākṣi and Kātyāyana are the other members and therefore was probably borne by the author of a Sutra As to Pāṇiniya the words of our author are So much is stated in the Āthārvaṇa Sutra by Pāṇiniya" wherefore if there is no error here that too must be the name of the author of a Sutra

(5) KARKA

Of the names in the third group Karka is of course the commentator on Kātyāyana's Sutra and our author indicates that when in one of the two places in which he refers to him he says Kātyāyana calls that (sacrificial vessel) Vajra which is like a sword without mentioning any particulars and Karka explains it so" In the other place also there is a similar statement Karka is also mentioned in the Śrāddhanirnaya of Hemādri and his views on certain points are discussed and refuted

(6) KESAVASVĀMIN

Kesava or Kesavasvāmin must, I think, be the author of the Prayogasāra an incomplete copy of which was purchased by me for Government in 1879 and which is noticed in my Report for that year A copy of it is mentioned in Dr Burnell's Catalogue of the Tanjore Manuscripts

(7) DHŪRTASVĀMIN

Dhūrta or Dhurtasvāmin is the author of a Bhāṣya on the Sutra of Āpastamba, but copies of the whole work are not

available Besides the Manuscript of the commentary on a portion of the 25th Prasna noticed above, I have recently procured a copy of that on the first seventeen Prasnas

(8) NĀRĀYAṆA

Nārāyana is the author of the Vrtti on the Srautasutra of Āsvalāyana For in the first of the three places in which his name occurs Trikandamandana says "Āsvalāyana has laid down that the inauguration or assumption of the sacred fire may be made in any season of the year Narayan has stated that this precept applies only to such persons as are in difficult circumstances and cannot wait till the advent of the season prescribed in the previous Sutras" This is exactly what we find stated in Nārāyana's comment on Āsv Sr II 1 14 (p 80 Bibl Ind Ed)

In the second instance in which Narayana's name occurs, Trikandamandana in explaining the duties of the keeper of the sacred fire when travelling, gives Narayana's definition of travelling which is 'going from the village (Grama) in which one's fires are to another village (Gramantara)", and observes that the word "village" occurring in this definition is not to be taken in its literal sense Whether he goes to another village, or a town or a hamlet, or anywhere else, after having crossed the boundary [of the place where his fires are] it is travelling Now this definition of travelling with the word Grama or village used twice occurs in Narayana's Vrtti under Āsvalayana II 5 1 (p 109 Bibl Ind Ed)

(9) BHAVANĀGA

In connection with Narayana's explanation of the Sutra in the first of these two instances, our author says that Bhavanaga takes the Sūtra in its literal sense, i e, does not limit its scope as Narāyana has done thus indicating that Bhavanāga was either the author of a Bhasya on the Sūtra of Āsvalāyana or of a Prayoga or sacrificial manual based on it

(10) BHAVASVAMIN

Bhavasvāmin is the author of a commentary on the Sutra of Baudhāyana a fragment of which in the present Collection is noticed above The author of a Bhasya on the Sutra of Bhāradvāja and the Bhasya itself are it will be seen mentioned by Trikāndamandana but he does not give the author's proper name

(11) DRAVIDA

What author is meant by Dravida I cannot say with certainty but he may be the author of the Smrtipradipa mentioned by Śridhara in the Smrtyarthasara and perhaps the Smrtidipa mentioned by Trikandamandana may be the Smrtipradipa

(12) SABARA

Śabara must be the author of the Bhasya on the Mimāmsā Sutra of Jaimini

NOTICES OF SOME OF THE WORKS REFERRED TO ABOVE

(1) SAMKARSAKĀNDA

A Sūtra from the Samkarsakanda is quoted by Samkarācārya in his Bhāṣya or dissertation on the Vedānta Sūtra III 3 43 and Govindānanda one of the commentators explains it as Daivatyakānda " Ānandajñāna also says it is the Devatā kanda" and it is called Samkarṣakanda because in it whatever has remained to be spoken of relating to the Karmakānda is stated succinctly With reference to it Śamkarācārya calls that Kanda first or previous Kanda which contains two Sūtras which he quotes under III 3 44 and 50 and which are found in Jaimini's Mīmāmsā Samkarṣakānda is, therefore, the second part or appendix of the Mimāmsa Sutra and there is a copy of it, Gangādhara Śāstrī tells me, in Poona, and another at Alibag

Our author speaks of a commentator on it Siddhāntin must be the same as the author of the Bhāsya on Āsvalāyana's Sutra mentioned before

(2) VIDHIRATNA

Vidhiratna is quoted as I learn from Gangādhara Śāstri in the Prayogapārijata Of Varāha and Viddha or Viddhaśārya nothing is known Perhaps the latter is an epithet, but whose epithet it was cannot be said The Viddhagrantha referred to by Trikāndamandana in one case was probably the work of Viddhācārya

DATES OF SOME OF THE AUTHORS MENTIONED ABOVE

All these authors thus appear to have flourished and these works to have been written, previous to at least the twelfth century One of them—Kesavasvāmin—speaks in the introduction to his Baudhāyanaprayogasāra of Nārāyana and other previous authors of Prayogas, and professes to follow the views of Bhavasvāmin Whether the Nārāyana meant is the author of the Vṛtti on the Sutra of Āsvalāyana, or another person, is doubtful but there can be no question that the Bhavasvāmin he speaks of must be the author of the Bhasya on the Baudhāyana Sūtra since Kesava's Prayoga is based on that Sūtra Nārāyana, the author of the Vṛtti mentions Devasvāmin as the writer of a comprehensive Bhaṣya on Āsvalāyanasutra, which he seems to have followed —By the way it seems strange that Trikāṇḍa mandana should not mention him in the work before me but the explanation probably is that Nārāyana's work being a sort of abridgement of Devasvāmin's he considered the view of the latter to be represented when he quoted from Nārāyaṇa's work — Now, if Kesavasvāmin, because he is quoted by Trikāṇḍa mandana, must have flourished before the twelfth century, Bhavasvāmin must have flourished before the tenth century, since he is spoken of as an established authority by him, and

to acquire that position he must at least have been two hundred years old at the time The same may be said with reference to Devasvāmin

THE TITLE SVĀMIN INDICATIVE OF THE AUTHOR S DATE

It is a remarkable circumstance that the names of most of the famous writers on the sacrificial rites should have the title Svamin attached to them No writer later than the thirteenth century seems to have it We have Bhattas Ācāryas Yajvans Dikṣitas and Yajñikas during the last six centuries but no Svāmin The title appears to have been in use at a certain period and been given to Mimamsakas or men conversant with the sacrificial lore At the head of these stands Śabarasvāmin the author of the Bhāsya on Jaimini s Mīmāmsā Sūtra Then we have Agnisvāmin the commentator on Lātyayana s Śrautasūtra, Bhavasvāmin, Devasvāmin Dhūrtasvāmin Kapardi svamin, Kesavasvāmin and others Kumārila is both a Svāmin and a Bhatta Karka is mostly Upādhyāya and rarely Svāmin

THE TITLE OCCURS IN INSCRIPTIONS OF THE SEVENTH CENTURY

Certain Inscriptions of the early Calukyas of the Deccan to one of which Professor Weber has already called attention, and one Valabhi Inscription, carry the period during which the title Svāmin was used up to the seventh century In an undated copperplate Inscription of Vikramāditya I, who ceased to reign in 680 A D, the names of some of the donees are Nandisvāmin, Lohasvamin, and Bhallasvamin[1] in another dated 700 A D the grantee is Dāsasvāmin son of Jannasvāmin and grandson of Revāsvāmi Dikṣita and we have Devasvāmin Karkasvamin, Yajñasvāmin, Rudrasvāmin and others in a third dated 705 A D[2] while the Valabhi Inscription

1 Ind Ant Vol vi 77
2 Ind Ant Vol vii pp 128 136

which is dated 326 of the Valabhi Gupta era or 645 A D has Mankasvāmin[1] Two of these names it will be seen are the same as those borne by two of our authors But the period extends still higher into antiquity

SABALASVĀMIN'S APPROXIMATE DATE

Śabalasvāmin is expressly mentioned by Śamkarāchārya whose usually accepted date is the end of the eighth century as the author of the Mimāmsābhāsya (III 3 53) and the work of Kumārila who has been placed about a hundred years before but who certainly lived after Kalidāsa (a verse from whose Śakuntala—Sattvam hi samdeha &c—he quotes in the Tantravārtika) is based on the Bhasya Śabara therefore must have flourished before the seventh century at least but how long before we have not the means of determining He may have lived two or three centuries earlier and some of the authors of the Bhāsyas, Agnisvamin Devasvamin, and Bhavasvamin probably flourished about the same period

CLASSES OF SACRIFICIAL RITES

All the varied sacrificial rites of the Brāhmans may be distinguished into four kinds

1st Sāyamprātaragnihotra—or the morning and evening offerings of milk and ghee to Sūrya and Agni respectively, which are thrown into the sacred fires kept in the house

2nd Iṣṭi or a complete sacrificial performance consisting of offerings of ghee Purodāsa or cake of flour, and Charu or boiled rice to certain deities, some of which are the Pradhāna or chief deities of the sacrifice and the others minor or subordinate

3rd, Pasu or animal sacrifice

1 Ind Ant, Vol I, p 16

and 4th Soma or the sacrificial performance in which Soma juice is extracted and offered to the gods

The animal sacrifice properly belongs to the second species but it is convenient to distinguish it from the ordinary Istis There are independent Istis and animal sacrifices but these often form Angas or parts of larger sacrifices such as the Caturmāsya and Soma The Istis performed on the new and full moon days are considered the type of others and hence they are first explained in all Kalpasūtras and then Mantras first given in the Yajurveda

But the very first rite to be performed is of course the inauguration of the sacrificial fires No 386 is an incomplete copy of what appears to be a full commentary on Kātyayana's Sutras on this ceremony Nos 446 and 447 are Manuscripts of the ritual of the daily morning and evening offerings according to the Vajasaneyins

THE DIFFERENT ISTIS DESCRIBED

THE INTRODUCTORY ISTI

Immediately before the first full moon Isti after inauguration another called the Anvārambhanīya or introductory Isti has to be performed No 20 is a copy of the Prayoga or ritual of this according to Baudhāyana and No 338 of that according to the Vājasaneyins Then follow the Darsa Purnamāsa or New and Full Moon Istis

THE NEW AND FULL MOON ISTIS

In No 26 the duties of the Brahman priest on the occasion of these sacrifices are mentioned in accordance with the injunctions of Āsvalāyana and in Nos 408 10 those of the Hotr Nos 403 and 404 are copies of manuals for the use of the Adhvaryu the Agnidhra and the Yajamana or the sacrificer in these Istis, compiled in accordance with the Sūtra of Baudhāyana

Generally when the Yajamāna or sacrificer is a Rgvedin or student of the Rgveda his Adhvaryu and Agnidhra as well as he himself follow Baudhāyana in the performance of their duties the Hotr and the Brahman performing theirs in accordance with the rules laid down by Āsvalayana Nos 403 and 404 are therefore manuals compiled for the purposes of a Rgvedin Yajamāna

ATHARVAVEDA MANUSCRIPTS OF THESE RITES

No 405 is a copy of a manual of the New and Full Moon rites for the use of a sacrificer who is an Atharvavedin or student of the Atharvaveda and in No 407 the duties of the Brahman priest of such a sacrificer are explained in accordance with the Kausikasūtra of that Veda

THE AGRAYANA ISTI

Then the keeper of the sacred fire (Agnihotrin) has to perform three Istis called Āgrayana in three seasons viz the rains (Varsāh) autumn (Śarad) and Vasanta (spring) or one as a substitute for them all in the autumn He has on those occasions to offer to the gods the new grain of the season Śyāmāka Vrihi (rice) and Yava (barley) No 391 is a manual giving the details of this rite according to the rules laid down by Baudhāyana

THE NIRŪDHAPASU

The Agnihotrin has also to perform a Pasu or animal sacrifice once in six months or once every year This Pasu is called Nirūdhapasu There are other kinds of Pasus some of which are like the Nirūdhapasu independent Iştis to be performed under certain circumstances and others form parts of larger sacrifices such as the Soma But the Nirūdhapasu is obligatory on the keeper of the sacred fire

No 424 is a copy of a work describing the manner prevalent among the Vājasaneyins of performing this sacrifice and

No 416 gives the duties of the Maitrāvaruna priest in that sacrifice in accordance with Āsvalayana's rules

The Pasu or animal sacrifice consists of three parts, (1) the Vapriyāga or the offering of the peritoneum (2) the Purodāsayaga or the offering of the cake and (3) the Angayāga or offering of certain other parts of the animal

CĀTURMASYĀNI FOUR RITES

INTERVAL BFTWEEN THE PERFORMANCF OF THESE RITES

Another set of sacrificial rites that must be gone through is that called Cāturmasyāni These are four different performances styled Parvans The first is called Vaisvadeva the second Varunapraghāsa, the third Śākamedha and the fourth Śunasiriya or Sunāsiriya The second is to be gone through on the fifth Full Moon day after the first that is at the end of the fourth month the third at the end of an equal interval after the second and the fourth after the third Thus these rites were originally called Caturmasyani because they were performed after an interval of four months in each case and they were spread over a whole year

A Pasu or animal sacrifice to Indrāgni forms part of the whole ceremony and it is to be performed at the end of the second month after Varunapraghāsa These are the intervals between the different rites making up the Cāturmāsyāni laid down by Āsvalāyana Āpastamba Hiranyakesin and Kātyāyana but Baudhāyana allows of all the parts being performed within twelve days or even within so many as the rites actually occupy, i e five days In the first case the Vaisvadevaparvan should be gone through on the first day the Varunapraghāsa on the fourth, the Śākamedha which occupies two days on the ninth and tenth, and the Śunāsirīya on the twelfth

Bhāradvāja also in a passage quoted by Rudradatta limits the period to twelve, though he differs from Baudhāyana as

to the particular day when each of the parts should be performed In the second case the first Parvan or part should be performed on the first day the second on the second the third on the third and the fourth and the last on the fifth This five days performance is laid down in the Sutra of the Kathas also

There can be little doubt that the spreading of the Cāturmāsyāni over the whole year by performing each of the four parts every four months was the ancient practice The name itself shows this and the twelve days' performance which must have come in later also indicates the same thing For the twelve days are taken to represent the twelve months and this is actually stated in the passage from Bhāradvaja referred to above The five days' performance must be still later

COMPARATIVELY LATER DATE OF BAUDHĀYANA

The Baudhāyanasutra therefore in which the period for the performance of the Cāturmāsyāni is thus shortened must be later as is also shown by its mentioning many other such later developments and ceremonies not laid down in the other Sūtras The same may be said of Bhāradvāja s Sūtra also

MANUSCRIPTS OF WORKS ON THE CĀTURMĀSYANI

No 398 is a manual of Cāturmāsyāni as laid down by Kātyāyana No 399 describes the same rites in accordance with the rules of Hiranyakesin and No 400 gives the duties of the Hotr priest in these sacrifices In No 22 of the Gujarath Collection all the rites from the inauguration of the sacred fire to the Cāturmāsya are described according to the Sūtra of Baudhāyana

ALL THE CĀTURMASYANI PERFORMED ON THE SAME DAY

In No 394 a mode of performing the Cāturmāsyāni in a single day is given It consists in grouping the deities of the four

Parvans together and offering oblations to them one after another The Pitryesti and the Tryambaka which form parts of the Sakamedha are alone separately performed The one whole year therefore laid down by the older writers for the Caturmasyani is thus reduced to a single day The manual is intended for a Vajasaneyin sacrificer but a Sutra from a work not belonging to that school is quoted as an authority for this particular mode of shortening the ceremony

NITYA NAIMITTIKA AND KĀMYA RITES

The Sacrificial rites are divided into Nitya Naimittika, and Kamya Nitya are those which should be regularly performed and the omission of which constitutes a sin Naimittika are those which are to be performed on the occurrence of a certain event but are as obligatory as the others and a Kamya rite is gone through only when the keeper of the sacred fire, entertains a certain desire, the fulfilment of which that particular rite possesses the virtue of bringing about

The rites I have hitherto noticed are Nitya the Iṣti to be performed when a son is born is a Naimittika rite and No 23 contains the ritual of this according to Baudhāyana

KĀMYA RITES

THE PAVITRESTI

A rite called Pavitresti is performed for destroying sins The Pradhāna or peculiar deities which are invoked and to which offerings are made are —1 Agnih Pavamānah, 2 Sarasvati Priya 3 Agnih Pāvakah 4 Savitā Satyaprasavaḥ 5 Agnih Sucih, 6 Vāyuh Niyutvān 7 Agnih Vratapatih 8 Visnuh Sipivistah, 9 Agnih Vaisvānarah 10 Dadhikrāvā

No 423 is a copy of the Prayoga or ritual of this rite according to Baudhāyana No 422 is the same ritual intended for the followers

of the Vājasaneya Veda but the author states that this rite is not laid down in the Sūtra belonging to his Veda, and therefore follows Baudhāyana and others in the preparation of his manual

The Pavitresti is a Kamya Isti but since every body wishes to be free from sins and commits them again and again this rite is generally though not always performed every year

THE MRGĀRESTI

A more effective rite for the cleansing away of sins is the Mrgāresti The duties of the Hoti priest in this are given according to Baudhāyana in Nos 28 and 434 and of the Adhvaryu in No 433

No 396 which is a copy of a manual for the use of the followers of Satyāsādha Hiranyakesin contains at the end the ritual of this Isti The author therein states that the Mrgaresti is not taught by Satyāsādha but by Baudhāyana still since according to the Mimāmsakas all Sutras must be considered as laying down but one harmonious system of rites the rites laid down by the author of one Sūtra might be adopted by the followers of another He therefore proceeds to explain the ritual for the followers of Hiranyakesin

The deities of the Migāresti are —1 Agnih Amhomuk 2 Indrah Amhomuk 3 Mitrāvarunau Āgomucau 4 Vāyusa vitārau Āgomucau 5 Asvinau Āgomucau 6 Marutah Enomucah 7 Visve Devah Enomucah, 8 Anumati 9 Agnih Vaisvanarah 10 Dyāvāprthivyau Amhomucau

THE PUTRAKĀMYESTI

No 425 is a copy of the ritual of an Isti to be performed by one who desires to have a son born to him It is intended for the Vajasaneyins and the Pradhāna or the principal deities are —1 Agnih Putravān and 2 Indrah Putri Āsvalāyana lays down this Isti, but the deity according to him is only one viz, Agnih Putri

MANY KAMYA ISTIS LAID DOWN BY HIRANYAKESIN AND BAUDHĀYANA

Such Kāmya Iṣṭis are innumerable Āsvalayana mentions only a few but other authors principally Hiranyakesin and Baudhāyana prescribe a great many No 395 gives 134 such Istis according to Hiranyakesin All these Iṣṭis are as above remarked performed in the manner in which the New or Full Moon Isti is performed the Pradhāna or principal deities and the Anuvākyā and Yājyā (which are verses to be repeated in praise of them and in throwing oblations into the fire in their names) as well as the materials used for the oblations being only peculiar in each case In No 395 therefore, these peculiarities only are given

PAVITRESTI

ITS ANUVĀKYĀS AND YĀJYĀS

The Pratikas or opening words of the Anuvākyās and Yājyās used in the case of the several deities in the Pavitresti and the Putrakāmyeṣṭi are as follows —

For No 1 Anuv —Agna āyūmsi Rv X 66 19 from a triplet to Agni Taitt S I 3 14 8 Yajyā— Agne pavasva svapā Rv X 66 21 from a triplet to Agni Taitt S I 3 14 8

, No 2 Anuv —Uta nah priyāh Rv VI 61 10 from a hymn to Sarasvati Taitt Br II 4 6 1 Yājyā— Imā juhvānā yuṣmad Rv VII 95 5, from a hymn to Sarasvatī Taitt Br II 4 6 1

No 3 Anuv —Agne pāvaka rocisā Rv V 26 1 from a hymn to Agni Taitt S I 3 14 8 Yājyā— Sa naḥ pāvaka didivo Rv I 12 10 from a hymn to Agni Taitt S I 3 14 8

For No 4 Anuv—Ā vısvadevam satpatım Rv V 82 7 from a hymn to Savıtı Taıtt S III 4 11 2 Yajyā—Ā satyena rajasā not ın Rv Taıtt S III 4 11 2

, No 5 Anuv—Agnih sucıvratatamah Rv VIII 44 21 from a hymn to Agnı Taıtt S I 3 14 8 Yājyā—Ud Agne sucayas, Rv VIII 44 17 from a hymn to Agnı Taıtt S I 3 14 8

No 6 Anuv—Vāyuı agıegā not ın Rv Taıtt Br II 4 7 6 Yajyā—Vāyo sukro Rv IV 47 1 from a hymn to Vāyu and Indravāyū Taıtt Br II 4 7 6

, No 7 Anuv—Tvam Agne Vratapā Rv VIII 11 1 from a hymn to Agnı Taıtt S I 1 14 Yajyā—Yad vo vayam, Rv X 2 4 from a hymn to Agnı Taıtt S I 1 14

, No 8 Anuv—Pra tat te adya Rv VII 100 5 from a hymn to Vısnu Taıtt S II 2 12 5 Yājyā—Kım ıt te Vısno Rv VII 100 6 from a hymn to Vişnu Taıtt S II 2 12 5

, No 9 Anuv—Vaısvānaıo na utya not ın Rv Taıtt S I 5 11 1 and IV 4 12 ɔ Yajyā—Prsto dıvı prsto Rv I 92 2 from a hymn to Agnı Vaısvānara Taıtt S I 5 11 1 and IV 4 12 5

No 10 Anuv—Dadhıkıāvno akārişam Rv IV 39 6 from a hymn to Dadhıkrāvan Taıtt S I 5 11 4 Yajyā—Ā Dadhıkrāh Rv IV 38 10 from a hymn to Dyāvāpṛthıvyau and Dadhıkrāvan Taıtt S I 5 11 4

PUTRAKĀMYESTI

For No 1	Anuv —Yas tvı hrdā Rv V 4 10, from a hymn to Agnı Yajya—Yasmaı tvam sukrte Rv V 4 11	All these occuı ın Taıtt S I 4 46 1 and the Istı ın II 2 4 4
, No 2	Anuv —Tve suputıa Rv VIII 92 14, fıom a hymn to Indıa Yajyā—Uktha ukthe Rv VII 26 2 from a hymn to Indıa	

It will be seen fıom thıs that a verse whıch ın the Rgveda Samhıtā forms a paıt ot a hymn ıs gıven ın a detached form ın the Yajurveda Samhıtā or Bıahmana Two verses one of whıch ıs an Anuvākyī and the other the Yājyā corresponding to ıt are gıven togethei ın the Yajuıveda texts but occuı ın separate hymns ın the Rgveda Samhıtı and are connected by context with the othei verses ın those hymns Thıee of the above verses do not occur ın thıs last Samhıta at all whıle they aıe gıven ın the Yajuıveda books Sımılaıly the Anuvākyās and Yajyās of the Mıgārestı, whıch of course are Rks do not occuı ın the Rgvedı Samhıta but aıe gıven ın the Samhıtā of the Yajurveda (Taıtt S IV 7 15)

YAJURVEDA MERELY A SACRIFICIAL BOOK

From thıs ıt follows—what ındeed ıs well known—that the Collectıon of the hymns comprısed ın the Rgveda was made with a lıteıary object whıle the Yajurveda ıs ın ıts nature a compılatıon for sacııfıcıal purposes not only of the prose formulas called Yajūmsı but of the Rks repeated ın the peıformance of the rıtes whethei they occur ın the Rgveda or not And thıs dıfference ın the orıgınal ıdea ıs poınted to by the practıce of modern Vaıdıkas or recıters of the Vedas, of whom those who are Rgvedıns, must necessarıly be able to recıte the lıterary Vedāngas, vız the Nıghanṭu the Nırukta, the

Chandas and Pāṇini's Aṣṭadhāyī while the reciters of the other Vedas have nothing to do with them

And the statement that in a sacrifice the duties of the Hotṛ priest are performed by means of the Rk and those of the Adhvaryu by means of the Yajus is true only in the sense that what the former has to repeat are verses and the latter prose formulas but it is not true in the sense that the Hotṛ priest should be a Rgvedin or student of the Rgveda or that the duties of the office should be performed in accordance with the Sutras attached to that Veda And as a matter of fact a Yajurvedin sacrificer uses at the present day the Hautra or Hotṛ ritual as prepared from his own Veda and Sūtra and employs a Yajurvedin Brahman as his Hotṛ in all rites up to the Cāturmāsyas and in the Kāmya sacrifices mentioned above

RGVEDA ONLY RESTORED TO FOR THE HIGHER SOMA SACRIFICES

In a Soma sacrifice however the Hautra of which is not contained in his Veda he has to employ a Rgvedin or get the ritual of the Hotṛ priest performed in accordance with a Sūtra belonging to the Rgveda

DEVELOPMENT OF THE SACRIFICIAL RITUAL

It also appears clear that those rites in which the Yājyās and Anuvākyās are taken from different hymns of the Rgveda must have been developed long after the period in which the hymns were composed A great many of the smaller sacrifices are of this nature and the principle followed in framing their ritual, was to adapt for use such Rks as were appropriate that is yielded a sense having some bearing howsoever remote, on the nature and object of the sacrifice performed This principle is laid down clearly in the Aitareya Brāhmana[1] a fact which shows

1 एतद्वै यज्ञस्य समृद्धं यद्रूपसमृद्धं यत्कर्म क्रियमाणमृगभिवदति । Ait Br. II 2

that the conscious manufacture of rituals had been in full force even when that work was written That process of manufacture has ever continued and the same principle has been followed in preparing the rituals not only of the Śrauta sacrifices but of all the rites performed on the Gṛihya or domestic fire and Laukika or ordinary fire

But in later times—when the total number of rites increased, and occasions for new ceremonies hardly within the range of the ideas prevailing in Vedic times presented themselves and still it was sought to sanctify them and raise their importance, by connecting them with Vedic texts—it was deemed enough if the appropriateness of the Ṛk to the particular rite was merely verbal Thus in invoking the planet Śukra or Venus in the ceremony called Grahamakha the Ṛk used is Sukram te anyad yajatam te anyat[1] (Rv VI 58 1) which is really addressed to Pusan and has nothing to do with the planet and the sole reason is that it contains the word Śukra which is the name of the Planet Similarly in invoking Ketu or the Moon's Node the Ṛk used is Ketum krnvannaketave (Rv I 6 3) simply because it begins with the word Ketu

DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE RELIGION OF THE HYMNS AND LATER SACRIFICIAL RELIGION

The epithets such as Amhomuc Āgomuc and Enomuc i e deliverer from pollution, transgression, and sin and Putravat and Putrin i e 'having sons given to the old Vedic deities to adapt them for the particular rites would also show that these rites were developed in later times That sacrificial rites in some shape were in use at the time when the Vedic hymns were composed cannot be questioned but the worship of the several gods was more spiritual real heart felt prayers and praises were

1 Narayanabhatta's Prayogaratna Grahamakha

offered to them and their blessings invoked and the offerings of Soma and other things were prompted by pious motives But some time before the Brāhmanas (including the Brahmanic portions of the books of the Black Yajurveda) were composed the old Vedic religion had degenerated into the coldest formalism the idea that the mechanical repetition of certain formulæ and verses and manual operations had a religious efficacy took firm hold of the Brahmanic mind and mysticism usurped the place of spiritual worship

All the rites were reduced to a system nothing connected with them was so unimportant that it was not necessary to regulate it by specific rules the number of rites vastly increased and the sacrificial ritual became so complicated and so extensive that no one who does not devote a number of years to its exclusive study can now master it It was impossible that this stupendous system should not have been attacked and it has had very powerful and uncompromising enemies from the remotest time in the shape of the Śramanas of old and their successors the reformers of later ages and also in the ranks of the Brahmans themselves and it has had a varied fortune but has not been completely destroyed yet

THE NAKSATRA SATTRA

No 412 contains the ritual of the Naksatra Sattra It is called a Sattra because it is a series of 37 Istis The first fourteen have the fourteen Devanaksatras or lunar mansions associated with the gods beginning with Krttikā and ending with Visākhā for their Pradhāna or principal deities Then follows an Isti in honour of the Pūrnamāsi or the Full Moon day The next fourteen are held for the propitiation of the fourteen Yamanaksatras beginning with Anurādhā and ending with Bharani and including Abhijit The Pradhāna deities of the last eight are —1 Amāvāsyā or New Moon day, 2 Candramas or moon 3 Ahorātra or day and night,

4 Usas or dawn 5 Nakṣatra or lunar mansion generally 6 Surya or sun 7 Aditi and 8 Visnu With each of these deities Agni and Anumati are associated Agni preceding the Nakṣatra deity and Anumati following The Anuvākyās and Yajyas of the 37 principal deities are given in the first three Anuvākas of the first Prapāthaka of the third Kānda of the Taittiriya Brahmana Agni and Anumati have the same Anuvakya and Yajyā through out the 37 Istis and these also are given in the same place in the Brahmana

The Nakṣatra Istis are prescribed by Baudhāyana as a Prayascitta or penance for any omission or fault in the performance of the usual sacrificial rites or for a life of sin but they are also to be performed by one who desires a long life and by their means the sacrificer avoids death before the natural term of his life and attains the likeness of the heavenly bodies

KRTTIKĀ THE FIRST LUNAR MANSION

It will be seen that the first lunar mansion here mentioned is Krttika and in several other places also in the Taittiriya Samhita and Brāhmana the list of the Nakṣatras begins with that constellation

HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE FACT NOT TO BE NEGLECTED

I do not agree with those who attach no significance to this fact and believe that at the time when the system of these lunar mansions came into use the vernal equinox occurred in the beginning of Kṛttikā This must have been the case in 1428 B C and the position of the solstices given in the Vedānga Jyotisa leads to 1186 B C These dates have been declared to be worthless for historical purposes on the grounds that the Hindus are in their nature rude or careless observers and cannot be supposed to have the means of accurate observation at that

early period But they are simply a priori grounds which no man with a scientific spirit will assume to enable himself to explain away facts which his predispositions will not allow him to admit And the grounds are altogether insufficient and the first is certainly untrue and unjust and will appear to be so to one who does not forget how careful the philological observations of the Hindus have been and how solicitous they have been about their Vedas and their sacrificial worship for which essentially the astronomical observations were necessary

THE PERIOD INDICATED BY THE FACT IS THAT OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE SACRIFICIAL RELIGION

The two observations therefore might I think be considered correct within about a degree A degree is equivalent to 72 years so that somewhere about 1350 and 1110 B C these observations must have been made The Taittiriya Samhitā and Brāhmana which mention the Naksatras with Kṛttikā at their head must be later than 1350 B C but to this period must be referred that development of the sacrificial ritual to which a definite shape was afterwards given by the composition of that Samhitā and of that and other Brāhmanas The composition of these I would place between 1200 and 900 B C and these dates will tally with those which from an observation of the grammatical literature we have to assign to Pānini Kātyāyana and Patañjali But I must reserve a full discussion of the question of these dates for another opportunity

THE SVARGA SATTRA

Nos 450 and 451 contain the ritual of the series of Istis called Svarga Sattra They are twelve in number divided into two groups of seven and five but the twelve are also regarded as forming one group These Iṣtis are laid down in the twelfth Prapathaka of the third Kānda of the Taittiriya Brāhmana and the Yājyās and Anuvākyās are also there given

Heaven has twelve gates the first seven called Divahsyenayonu vittayah being guarded by (1) Āsa or Hope (2) Kamah or Desire (3) Brahman or the Essence of sacrificial worship (4) Yajñah or Sacrifice (5) Āpah or Waters (6) Agnir Bahman or the fire who receives all oblations and (7) Anuvitti or Discovery and the other five called Apādyānuvittayah by (1) Tapah or Mortification, (2) Śraddhā or Faith (3) Satyam or Truth (4) Manah or Mind and (5) Caranam or Action or Foot The first seven are the Pradhāna or principal deities of the seven Istis of the first group which are after the name of the gates called Divahsyenayah and the next five of the Istis of the second group which are called similarly Apādyāh When these deities are propitiated by the performance of Istis the gates of Heaven are flung open and the sacrificer is admitted The principal deity in the case of each Isti has as in the case of the Naksatra Sattra two associates, one Agni before and the other Anumati after The epithet Kāmah is however affixed to Agnih in the case of the first group

This series of Istis presents a curious development in the ideas involved in the sacrificial religion The things and feelings concerned in a man's pursuit of Heaven such as Faith Hope Desire, Truth Mind Action Sacrifice Sacrifical Essence and Agni—the receiver of all oblations are themselves believed to be deities or presided over by deities and these are worshipped in order that those things and feelings may be in a condition to render the pursuit fruitful

WORKS ON THE SOMA SACRIFICES

It now remains to notice the Manuscripts of works on the Soma sacrifices The Soma sacrifices are the most important of all on account of the time occupied the number of priests employed, and the solemn and imposing manner in which the whole service is conducted

THE SEVEN AND FOUR SAMSTHĀS OF THE JYOTISTOMA

One general name by which they are designated is Jyotiṣṭoma

The Jyotistoma has what are called seven Samsthās or modes viz Agnistoma Atyagnistoma Ukthya Solasin Vajapeya Atiratra and Aptoryāma Sometimes the Samsthās are considered to be four only viz Agnistoma Ukthya Solasin and Atirātra Of these the first or Agnistoma is considered the Prakiti or original type and the rest as Vikrtis or varieties The Soma ceremonies constitute the essential part of the Agnistoma but they are preceded by a good many preparatory rites

On the first day is performed what is called the Diksaniya Isti and the Yajamāna is anointed or Diksā given to him This Diksa ceremony is sometimes repeated three or four times (Āsv IV 2 17 Āp X 1) that is is performed on three or four successive days but usually it is performed on one day only

On the day after the Diksa or Diksās are over the Prāyaniya or introductory Işti is gone through Then on the same day the ceremony of the purchase of Soma (Rajakraya) is performed and after that what is called the Ātithyā Isti which is regarded as a rite of hospitality in honour of the guest viz the Soma purchased Then follow the Pravargyas and Upasads One Pravargya and one Upasad are performed before noon and another pair in the afternoon At the Pravargya ceremony a cow is milked and certain ceremonies performed with the milk and on these occasions a great many Rks are repeated The Upasad is a sort of Isti

The Pravargyas and the Upasads are repeated the next i e the third day if the Diksā has been done on one day only and also on the fourth but on this day both rites of each species are performed before noon Then follow on the same day the ceremonies of carrying the Agni Soma and the carts on which the offerings are placed from the part of the sacrificial enclosure called the Prāgvamsa to that which is called the Uttaravedi where all the later ceremonies are performed Then late in the afternoon of this day is performed an animal sacrifice in honour of Agnişomau which is called Agnişomīyapasu

RITES PERFORMED ON THE PRINCIPAL OR THE SUTYĀ DAY
(I) PRĀTASSAVANA

Early in the morning of the next or the fifth day begins a ceremony called (1) the Prātaranuvāka which consists of what are called three Kratus Āgneyakratu Ausasyakratu and Āsvinakratu The essential feature of these Kratus is the repetition of a large number of hymns from the Rgveda addressed to Agni Usas and Asvins (2) Then follows an offering of three Grahas or cups of Soma to three deities The Grahas are made of wood and resemble liquor glasses in shape (3) After this the Sāma singers sing the first or Bahispavamāna stotra (4) Then we have an animal sacrifice called Savanīyapasu which is performed up to the ceremony of throwing the Vapa or peritoneum into the fire (5) The ceremony done next is what is called Upasthāna in which the Dhisnyas are things such as the sacrificial post and places such as that on which fire is produced by friction are praised (6) This is followed by the Aindra Purodāsas which consist of Dhānas or fried grains of barley Karambha or flour of Saktu mixed with curds Payasya or the caseine of milk separated from the serum by mixing hot milk and curds together and cakes of flour (7) Then we have the offering of Soma in Grahas to pairs of deities viz Vāyu and Indravāyu Mitrāvarunau, and Asvinau (8) This is followed by the repetition of what are called Prasthitayājyās or certain verses by six out of the seven Hotr priests and the offering of Soma to the deities and drinking it (9) Afterwards the remains of the Soma offered to the pairs of deities before are drunk by the priests (10) Then comes in the Acchavāka who goes through certain ceremonies including the repetition of his Prasthitayajyās (11) This is followed by the Rtuyājas, which consist of the offerings of Soma in a vessel called Rtupātra which has two compartments (12) Then the Hotr repeats the first or Ājyasastra after which another Stotra is chanted by the Sāma singers, and then follows the second Sastra of the Hotr which is called Pra u ga

The Śastras are certain arrangements of couplets triplets and whole hymns from the Rgveda Samhitā interwoven with certain formulas called Nivids detached verses called Puroruks and others known as Dhāyyās The arrangements are varied and no one of the Śastras resembles another perfectly Each Śastra is followed by the pouring of the Soma juice into the fire and the drinking of a portion of it by the priests Thus ends the first or Prātahsavana

(II) THE MĀDHYAMDINA SAVANA

The Mādhyamdina or Mid day Savana begins by (13) a priest called Grāvastut entering and performing certain rites including the repetition of a hymn (14) This is followed by a ceremony called Dadhigharma and then (15) the Purodāsa or cake in connection with the animal sacrifice performed in the morning which as explained before forms a necessary adjunct of the animal sacrifice is thrown into the fire (16) After that we have the Aindra Purodāsa and (17) Prasthitayājyā as in the morning and then (18) is given Daksina or remuneration to the priests This is followed by (19) the Marutvatiyagraha or offering of a cup of Soma to Marutvat and then we have (20) the Stotras and Śastras of the Mādhyamdinasavana

(III) THE TRTĪYA-SAVANA

At the beginning of the third or Tritiya Savana (21) a cup of Soma is offered to Aditi (Ādityagrahayāga) and after the Sāma singers have chanted the Ārbhavapavamāna (22) the Angayāga or the casting into the fire of the other parts of the animal whose Vapā was offered in the morning follows Then we have (23) the Aindra Purodāsas and (24) the Prasthitayājyās as in the last two Savanas and afterwards (25) the offering of Soma to Savitr (Sāvitragraha), and (26) the Stotras and Sastras After this is over we have the concluding ceremonies called (27) Yajñapuccha or the tail of the sacrifice, (28) Avabhrtha in th

course of which offerings are made by the priests while standing in water (29) Udayanīyā or the concluding Iṣṭi corresponding to the Prāyanīyā with which the sacrifice began (30) Aunbandhya pasu or an animal sacrifice to Maitrāvaruna in which the beast to be slaughtered is according to Kātyāyana a sterile cow or an ox (X 9 12, and 14) but now only a goat or in the absence of an animal a Payasyā or the offering of the caseine of milk and (31) Udavasānīyā which is performed to the north of the sacrificial enclosure and in which fire is newly struck by rubbing the Aranis or logs of wood According to the rules laid down in the Sutra all these ceremonies should be performed on the same day i e, the fifth, but now it is usual for the last four to be performed on the next or the sixth day This is a short description of a very complicated sacrifice

MANUSCRIPTS CONTAINING THE RITUAL OF THE SOMA SACRIFICE

No 449 is a manual of the Agniṣṭoma for the Adhvaryu and his assistants and the duties of these priests are therein laid down in accordance with the Sutra of Hiranyakesin

No 436 contains the duties of the Maitrāvaruna, the first assistant of the Hotṛ, in the animal sacrifice in honour of Agnisomau on the fourth day of the Agniṣṭoma and in the Sutyā ceremonies of the next day The Maitrāvaruna has to give Praiṣas to the Hotr after he receives similar ones from the Adhvaryu that is, to communicate the Adhvaryu's order to the Hotr He has also to repeat the Anuvākyās and some other Mantras a hymn when Soma is poured into the smaller cups (Camasa) at each of the three libations and also Śastras

No 437 is an incomplete copy of the Maitrāvaruna's manual of the Agnīṣomīyapasu

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE SEVERAL SAMSTHĀS

(1) AGNISTOMA

In the Prātaḥ Savana or morning libation of the Agniṣṭoma, the Hotṛ has, as above stated, to repeat two Śastras the first of

which is called Ājyasastra, and the second Pra u ga No 392 contains these two The Maitrāvaiuna, Brāhmanācchamsin and the Acchāvāka have each to recite one At the Mādhyamdina Savana or the noon libation the Hoti has two Śastras called the Marutvatiya and Niskevalya and the other three priests one each as in the morning while at the evening libation or Trtiya Savana the Hoti alone iepeats two Śastias called Vaisvadeva and Āgnimāruta Thus in the Agnistoma the Hoti has on the principal day to iepeat six Śastias and the three minor priests, six between them the total number being twelve

The Śastras of the Hoti are given in No 401 with the excep tion of the last or Āgnimāruta and of the Maiti āvaruna in No 439 as well as in No 436 Those repeated by the Acchāvāka togethei with the other things assigned to him aie given in No 387 and No 432 contains the Śastras of the Biāhmanācchamsin as well as other directions for his guidance The duties of the Nestr and Poti in an Agnistoma aie given in Nos 417 and 426

(2) ATYAGNISTOMA

The Atyagnistoma diffeis fiom the Agnistoma so far as the Śastras aie conceined only in assigning one more Śastra called the Solasin to the Hoti at the evening libation, in addition to the Vaisvadeva and the Āgnimāruta Of this Nos 443 and 444 are copies

(3) UKTHYA

In the Ukthya one Śastra is assigned to each of the three minor priests Maitrāvaruna, Brāhmanācchamsin, and Acchāvāka at the third savana or evening libation In other respects it is exactly like the Agnistoma There are thus fifteen Śastias in all

(4) SOḶASIN

The Soḷasin is like the Ukthya except that the Hotr has one Śastra more which is called the Soḷasisastra at the end Thus in all there are sixteen Śastras

(5) VĀJAPEYA

The Vājapeya differs from the Soḻasin in having some of its Mantras different and assigning one more Śastra called Atiriktoktha to the Hotr at the evening libation

(6) ATIRĀTRA

In the Atirātia the Soḻasiśastia is sometimes repeated at the evening libation and then it is like the Soḻasin variety sometimes not when it comes to be like the Ukthya In the night however each of the four Sastra reciting priests, Hotr and others repeat one Śastra in turn then there is another round and a third Each of these rounds is called a Paryāya and thus there are three Paryāyas and twelve Śastias and these are given in No 440 The Hoti has then another Śastia called the Āsvinasastra There are thus in all 29 or 28 Śastras

(7) APTORYĀMA

The Aptoryāma is like the Atirātia but there is a good deal of difference in the Mantras used, and the so called Nyunkhas or sixteen Os are inserted in the Śastras In the third Savana the Vālakhilyas (Rv VI 49 59) are inserted in the Śastra assigned to the Maitrāvaruna and the Vrsākapisūkta (Rv X 86) and others, in that recited by the Brāhmaṇācchamsin The Evayāmarutsūkta (Rv V 87) and others are interwoven with the Śastra of the Acchāvāka and of the Śastra so enlarged No 393 is a copy The other hymns beside Rv V 87 which are inserted are Rgveda II 13 VII 100 I 156 and VI 69 And last of all in the third Savana there is the Soḻasin assigned to the Hotr and not optional here as in the Atirātra Then at night we have the three Paryāyas or rounds of the Atirātra as well as the Āsvinasastra of the Hotr and thereafter one additional Śastia called Atiriktoktha has to be recited by each of the four priests In this manner we have in this variety of the Jyotiṣṭoma 33 Śastras in all No 390 contains some of these

No 441 gives the duties of and the Sāmans or songs to be sung by the Udgatr at the Vajapeya sacrifice and No 442, the same as well as those referring to the Aptoryāma The author of this manual is one Govardhana who however, says nothing about himself

SARVATOMUKHA SACRIFICE

No 445 is a manual for the Udgātr at a sacrifice called Sarvatomukha The Sarvatomukha is so called because in four enclosures in four directions—East West North and South—four Jyotistoma sacrifices of different Samsthās or varieties are performed at one and the same time

DIFFERENT COMBINATIONS OF THE SOMA SACRIFICES

Soma sacrifices are divided into Aikāhika Ahīna or Ahargana and Sāmvatsarika The Sutyā being the principal part of the sacrifice the Aikāhikas (literally such as last for one day) are those that have one Sutyā Ahinas are those which have more Sutyas than one Samvatsarikas are those in which the Sutyā is performed every day for one or more years The Prakrti or original type of an Aikāhika is the Agnistoma of an Ahīna the Dvādasāha in which the Sutyās are twelve and of a Sāmvatsarika the Gavamayana in which the Soma sacrifice is performed every day for one year The Dvādasaha and Gavāmayana are not simply combinations of a certain number of one or more of the four Samsthās before described There are many peculiarities An Ahina or Sāmvatsarika, in which all the priests undergo the Diksa or anointing ceremony and are Yajamānas or sacrificers is a Sattra

ITIHĀSAS, PURĀNAS, MĀHĀTMYAS AND STOTRAS

KASMĪRAMĀHĀTMYA

In the Gujarat Section which as I have already stated, comprises Kasmīr Manuscripts purchased at Delhi there is a copy of what is in the first and the last leaf and in the margin,

called Kasmıramāhātmya In the colophon we have "Sam purnamıdam Nılamatam" On comparıng ıt with the extracts gıven by Dr Buhlei ın hıs Report for 1875 76 on the Kasmır Manuscripts from the Nılamatapuıāna, I find that thıs ıs ıdentıcal with that and does not contaın the additıons made by Sahebram which Dr Buhler encloses wıthın brackets The Manuscript has no lacunæ such as those Dr Buhler speaks of ın hıs Śāradā copıes, and ıs altogether a good copy The date ıs put down at the end as Samvat 4872 which I believe refers to the Saptarsı era current ın Kasmır and subtractıng from ıt 3154, which accordıng to Dr Buhler ıs the ınterval between the ınıtıal date of that eıa and the Śaka we get 1718 Śaka as the date of the Manuscript If however the eıa ıs that of the Kalıyuga, the date corresponds to 1693 Śaka Dr Buhler calls the work Nılamata purāna but the correct tıtle appears to be Kasmīramāhātmya accordıng to Nılamata

STUTIKUSUMAÑJALI BY JAGADDHARA

No 40 ıs a copy of Stotras I II and a part of III from the Stutıkusumāñjalı ın the Śāradā character and No 41 ıs a copy of the entıre work with a commentary, some leaves of whıch are howevei mıssıng They are put here as comıng under the heâd of Stotras but peıhaps ıt would have been more appropnate to place them under Kāvyas or Phılosophy The author of the Stutıkusumāñjalı was Jagaddhara, the son of Ratnadhara, who hımself was the son of Gauradhara Gauradhara ıs spoken of as havıng composed a sort of commentary on the Yajurveda The father of Jagaddhara the commentator on Mālatımādhava was Ratnadhara, but hıs grandfather's name was Gadādhara, and not Gauradhara, wherefore the author of the Stutıkusumāñjalı appears to have been a dıfferent person

OTHER STOTRAS ETC

No 42 ıs a copy ın Śāradā character of a serıes of twenty Stotras by Utpalācārya

In the Maratha Section there are two copies (Nos 470 and 471) of a work entitled Śivamāhātmya forming a portion of the Brahmottaraakhanda which itself is called a part of the Skanda purāna

No 470 is an incomplete copy of a Purāna entitled Mudgalapurāna purporting to be narrated by Mudgala to Dakṣa The glories of Ganesa or Ganapati are narrated in the work

VĀRIJĀKSACARITRA

No 467 is a copy of a curious work called Vārijāksa carıtra It is represented to be the Uttara or third Kānda of a work entitled Prajñānakumudacandrikā which is referred to the Brahmānda purāna The names Skandapurāna and Brahmāndapurana are not the names of any definite works but any Māhātmya or Carıtra of a holy place or a god that happens at any time to be written is referred to either of these to confer sanctity on it

The Vārijāksacarıtra cannot be a very old work Vārijākṣa was the name of an Avatāra of Visnu different from Rāma or Krṣna But he is sometimes called Vāsudeva and is indentified with Śiva also He belonged to a family of Gaudasārasvata Brahmans the name of which was Śrikantha and was the son of a mother named Yamunā His wife s name was Jvalini and he had two sons Avya and Sauvira

Among the many stories told of Vārijākṣa is his having held a sacrificial session for twelve years, i e, a Dvāda savārṣika Sattra In connection with that a pretty good description is given of the sacrificial ritual and in the list of guests or visitors who attended the Sattra we have all modern names A Yati namad Bhavānandasarasvati who was a Gaudasārasvata Brahman came to see it from Kāsi with his pupil Saccidānanda So also the pupil of this last Śivā nandasarasvati Rāmānandasarasvatī Sadānandasarasvati and Pūrnānandasarasvatī, each of whom was the pupil of the

preceding, attended the Sattra Then came Śivānandasarasvatī from Tryambaka and several others All these Yatis belonged to the Gauḍasārasvata caste Yatis of the Dravida caste also Śamkaraācārya and others came There were Ācāryas of the Gauda caste among the guests such as Maheśvarācārya, Sambācārya Rāmcandraācārya, Keśavacārya, &c and also ordinary Brahmans and men of learning such as Rāma Ananta, Śrinivāsa Bhiksu, &c Dravidācāryas also bearing the names of Bhimācarya Krpācārya Tirumangalācārya &c were present

VILIFICATION OF KARHĀDĀ BRAHMANS

Seven Karahātaka or Karhādā Brahmans of the names of Nanuka Phānasa, Bākara, &c , also came but they were driven out of the sacrificial enclosure For the Karhādās were not true Brahmans they were men of low origin, administered poison hated true Brahmans, and murdered them and especially their own sons in law Popular estimation still credits the Karhādās with the administration of poison and murder Then is given an indecent account of the low origin of that caste At the end of the work we are told that those are excellent Vaisnavas who always remember with devotion Vārijākṣa who dwells in the Tapas world and is Śiva himself in another form Those Vaiṣnavas also are stainless who worship Visnu dwelling in Vaikuntha without hating Śiva

VILIFICATION OF THE MADHVAS

But those others who allow heated Mudrās (seals) to be pressed on their body and advocate duality are heretics and resemble carcasses and are neither Vaiṣnavas nor Śaivas Those who allow heated Mudrās to be pressed on their bodies should not even be touched, and if one happens to do so, he should look at the sun to be free from the sin The preceptor of those wicked men who call the glorious Śamkarācārya a Daitya, was a sinful and asinine villain" Such are

the amenities to which the sect of the followers of Madhva is treated and the book is a specimen of those which under the name of the old Rsis have been written in modern times to pour vile abuse upon rival sects and castes The narrative in the work purports to be communicated by Agastya to Kauleya and as in the case of the Purānas, the Sūta and the Rsis are introduced but the real author of the work must have been a man of the Gaudasārasvata caste living among Karhdā Brahmans between whom and his caste there was not, as there is not at present a good understanding, who hated the Mādhavas and was himself one of that large body of people in the Maratha country who worship both Śiva and Visnu, revere Śamkarācārya, and adhere generally to his doctrines Vārijāksa must have been some local deity

In this class there are Manuscripts of Māhātmyas Kavacas Śāntis &c which were not purchased on their own account but were included in the large lots containing copies of valuable works, which because they contained such Māhātmyas &c, were paid for at a much lower rate so that even if these had been rejected the valuable Manuscripts would at a higher rate have cost as much as the whole lots

DHARMAŚĀSTRA

GUJARATH SECTION

SMRTIS AND COMMENTARIES

In the Gujarath Section we have, of the Smrti branch of the literature of this subject Gautamiya Dharmasāstra (No 47), Caturvimsatimatam (No 48) Manusamhitā Kasmir text (No 53), the Ācāra and Vyavahāra of Yājñavalkya with Aparāditya's commentary (No 54), a copy of the Śrāddhaprakarana of the same (No 55) and Vrddhavasistha, Chaps I—X (No 60)

THE ĀCĀRA BRANCH

Of Digests and Manuals belonging to the Ācāra branch of the Hindu law, the first to be noticed is Śridharācārya's

Smrtyarthasāra (No 64) This work is quoted in Hemādri's Śraddhaprakarana At fol 538*a* of a Manuscript of this last work purchased since the view of the author of the Smrtyartha sāra is stated along with an unfavourable criticism on it by the author of the Smrticandrikā so that Śridharācārya must have flourished before the author of the Smrticandrikā and both before Hemādri, i e before the thirteenth century This reference I owe to Gangadhara Śastri Datar The Smrtyarthasāra is also mentioned in the Madanapārijata written as will be hereafter shown in the latter part of the fourteenth century The verse in which Śridharācārya mentions Śambhu Dravida, Kedāra (Padādi is my reading) Lollata and others as previous writers on the subject and Kāmadhenu Pradipa Abdhi, Kalpavrksa, and Kalpalatā as previous works is given by Professor Aufrecht in the Oxford Catalogue

SMRTISĀRA

No 63 is a seemingly incomplete copy of a work entitled Smrtisāra written in the Śāradā character Vācaspati mentions a work of that name in his Dvaitanirnaya

MADANAPĀRIJĀTA

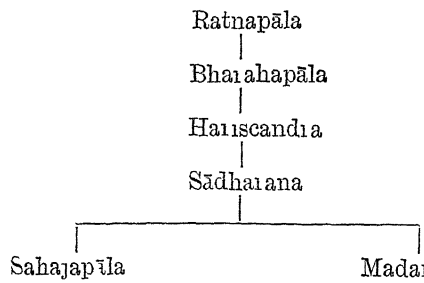
No 52 is a copy about three hundred years old of the Madanapārijata by Viśvesvarabhatta Last year's Collection also contains a copy of the work but it is undated Since I wrote last about Madanapāla [1] the prince of the Tīka race who patronised the author of the work and reigned at Kāsthā or Kādhā on the banks of the Yamunā, north of Delhi my assistant Mr Shridhar R Bhandarkar has been able to discover his date

DATE OF MADANAPĀLA

In the Collection of 1873–74 made by Dr Buhler, there are two copies of a work called Madanavinodanighantu (Nos 109

1 [Ante pp 6f]

and 110) The author—or patron of the author—of this was the same Madanapala as the patron of Visvesvara as is evident from the genealogy given at the end of the work which is as follows —



This agrees with the pedigree given in the introduction to the Madanapārijata It may however be remarked that Professor Aufrecht in his notice of this and another work of the author seems to take Karavimukti as the name of the father of Madanapāla But that word does not occur in the Madanavinoda and we have only the name Sadhārana in the first verse referring to that prince as we have it in the corresponding verse in the Madanapārijata

At the end of the Prasasti in the Madanavinoda occurs a verse in which we are told that the work was composed by Madana on Monday the 6th of the light half of Māgha in the year of Vikramāika Brahmayugayugenduganite Now the Manuscript No 110 in which the verse occurs, it being omitted in No 109 is very incorrect and in this particular case the metre requires that the ga of the first yuga should be prosodially long but it is not Yuga however may be a mistake for yuge or yugād but whatever it may be, the word represents the place of *tens* in the date while it is the numeral in the place of *hundreds* that is very important and as to that there can be no doubt Since the day of the week and of the fortnight are both given, I referred this point to Mr Janardan Balaji Modak, Head Master High School Dhulia, who for a con

siderable time has been studying Hindu Jyotiṣa asking him to calculate and ascertain whether the 6th of the light half of Māgha falls on Monday in the yeu 1441 of Vikrama His reply is that it falls on Monday in the year 1431 Thus yuga in the verse is a mistake foi a word meaning 'three" and the date is 1431 Vikiama or 1375 A D

In a Manuscript of the Madananighantu iecently purchased, the expression is Biahmajagadyugenduganite wheie we have jagad for yuga and the requirements of the metre aie satisfied Jagad is the same as loka and since the lokas oi worlds aie three the jagats also are three Besides we often meet with the expression jagattiaya as in Di stis tiniki tajagattrayasattvasārā Uttara Rāmacarita Act VI Jagattriyigitayasahprasastih, etc Hemādri s Piasasti of King Mahadeva etc Thus the date is 1431 Vikrama, and Mr Modak s calculation has pioved true

ACĀRĀDARSA BY SRĪDATTA

No 44 is a copy of the Ācāiādaisa by Sridatta, and No 45 is a commentary on it by Gauripati son of Dāmodara The commentary was finished by the author in Kas i on Sunday the 13th of Āsvina in the year 1696 of Vikiama, corresponding to 1640 A D No 44 was transci ibed in Samvat 1690 oi 1634 A D i e six years before the commentary was written by Gauripati The Ācārādarsa is quoted by Kamalakaia in the Nirnayasindhu which we know was written in Samvat 1668 or 1612 A D , and also by Vācaspati Besides the Purānas and the authors of many Smrtis Śridatta mentions the following digests oi their authors —

Harihara fol 31*b* 36*a* 48*a*, 52*a*

Kalpatarukāra 37*b*, 55*a*

Kāmadhenu 27*a* 47*a*

Of these Harihara is quoted in Hemādri's Śrāddhaprakarana many times and Kāmadhenu in the Smrtyarthasara

ŚRĀDDHAVIVEKA BY RUDRADHARA

No 61 is Śraddhaviveka by Rudradhara It is quoted in the Nirnayasindhu and the Dvaitanirnaya of Vacaspati also by Raghunandana

Of the remaining works belonging to this branch, No 46 is on a special subject No 51 which is in the Śāradā character and No 62 are general and the rest are tracts on the ritual of particular rites of which Nos 66—68 relate to the Rāmānuja sect

THE VYAVAHĀRA BRANCH

VIVĀDACANDRA BY SANMIŚRA MIŚARU

No 57 is a copy of the Vivādacandra by Sanmiśra Miśaru In the introduction which is given by Professor Aufrecht in the Oxford Catalogue the author states that he composed the treatise under the orders of Lakkhimādevi the queen of Candrasimha Candrasimha was the son of Darpanarayana and Hiradevi Darpanārāyana of Harasimha and he of Bhavesa This Harasimha must have been the same as the prince of Mithila of that name under the superintendence of whose minister Candesvara a work called Ratnākara was, according to Dr Hall (Edn of Sāmkhyapravacana, p 36), composed in Śaka 1236 or A D 1314 Miśarū wrote his Vivāda candra about 50 years later and quotes the Ratnakara

RAGHUNANDANA'S DĀYATATTVA

No 50 is a large fragment of the Dayatattva by Raghunandana whose date has been fixed by Professor Aufrecht between 1430 and 1612 A D

VIVĀDĀRNAVABHAÑJANA

No 58 is a copy of the Vivādārnavabhañjana which wants about four leaves at the end The author's name does not occur but the work is the same as No 364 of Dr Buhler's Collection of

1875-76 Dr Buhler gives Gaurikānta as the name of the author but it appears to be the work of many men from the passage at the end of his copy though it is corrupt In the introductory verses the authors speak of having consulted the works of the following writers —

1	Candesa	8	Dharmaratnakrt
2	Dhāresvara	9	Śrikara
3	Visvarūpa	10	Sulapāni
4	Mitākṣarā (krt)	11	Govinda
5	Halāyudha	12	Laksmidhara
6	Śrikṛṣna	13	Tattvakāra
7	Vācaspati	14	Ācāryacudāmanināca (?) bhatta

The Tattvakāra here mentioned must be Raghunandana noticed above, since he calls his works on different subjects the Tattvas of those subjects

WORKS OR AUTHORS QUOTED IN THE WORK

The following are most of the Nibandhas or their authors quoted in the body of the work —

Ratnākara—32*b*, 33*a*, 37*b* 38*a*, 50*a*, 54*a*, &c
Dipakalikā—32*b*, 33*b* 35*a*, 37*b*, 89*b* &c
Pārijāta (?)—33*a*, 55*b* 56*a* 66*b* 74*b*
Candesvara—33*b* 35*a*, 39*a*, 49*a* 54*a* &c
Vācaspati—35*a*, (with Misra) 59*b* 75*a*, 80*a*
Misra—35*a*
Dhāresvara—38*b*
Śūlapāni—39*a* 40*a*
Kalpataru-40*b*
Śrikṛṣna Tarkālamkāra—41*a*, 42*b*, 44*a* 44*b*, 51*a*
Smārtabhattācārya—41*a* 42*b*, 72*b*
Jimūtavāhana—41*a* 42*b*, 49*a*
Misrāḥ—41*b*, 52*b* 62*a* 73*a* & *b*, &c
Govindarāja

Kalpataru—53*a* 60*b*
Laksmidhara—53*a* 84*b* 90*a*
Kullukabhatta—54*a* 55*b* 57*a* 58*b* 59*a*, 97*b*
Vivādacintāmani—55*a*, 55*b* 60*a* 69*b* 74*a* & *b*, &c
Prakasakara—56*a*
Medhātithi—57*b* 59*a* 60*b*
Misrabhattacarya—68*b*
Halāyudha—68*b*
Mitāksarā—72*a* 96*a* 100*b*
Vivādaratnakara—79*b* 80*a* 100*b* 101*a* & *b*
Visvarūpa—87*a*
Harihara—89*a*

The authors of this work must thus have lived after Candesvara, or the author of the Ratnakara Madanapāla and Raghunandana and it one of them Gaurikānta was the same as Gauripati the commentator on Śridatta s Ācārādarsa he flourished in the middle of the seventeenth century

MARATHA SECTION

Nearly all of the Manuscripts in the Maratha Section belong to the Ācara branch of Dharma Some of these are works on (1) Ācara generally and others (2) on particular species of it or points connected with it while the rest are (3) Prayogas or Paddhatis or books containing the ritual of various rites

ACARA GENERAL

No 588 is a copy of the first chapter of the Mitākṣarā, which bears no date but looks old No 561 is a Manuscript of the Nirnayasindhu transcribed in 1581 Saka which corresponds to 1716 Samvat while Kamalākara wrote the book in 1668 Samvat so that our copy was made 48 years after the work was composed No 558 is an incomplete copy of the Dharmasindhu

NIRNAYĀMRTA OF ALLĀDANĀTHA

No 562 is a Manuscript of the Nirnayāmrta written by Alladanatha son of Laksmana under the orders of Suryasena a prince of the Chohan race who reigned in the city of Ekacakra on the banks of the river Yamunā

GENEALOGY OF SŪRYASENA

In the introduction the author gives the genealogy of his patron From the famous race of Cahuvīnas sprang Sarūpa who destroyed all his enemies His son was Karnadeva and his Uddharana Uddharana is represented to have performed some exploits at Delhi and to have wounded the elephants of the Lord of the Śakas " He established himself at the city of Ekacakra by which flowed the ' daughter of the Sun ' He was succeeded by his son Candrasena and Candrasena by his son Sūryasena Sūryasena had a younger brother of the name of Pratāpasena and a son of the name of Devasena I have not been able to find any trace of this line of princes elsewhere General Cunningham identifies Ekacakra with Arā but that town is in Behar while Ekcakra was situated on the Yamunā

WORKS CONSULTED BY THE AUTHOR

Allādanātha speaks of his having consulted the following works in the composition of his treatise —

Manusmrti	Mātsya
Visnusmrti	Kaurma
Pārāsarasmrti	Varāha
Āpastambasmrti	Vaisnava
Mitāksarā	Vāmana
Aparārka	Mārkandeya
Arnava	Bhavisyottara
Pārijāta	Hemādri's Parisista
Smrtyarthasāra	Anantabhattiya
Smrticandrikā	Grhyaparisista

Kālādarsa	Samvatsarapradıpa
Cıntāmanı	Bhojarājıya
Trıdandın	Devadāsıya
Krtyakalpataru	Rūpanārāyanıya
Dhavalapurānasamuccaya	Vıdyāvedapaddhatı
Durgotsava	Mahādevıya
Rāmakautuka	Vısvarūpa s Nıbandha

The Nırnayāmrta ıs quoted ın the Nırnayasındhu also by Raghunandana and by Bhattoji Dıksıta ın hıs Tıthınırnaya Bhattoji flourished as will be presently shown, ın the mıddle of the seventeenth century and Raghunandana s woıks aıe quoted ın the Nırnayasındhu If the Pārijāta occurring ın the above lıst ıs the Madanapārijāta about whıch however theıe ıs no reasonable doubt Allādanātha and Sūryasena must have flourıshed afteı 1375 A D and before the close of the sıxteenth century A copy of the Nırnayāmrta ıs notıced by Professor Weber ın hıs Berlın Catalogue

ĀCĀRA PARTICULAR

Among the treatıses wrıtten to deıermıne the proper tımes for the performance of the ordınary ceremonıes and the observance of fasts festıvals &c the first to be notıced ıs Madhava's Kārıkās (No 526) whıch he tells us he wıote after he had fınıshed hıs commentary on Parāsaıa and as a sort of supplement to ıt No 521 ıs anotheı copy of the same wıth a commentary by Vaıdyanātha

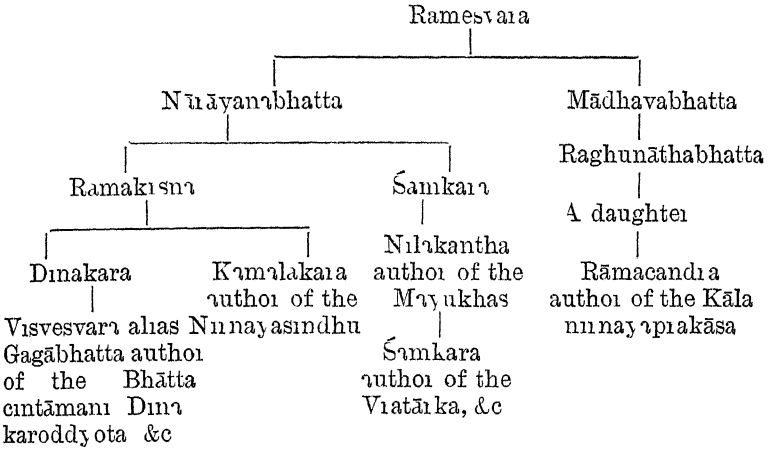
COMMENTARY ON THE KĀLANIPNAYADĪPIKA

No 524 ıs an ıncomplete copy of the commentary on Rāmacandrācārya's Kalanırnayadıpikā by hıs son Nrsımha Thıs Rāmacandrācārya ıs the same as the author of the Prakrıyākaumudı on Pānını's grammar whıch was superseded by Bhattoji Dıkṣıta's Sıddhāntakaumudı Hıs hıstory and daṭe

will be given hereafter The Kālanirnayadīpikā is quoted by Bhattoji in the Tithinirnaya and I have verified the quotation It is also quoted in the Nirnayasindhu

KĀLANIRNAYAPRAKĀSA BY RĀMACANDRABHATTA

No 525 is a Manuscript of the Kālanirnayaprakasa by Ramacandrabhatta whose family name was Tatsat and who was the son of Vitthala and grandson of Bālakrsna The book is held in great estimation Gangadhara Śastri has ascertained that Ramacandra was on his mother's side connected with the family of Nārāyanabhatta as represented in the following genealogical tree to which I have added two branches in order to determine Rāmacandra's relation with the other authors of the Bhatta family



It will thus be seen that Rāmacandra belonged to the generation next after the authors of the Nirnayasindhu and the Mayūkhas and to the same generation as Gāgabhatta and Samkara the author of the Vratārka Rāmacandra quotes among other authors his Matāmaha or mother's father, i e, Raghunāthabhatta

KĀLASIDDHĀNTA BY CANDRACŪDA

No 528 is a fragment of the Kālasiddhānta by Candracūda, son of Umanabhatta and Jānakī and surnamed Paurānika Candracūda quotes among others Madhava Govindārnava Madanaratna Dipikā and Tithitattva The last is probably the Tithitattva of Raghunandana

No 523 also is a fragment of a work entitled Kālanirnaya candrikā by Divakara son of Mahadevabhatta whose family name was Kale Divakara quotes the Nirnayasindhu wherefore he is a recent author

TITHINIRNAYA BY BHATTOJI DIKSITA

No 548 is Tithinirnaya by Bhattoji Diksita the son of Lakṣmidhara and the author of the Siddhāntakaumudī and other grammatical works In this work Bhattoji mentions among others the following authors and works —

Anantabhatta	Madanapārijāta
Apararka	Madanaratna
Kalādarśa	Mādhava
Jyotirnibandha	Ramārcanacandrikā
Tristhalīsetu	Viśvarūpanibandha
Nārāyana	Sarvajñanārāyana
Narāyanavrtti on Āśvalayana	Smṛticandrika
Nirnayadipikā	Smṛtidarpana
Nirnayāmrta	Smṛtiratnāvalī
Prthvicandrodaya	Smṛtisamgraha
Pratāpamārtanda	Smrtyarthasāra
Prayogapārijāta	Haradatta
Bhārgavārcanacandrikā	Hemādri

BHATTOJI'S DATE

Of these, the Nirnayadipikā is the Kālanirnayadipikā of Rāmacandrācārya, and I have as already stated verified the quotations Rāmacandrācārya flourished as will be shown

hereafter about the middle of the fifteenth century The Tristhalisetu is the work of Narayanabhatta whose dates are Samvat 1612 1624 and Śaka 1457 (see Mandlik's Vyavahāra mayūkha Upodghata) The earliest of these is 1535 A D , and the latest 1568 A D Bhattoji therefore lived after the third quarter of the sixteenth century But a still closer approximation may be made to Bhattoji's date Nāgojibhatta was the pupil of Hari Diksita the grandson of Bhattoji and Vitthalrao Ganesha Patavardhan who died in 1871 belonged as appears from the table given by Dr Kielhorn in the preface to his translation of the Paribhāṣendusekhara to the fourth generation of teachers and pupils after Nāgojibhatta and consequently to the seventh after Bhattoji that is, including Bhattoji there were eight generations up to 1871 Allowing 30 years to each generation Bhattoji's literary activity must have begun at the earliest about the year 1631 A D , i e he might safely be understood to have flourished about the middle of the seventeenth century This conclusion tallies with the date 1713 A D assigned to Nagojibhatta by Dr Hall in the preface to his edition of the Samkhyasāra (p 37 note) Kamalakara does not quote Bhattoji in the Nirnayasindhu written in 1612 A D , or in the Śūdra dharmatattva though these books contain a large number of names which circumstance might be regarded as corroborative of this view According to Professor Weber (Berlin Catalogue) this same Tithinirnaya contains a mention of the Nirnayasindhu but I have not found it I believe Bhattoji and Kamalākara were nearly contemporaries, the latter being the elder of the two

No 532 is a small tract written for the purpose of determining the proper time for the rite laid down by Paraskara, called Kesānta

DĀNAVĀKYĀVALĪ BY VIDYAPATI

No 553 is a very old Manuscript transcribed in Samvat 1539 or 1483 A D of a work entitled Dānavākyāvali It was

composed by Vidyapati at the requisition of Dhiramati who was the queen of Narasimhadeva King of Mithila Narasimha deva is styled the ornament of the family of Kameśvarajāja pandita The name Narasimhadeva occurs in the lists of kings of Tirhut published by Kirkpatrick and Hodgson (Prinseps Tables) General Cunningham states that these princes were Brahmans by caste (Arch Survey Reports Vol XVI) and the name Kāmeśvarajājapandita perhaps points to that fact The last Harasimhadeva who was the third in descent from Narasimhadeva was subdued by the Emperor of Delhi and compelled to abandon his capital in 1323 A D Narasimha deva therefore must have been on the throne about 1230 A D If he is the prince mentioned in our Manuscript of which there appears every likelihood the Danavākyāvali was written about the middle of the thirteenth century The Harasimhadeva son of Bhavesa mentioned by Misra and by Dr Hall must have belonged to another line of Mithila princes reigning over some other part of the country

NANDAPANDITA'S SAMSKĀRANIRNAYA

No 612 is Samskaranirnaya by Nandapandita the son of Rāmapandita, the Dharmadhikarin The first leaf is missing The work was composed at the request of prince Harivamsa varman son of king Mango and the 'crest jewel of the Mahendra race

GAGĀBHATTA'S ĀCĀRĀDARSA

No 502 is Ācāradinakaroddyota completed (purita) by Viśvesvara alias Gāgabhatta, whose pedigree has already been given It consists of an Āhnika or 'the daily religious duties of a pious Brahman" only Probably Gaga's father wrote a work on Ācāra generally and his son added this Āhnika to it

OTHER ĀHNIKAS

No 512 is an Āhnika by Raghunathabhatta son of Mādhava bhaṭṭa This Raghunathabhaṭṭa must have been the father of

the mother of Rāmacandra the author of the Kalanirnaya prakasa mentioned before No 511 is in the colophon called an Āhnika in accordance with the Sūtra of Gotama (Gotamasūtre) No 503 is the Āhnika section of the Ācārapradipa composed by Kamalakara who was a native of the village of Kūrpara (Kopargaum) on the Godāvarī and afterwards went to and settled in Kāsi where he wrote the treatise No 518 is a work of a similar nature

A MĀDHVA ĀHNIKA

No 510 is an Āhnika for the followers of Madhva written in accordance with his Sadācārasmṛti by Challāri Nrsimhācārya son of Narāyana This forms one of the four Tarangas or waves" of his Smṛtyarthasāgara or ocean of the doctrines of the Smṛtis ' and one more—the Kalatarainga—is noticed by Professor Aufrecht in the Oxford catalogue

VITTHALA'S KUNDAMANDAPASIDDHI

No 529 is a Manuscript of the Kundamandapasiddhi by Vitthala Diksita The work is noticed by Professor Weber in the Berlin Catalogue The Kundas or altars and the Mandapas or enclosures—the form measure and modes of construction of which are given in this tract—are intended for the performance of certain Smārta religious rites therefore this and other works of that nature are put in this class Vitthala was the son of Buba of the Atrigotra and a student of the Madhyamdina branch of the Yajurveda The Manuscript contains also a commentary written by the author himself The work was finished in Kasi on Sunday the 12th of the light half of Phālguna in the Śaka year 1541 i e 1619 A D The Manuscript was transcribed in 1690 Śaka by Vitthala Śrotriya No 530 is another incomplete copy of the same work, and No 531 is a fragment of another work on the same subject

No 599 is a copy of the Vratarāja a modern work by a Citta pāvana Brahman named Visvanātha the son of Gopala who

lived at Kāsi on the Durgāghāta The work was compiled in Samvat 1793 and Śaka 1658 corresponding to 1736 A D A very large number of Vratas or fasts and observances are detailed in the book

JIVADEVA ANANTADEVA APADEVA AND THEIR WORKS

No 507 contains the Āsaucanirnaya by Jivadeva and an incomplete copy of the Samskārakaustubha by Anantadeva Jivadeva was the son of Āpadeva who lived at a place situated on the banks of the Godāvari In the colophon the work is called Āsaucadidhiti or A ray in the form of Āsauca of the Kaustubha" The Kaustubha meant must be the Smrtikaustubha of which the Samskārakaustubha and Rājakaustubha are parts The author of these is Anantadeva son of Āpadeva Jivadeva therefore must be a brother of this Anantadeva The name of Āpadeva's father was also Anantadeva so that the author of the Samskārakaustubha was named after his grandfather, as men are often so named among the Marathas Āpadeva is the author of the Mīmāmsānyāya prakāsa usually called Āpadevi, which is highly valued as an excellent introduction to the study of the Mimāmsā I possess also a commentary on the Vedāntasara by this same Āpadeva

Jivadeva quotes the Nirnayasindhu several times as well as the following among others —

Mitāksarā	Antyesti by Bhatta i e, Nārāyanabhatta
Aparārka	
Mādhava	Śuddhitattva
Smrtyarthasāra	Hemādri
Śulapāni and other Gaudas	Madanapārijāta
Haradatta	Madanaratna

These three authors therefore lived in very modern times The Samskārakaustubha also contains the name of Haradatta

There are also in the collection little tracts on other branches of the Ācāra division of the Dharmaśāstra which do not call for any special observation

THE PRAYOGAS

ĀSVALĀYANAGRHYAKĀRIKĀ

There is a large number of works descriptive of the ritual to be observed on various occasions And the first to be noticed among these is the Āsvalāyanagrihyapaddhatikārikās attributed to Kumārilabhatta The Manuscript is dated Samvat 1816 and Saka 1681 No 492 is a copy of the ritual of the Agnimukha or Ājyatantra which is an introductory ceremony to all rites performed on the Grihya fire The ritual is intended for the followers of the Atharvaveda

GANGĀDHARA'S PADDHATIS

Nos 570 and 623 are fragments of Gangādhara's Prayoga paddhati and Nos 613 and 614 of his Samskārapaddhati In these last Gangādhara speaks of himself as the son of the son of Rāmāgnihotrin He appears to be one of the oldest writers on the ritual followed by Mādhyamdinas for in last year's Collection there is a copy of the Samskārapaddhati which was transcribed in Samvat 1650 or 1594 A D, and No 613 also appears very old though it bears no date

PADMANĀBHA AND HIS DARPANAS

Another writer on this subject for the Mādhyamdinas is Padmanābha, son of Gopāla and grandson of Nārāyana No 576 is a small fragment of his Prayogadarpana, and No 575 of his Pratisthādarpana which contains the ritual to be observed in the consecration of images

TANA PATHAKA

A third writer is Tina Pathaka of whose Samskāramuktāvali, No 615 is a Manuscript It comes down to the end of Vivāha or marriage,

ĀPASTAMBA PRAYOGAPADDHATI

No 577 is a copy of the Prayogapaddhati for the followers of Āpastamba by an author of the name of Peñjalla Jhingayya son of Peñjalla Mañcanācārya This is a South Indian name and probably the author was a Tailanga Brahman Followers of Āpastamba are mostly to be found in the Tailangana country while in Mahārāstra there are a few families living on the borders of the two countries

The other works in this group are on special rites and ceremonies and do not call for any particular notice

THE PRĀYAŚCITTA AND VYAVAHĀRA BRANCHES

As referring to the Vyavahāra branch of the Dharma we have in the Maratha division only the second chapter of the Mitākṣarā (No 589) transcribed in Śaka 1572 There are also three small tracts belonging to the Prāyaścitta branch (Nos 501 505 and 621)

POEMS PLAYS AND FABLES

VALLABHADEVA'S COMMENTARIES

In the Gujarath Section we have complete copies in the Śārada character of Vallabhadeva's Commentaries on the Raghuvamsa (No 83) and the Meghadūta (No 82) and of that on the first eight cantos of the Kumārasambhava (No 72) The name of Vallabhadeva's father was Ānandadeva

No 71 is a complete copy of Jonarāja's Commentary on the Kirātarjuniya composed as stated in the introduction in Śaka 1370 (Kharsivisvamite Sāke) corresponding to 1448 A D in the reign of Jainollābhadena This prince is the same as Zainul Abuddin whose name occurs in the table of Kasmir Kings given at the end of Prinsep's Essays and who ascended the throne in 1422 A D and reigned up to 1472 A D

VISNUBHAKTIKALPALATĀ WITH A COMMENTARY

No 86 is a copy of the eighth Stabaka or canto of Puruṣottama's Viṣṇubhaktikalpalatā with a commentary by

Mahesvara, son of Virūpākṣa There is a Manuscript of Stabakas I II IV and V of the poem with the same commentary in my Collection of 1879 80 (No 81) and of the whole of eight Stabakas with the commentary of Mahidasa in that of 1881 82 (No 320) The present Manuscript was transcribed in Samvat 1667 and Saka 1533 so that the commentary is at least 275 years old

DATE OF THE COMMENTARY

But the date of its composition is given at the end of the Manuscript as Thursday the 3rd (Mukhyajayātithau) of the light half of Mārgasirṣa in the year of Vikrama Asvambudhi rāga bhumi The first two words represent 47 and the last 1 and in the place of hundreds we have raga But the word Rāga is not used to denote a numeral, nor is the sense of the word such as to make it fit for such a use In all probability therefore Rāga is a mistake for Rāma which word is used to express the numeral (3), for there were three Ramas, Bhārgava Rāma Dāsarathi Rāma, and Bala Rāma The date therefore is 1347 Vikrama corresponding to 1291 A D According to Mr Modak's calculations however it is 1447 Vikrama But the word Rāga cannot be so understood or corrected as to mean four'

(The word raga is sometimes used to express six', as Pandit Durgaprasada tells me Raga means a musical mode' and there are six principal modes the use of the word therefore to express 'six' is perfectly possible The date of the Commentary is thus 1647 Samvat and according to the Pandit's as well as Mr Diksit's calculation the 3rd of the light half of Mārgaśirṣa falls on a Thursday in that year)[1]

In the commentary of the eighth Stabaka contained in the

1 The matter included in the brackets was added by Sir R G Bhandarkar in the "Notes, Corrections and Additions appended to the Original Report — [N B U]

Manuscript before me the following lexicons are quoted from —

Amara	Halāyudha
Viśva	Mahipa

There is a copy of Mahipa in my last year's Collection The Bhāgavata also is mentioned The commentary of Mahidāsa mentioned above was composed in the year 1654 The era is not given

THE MAHĀNĀTAKA WITH A COMMENTARY

No 96 is a Manuscript of the Mahānātaka with a commentary by Balabhadra son of Kasināth̄a and grandson of Krisnadatta The commentary was composed on the Rāmanavami day or the 9th of the light half of Caitra in the year 1638 the cyclic year being Vyaya The era to which the date refers is not given but it must be the Samvat Balabhadra mentions a previous commentary, the Candrikā

PRABODHACANDRODAYA AND COMMENTARIES ON IT

No 77 is a copy of the Prabodhacandrodaya transcribed in Samvat 1601 corresponding to 1545 A D and No 78 is a commentary on the play by Rāmadāsa son of Bhatta Vināyaka Among Manuscripts written in the Tailanga character received in 1882 from the Government of H H the Nizam through the Government of Bombay there was a commentary on the play entitled Candrikā and the report that I made on it under date the 8th of February 1883 is as follows —

The first of these (i e the Candrika) was composed by the minister of a king of the name of Nādillayappa In the introduction the author tells us he was a nephew (sister's son) of Salvatimma the minister of Krisnarāya king of Vijayanagara and had an elder brother who was Sālvatimma's son in law as well as nephew He gives a short history of Krisnarāya who is called "king of Karnataka" Krisnarāya was we are told, the son of Narasimha and was a powerful monarch who governed the

whole southern peninsula He married the daughter of Pratāparudra Gajapati (king of Orissa) Among the Mackenzie Manuscripts is one of the name of Kiṣnarāyacaritra or an account of Kisnarāya ' and what is stated there with regard to the king as well as what has been gathered from Inscriptions agrees with the account given by our commentator Krsnarāya reigned from A D 1508 to 1530 '

BĀLAKRSNA AND MADHUSŪDANA

No 85 is a commentary on a number of verses composed by one Balakrsna who lived at Gokula on the river Yamunā in the Antarvedi or the Doab The author was Madhusūdana pupil of Balakisna and son of Mādhava who himself was the son of Narasimha The commentary was composed in 1700 The era is not given but must be the Samvat, since the Manuscript itself was copied in 1774 Samvat

ANTHOLOGIES

Nos 79 91, 92 and 93 are Manuscripts of Anthologies The first is but a fragment containing the Nitiprakarana, the first of the twenty one sections into which the compilation is divided

The author is Haridāsa who was the youngest of four brothers, the sons of Puruṣottama who lived at Kharāghāta The anthology was compiled in the year 1614 The era is not given, but it must be the Samvat

A KASMIR ANTHOLOGY

No 91 is also a fragment without beginning or end about one half of which is written in the Śaradā character and the other half in the Nagari The names of poets are in most cases given at the end of the verse or verses attributed to them but in some places they are not The Sloka 'Ayam bandhuh paro v'eti ' &c , is attributed to Bhatta but it occurs in the Pañcatantra and may have been older and Durjanah parihartavyo vidyayālamkṛto ' &c , to Vālmiki but we find it in Bhartṛhari's

Nītisataka Such mistakes are by no means uncommon in anthologies and therefore the mere fact of the occurrence of the name of a certain poet after a certain verse in a Manuscript of an anthology ought not without corroborative evidence to be made the basis of far reaching historical conclusions

For instance the stanza one Pada of which—Varatanu samprava danti &c is quoted by Patañjali is fully given by Ksemendra and attributed to Kumāradasa and this fact has been used as a reason for bringing down the date of Patañjali But the same Pāda is attributed by Rayamukuta to Bharavi (p 479) to whom also the whole stanza as given by Ksemendra is ascribed in the Chandomañjari This throws such a doubt on the authorship of the stanza as to make it of little use in determining Patañjali's date And supposing that it belongs to any one of the two that does not by any means make Patañjali later than either Another explanation is quite possible viz that the Pāda was taken from Patañjali and three other were composed and added by either of the later writers, in the way of what is known as Samasyāpūrana

The following poets are mentioned in No 91

Bhaṭṭa Bana 2*a*
Vitāvṛtta 2*a*
Jagaddhara 2*b*
Harsadatta 3*b*
Canyaka (Capaka ?) 3*b*
Jīva 4*a*
Bhattaculita 4*b*
Amṛtadanta 5*a*
Ānandavardhana 3*b* 6*a* 8*a* 24*a* 34*b*, 37*b* 42*a*
Amṛtavardhana 6*a*
Manoratha 6*a* 7*b*
Vibhuti Mādhava 6*b*
Candrasvāmin 7*a*
Śrī Varahamihira 7*b*
Vijaya Madhava 7*b*
Ganapati 8*a*
Śūravarman 9*a*
Pandita Śrivanka 11*a*
Pandita Jagaddhara 11*a*
Jaya Mādhava 14*a*
Vallabhadeva 15*a*
Varāhamihira 15*a*
Valmikisūri 17*a*
Kṣemendra 17*b* 23*b* 25*ab* 33*a*
Kusumadeva 21*b*
Prakasavarṣa 22*b* 28*a* 34*b*

Vallabha 24*a*
Valmiki 24*b*
Murari 26*a*
Prthvidhara 26*a*
Damodh(d)aragupta 28*a*
Bhartrhari 28*b* 30*a* 31*a* 33*a* 34*b* 35
Jayavardhana 28*b*
Haragupta 29*a*
Bhāravi 29*a*
Sivasvāmin 29*a*
Bhatta Vāsudeva 29*b*, 41*a*
Vyāsadāsa 30*b*
Vararuci 31*b*
Bhatto(d)bhatta 33*b*
Dharmagupta 34*a*
Vikramāditya 34*a*
Haribhata 35*b*
Śriharṣa 36*a*
Śankuka 36*b*
Panditayajaka 37*a*
Bhallata 37*a* 37*b* 38*a*
Prakasadatta 37*a*
Dhāradhara 38*a*
Kālidasa 38*a*
Kalasaka 38*a*
Bhavānīnandana 38*b*
Dyutidhara 39*b*
Śri Śuka 40*a*
Śri Muktāpida 40*a*
Śri Jonaraja 41*a*
Ratisena 42*a*
Jalhana 42*b*

SUBHĀSITARATNAKOSA BY KRSNA

No 93 is a copy of Subhāṣitaratnakosa by Kṛṣna A few leaves are wanting at the end The names of the authors of the excerpts are not given, but the selections are very good

VERSES ABOUT PARTICULAR POETS

In the section on Kāvyas and Kavis we find verses in praise of Bana who is like a lion that breaks the globes on the temples of the elephants in the shape of other poets" of Mayūra Māgha, Bhāravi and Murāri Valmiki is in a verse spoken of as poet No 1, Vyasa as No 2 and Dandin as No 3 In another Harihara is admonished not to be boastful as Madana is the goad of elephants in the shape of poets" and Madana is in his turn bid "to remember the former deeds of Hara (Śiva) and hold his tongue' Here there is a play on the word Madana which means the god of love and was the name of a poet whose full name was Madanakirti Madanakirti is mentioned by Rājasekhara in his

Prabandhacaturvimsati and both he and Harihara were the contemporaries of Somesvaradeva the author of the Kirtikaumudi and Surathotsava

No 92 is an anthology the subject of which is Srngāra or love and which contains long extracts from the Mahānataka the Meghaduta, the Kumārasambhava and other poems The Manuscript was transcribed in 1612 Samvat

VYĀKARANA OR GRAMMAR

KĀTANTRALAGHUVRTTI

No 97 is Kātantralaghuvrtti A few leaves are missing The Vritti is different from Durga's Vritti published by Dr Eggeling The Purvārdha or Nāmaprakarana agrees with No 279 of 1875 76 and the Ākhyātavrtti of the Uttarārdha agrees with the corresponding portion of No 280 but the Krdvritti somewhat differs

KĀTANTRAPARIBHĀSĀS

No 98 contains the Sūtras of the Kātantra together with the Paribhāsās Most of these last are the same as those laid down by Panini or applicable to the grammar of Pānini

OTHER WORKS

No 103 is a copy of the Prabodhacandrikā by Vaijala son of Vikramāditya belonging to the Cāhuvāna or Chohan race and king of Candravati, the modern Jhalrapattan The tract contains verses giving the rules of grammar along with instances having reference to the story of Rāma

No 104 is Mahābhāsyagudhārthadipini containing notes on difficult passages in the Mahābhāsya by Sadāsiva pupil of Kamalakara Diksita The first chapter and a small portion of the second are wanting The Manuscript was transcribed or perhaps the book was written in Śaka 1589 or A D 1667 In either case it is evident that the author flourished before Nagoji bhatta

KĀSIKĀ

No 99 is a copy of the last five chapters of the Kāsikā The Manuscript contains no date but looks very old In the colophons at the end of Chapters IV and V the name of the author is not given but at the end of Padas I II and III of Chapter VI the title is given as Vāmana Kāsika At the end of the fourth Pada of the same chapter no name occurs but at the end of the eighth chapter, we have Paramopādhyāya Vāmanakrtayām Kasikayam Vrttau and of the seventh Vāmana tayam Kasikāyam Vrttau It would appear from this that Vāmana was the author of the last three chapters But on the evidence of Kasmir Manuscripts collected by Dr Buhler in 1875 76 Jayāditya is now believed to be the author of the first four chapters and Vamana of the last four But there is the evidence of Rāyamukuta and Bhattoji Diksita in favour of assigning the fifth chapter to Jayāditya and the seventh and eighth to Vāmana

Under the word Śaikarā in the Amarakosa Rāyamukuta derives the four forms of the word from Panini V 2 105 with a reference to Jayāditya and mentions Saikato ghatah or Śārkaram madhu as counter examples given by him and these we find in the Kāsikā under that Sutra Under the word Pānduna Rayamukuta defends Jayāditya against an attack by the author of the Bhāsāvrtti for having included the word Pandu in the Vārtika beginning with Naga on V 2 107 In commenting on his own explanation of ekavacanāt in Pānini V 4 43 as a word signifying a measure' and directing the application of the suffix Sas to such a word Bhattoji observes in the Manoramā that he has followed Jayāditya in so explaining it but according to Vamana that termination may be appended to ordinary common nouns also since under the Sutra VII 1 20 he gives Kundaso dadāti Vanasah pravisati as instances to show that the Śas occurring in that Sutra is not that used in these instances but is the Sas of the accusative plural Now the explanation attributed to Jayādityą

occurs in the Kāsikā under Pān V 4 43, and the instances attributed to Vāmana under Pān VII 1 20 Under the word Apsaras which according to Amara is used in the plural only, Rāyamukuta says that Vāmana gives Aphsarāh as an instance of the Vārtika Cayo dvitīyāh and hence the noun is used in the singular also Now this Vārtika occurs under VIII 4 48 and we do find aphsarāh in the Kasikā at that place Similarly under the words kravyād and kravyāda, Jayāditya's view is referred to, and this we find in the Kasikā under III 2 68

Madhava quotes Vamana's and Jayāditya's observations in the Dhatuvritti (Pandit Vol V New Series p 346) and these are found in the Kasika under VIII 2 30 and III 2 59 respectively Thus then on the evidence of Mādhava Rāyamukuta and Bhattoji the third and fifth chapters of the Kāsikā were written by Jayaditya and the seventh and eighth by Vāmana while the Manuscript before me assigns the sixth chapter also to the latter

CHAPTERS I V BY JAYĀDITYA AND VI VIII BY VĀMANA

On a review of the whole available evidence it appears clear that the author of the first five chapters was Jayāditya and of the last three Vāmana There is an allusion to Jayāditya and Vamana in Professor Aufrecht's edition of Ujjvaladatta's Unādisūtra, under I 52 but I do not find it in two very old Manuscripts of the work one dated Samvat 1563, and the other Samvat or Vikrama 1680 Vamana was according to Rāyamukuta the author of another work entitled Linganusāsana and many of the references to Vāmana contained in that commentary on Amara must be to that work of Vamana * Itsing the Chinese traveller, mentions Jayāditya only as the author of the Kāsikā (Professor Max Muller's note on the Renaissance of Sanskrit Literature, in "India, what can it teach us ?") and not Vāmana Jayāditya probably

* Since the above was put in type a Manuscript of this work has been discovered by my friend and colleague Prof Peterson.

left his work incomplete and it was finished long afterwards by Vamana who also wrote other philological works

PRAKRIYĀKAUMUDĪ

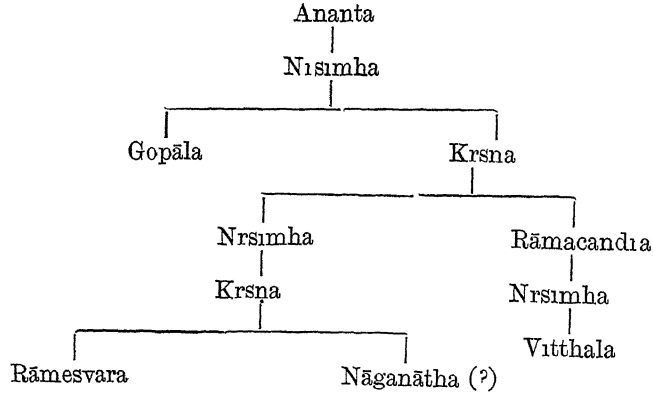
No 102 is a Manuscript of the Prakriyākaumudiprasāda or a commentary on the Prakriyākaumudi, by Vitthalācārya the grandson of Ramacandrācārya the author of the work commented on Rāmacandrācārya is also the author of the Kalanirnaya dipikā and the commentary on the work usually found is by his son Nisimhacarya the father of Vitthalacārya The commentaries on both the works contain Prasastis giving an account of the family to which the author of the original works and those of the commentaries belonged

HISTORY OF THE FAMILY OF THE AUTHOR

The family belonged to the Āndhra country, or in other words it was a family of Tailanga Brahmans, devoted to the study of the Rgveda and belonging to the Kaundinyagotra The first person named is Anantācārya from whom a certain holy person (Yatindravarya) of the name of Rāmasvāmin derived a know ledge of all the Āgamas and to whom the title of Ācārya was given by him His son was Nrsimhācarya who was proficient in the Nigamas and Āgamas Nyāya Vaiseşika, Jaiminīya and Ganita wrote a Bhasyasāra of the Śrutis (Upanişads) and defeated opponents in argument at the court of a prince He had sons of whom Gopālācārya was the eldest and Krşnācārya the youngest Krşnācārya was the most learned of them all being well versed in the eighteen branches of learning of which Nigama is the first He explained the Sūtravrtti at the court of Rama in the presence of that prince Krsna's sons were Nrsimhācārya and Rāmacandrācārya who was the younger of the two Ramacandra's instructor was Gopālācārya and he wrote three works the Prakriyākaumudi Vaisnavasiddhānta saddipikā and a treatise on Kāla Possibly instead of one he wrote three treatises on Kāla Nrsimha was Rāmacandra's son

and wrote the commentary on his father's Kālanirnayadīpikā His teacher was Krsnācārya who was the son of the eldest brother of Rāmacandra i e Nrsimha in all probability, and who wrote commentaries on some of the Kāvyas Vitthala, the author of the Prasada was the son of Nrsimha the commentator on the Kālanirnayadīpika His mother's name was Manikāmbā and his teacher was Rāghavendrasarasvatī who defeated many opponents in argument and established the Dvaitasiddhānta (?) At the end of the Prasastī Vitthala renders his obeisance to Rāmesvarācārya the son of Krsnaguru, i e, in all probability Krsna the teacher of his father to Ananta the son of Vitthalācaryaguru who defeated Vādirāja in argument, to Nāganatha son of Kisna who defeated Vajī (dī?) nātha and who possessed influence over the 'Lord of Kings," and to Jagannāthāsrama who was versed in the Vedānta of the Yatī

The genealogy is therefore as follows —



In the history of the family thus given the name of one king only Rāma is given This name was borne by several princes of the Vijayanagara dynasty and of other dynasties which sprang from it so that it is impossible to find out who the prince meant was But the dates of Rāmacandrācārya and his son and grandson can be approximately determined with the aid of other evidence

DATE OF RĀMACANDRĀCĀRYA

The present Manuscript of the Prasāda is dated 1717 Samvat corresponding to 1661 A D A copy of the Kalanirnayadipikāvi varana No 92 of my last year's Collection was transcribed in 1651 Samvat or 1595 A D and No 91 of the same Collection bears a double date viz 1621 Samvat and 1486 Saka, corresponding to 1565 A D There is a Manuscript of the Prakriyakaumudi in the Collection belonging to the old Sanskrit College of Poona (No 324) which also bears a double date viz, 1583 Samvat and 1448 Śaka or 1527 A D But the lines in which the date is given run thus —"On Tuesday the 13th of the light half of the month of Bhadrapada, the current year being Samvat 1583 and Śaka 1448 [this] was transcribed at Nandigiri by Rāmacandrācāryasuta suta suta" Between the su and the ta of the second suta we have some letter, but there is a mark indicative of erasure on it and the usual upper horizontal stroke is wanting which shows that the letter is not to be read Thus then that Manuscript was transcribed in 1527 A D, by the son of the son of the son of Rāmacandrācārya, i e by his great grandson The Rāmacandrācārya spoken of must be the author of the Prakriyākaumudi for if he had been another person different from the author some distinguishing particulars would have been given about him Besides the Nandigiri where the Manuscript was copied is the same as Nanded situated on the Godāvari in the territory of the Nizam, and the country surrounding it corresponds to the Āndhradesa in which as we are told in the Prasastis the family lived If, therefore a great grandson of Rāmacandrācārya lived in 1527 A D Rāmacandrācārya himself must have lived about 1450 A D In the beginning of the work before me Vitthala adores Śambhu Pānini Vararuci Śesa (i e Patañjali) Bhartr and other expounders of the Bhāsya the authors of the Vrtti and the Nyāsa Bhoja Durga, and Ksirasvāmin

PARIBHĀSĀBHĀSKARA

The only work belonging to this class in the Maratha Section that calls for notice is the Paribhāsābhāskara by an author of the name of Bhāskara At the end of the work the author thus gives his pedigree In the town of Tryambakesvara lived Purusottamabhatta who belonged to a family of the name of Agnihotrin He had a son of the name of Haribhatta who appears to have been a Vaidika His son was Āpājibhatta who lived at Kasi and was a physician and Āpāji's son was Bhāskara Two collections of Paribhāsās one by Siradeva and the other by Udayamkara have been noticed by Dr Kielhorn in the preface to his translation of the Paribhāsendusekhara and this is a third

Bhaskara lived after Bhattoji Diksita since he quotes the first line of the opening verse of the Siddhāntakaumudi (Munitrayam namaskrtya etc) He also quotes Bhatti and the commentary Jayamangalā the Kāvyaprakāsa Mādhavā cārya, the Sahityadarpana, Siradeva &c Some of the Paribhāsās given in the book do not occur in Nāgojibhatta's Paribhāṣendusekhara Bhāskara divides his work into eight chapters each having four Pādas the divisions corresponding with those of the Astādhyāyi and at the end gives other Paribhāsās which are mostly based as he says on Nyāyas or ordinary principles The author appears to have lived before Nāgojibhatta Another copy of the work is noticed in Dr Burnell's Catalogue of the Tanjor Manuscripts and also another Paribhāsābhāskara by an author of the name of Śesādri

KOŚAS OR LEXICONS

RĀYAMUKUTA'S COMMENTARY ON THE AMARAKOSA

We have a copy of the Amarakosa in the Sāradā characters (No 110), and an old copy of the Padacandrikā or Rāyamukuta's

commentary on it dated Samvat 1711 A few leaves of this are missing At folio 49*b* of the first part occurs the well known date of the work Śaka 1353 corresponding to 1431 A D

Rāyamukuta quotes a very large number of authors and works The following names[1] occur in Kānda I —

Leaf 2 wanting

Ajāyakosa, 14 *b* 3, 51 *a* 4 86 *b* 3, 96 *a* 5
Atisila, 54 *a* 3
Anunyāsa 12 *b* 6
Abhinanda, 64 *a* 2
Amaradatta (Pumskānda) 91 *a* 3
Amaramālā, 5 *b* 4 33 *a* 4 40 *a* 3 48 *a* 2 57 *a* 4 62 *b* 5 78 *b* 2 89 *a* 5 89 *b* 6, 90 *a* 5
Āgama 22 *a* 4 25 *a* 1 28 *b* 4, 35 *b* 7, 41 *b* 6
Āścaryaparvan, 23 *b* 2
Āscaryamañjarī, 46 *a* 3, 86 *b* 4
Ugada, 8 *a* 5
Ujjvaladatta, 81 *b* 3, 84 *b* 5
Unādivrtti 31 *b* 2, 43 *b* 4
Utpalinikosa 35 *a* 4 52 *a* 1, 54 *b* 2, 59 *b* 1, 77 *a* 1, 89 *a* 3
Udyogaparvan 13 *a* 1
Upādhyāyasarvasva, 15 *b* 7 33 *b* 3, 38 *a* 5 50 *b* 6, 52 *b* 6
Ūsmabheda, 87 *a* 1, 87 *b* 4
Ūsmaviveka, 44 *a* 2
Aupanisadāh 11 *a* 1
Kalinga, 11 *b* 3, 12 *a* 2, 12 *b* 5 21 *b* 6, 25 *a* 6, 27 *a* 4, 30 *a* 3 32 *a* 4, 38 *a* 5 40 *b* 7, 41 *b* 2, 42 *b* 1, 54 *a* 3 61 *a* 4 64 *a* 2 65 *a* 1, 67 *b* 2 75 *a* 1 77 *a* 3, 81 *a* 5 & 2 82 *a* 1 & 5 83 *b* 6, 86 *b* 2, 87 *a* 2 90 *a* 2, 91 *b* 2, 95 *a* 5
Kāndasesa, 40 *a* 4
Kātantra 22 *b* 3 47 *b* 6

1 As on a former occasion the number in Italics shows the number of the line from the bottom of the page —[N B U]

Kātyāyana, 55 *b* 5, 60 *b* 6
Kāmandakıya, 54 *b* 6 55 *b* 3
Kalāpāh 79 *b* 1
Kalıdāsa 30 *a* 2, 89 *a* 4
Kāsıkā 72 *a* 4
Kırāta, 51 *b* 2
Kıcakavadha, 65 *a* 1
Kumāra 35 *a* 2
Kumāradāsa, 47 *b* 1 (Pranāso Mıtıasya prasabhamajanı Jyesthavırahah) 65 *b* 2 (Ravah pragalbhāhatabherısam bhavah prakāsayāmāsa samamtatah)
Kumārasambhava 9 *a* 1
Kaıjjata 12 *b* 6
Kokkata 42 *b* 7 60 *a* 6 84 *a* 5 6 and 4 85 *a* 4 87 *a* 5 (Kokkuta), 88 *b* 1, 90 *b* 3, 91 *a* 4 & 3, 91 *b* 1, 95 *a* 3
Kokkara 87 *a* 4
Kolāhalācārya 59 *b* 4, (Wrıter on Poetıcs ?)
Kosa, 27 *a* 1
Kaumudı, (a commentary on Amarakosa) 5 *b* 2, 13 *a* 4, 16 *a* 1 18 *b* 3, 18 *b* 1, 19 *b* 3 20 *b* 2 22 *b* 6 22 *b* 4, 24 *a* 2, 25 *a* 5 26 *a* 1 and 2 27 *b* 4 28 *a* 6 28 *b* 6, 31 *a* 3 31 *b* 1 and 2, 32 *b* 2 34 *a* 3 34 *b* 2 36 *a* 7 & 5, 36 *b* 4 37 *a* 4, 38 *b* 7 39 *a* 2 41 *a* 2 and 5 42 *a* 2, 42 *b* 7, 44 *a* 3 44 *b* 7 44 *b* 4, 45 *a* 5 50 *b* 6, 51 *a* 3 & 5, 51 *b* 5 52 *a* 6 52 *b* 1, 53 *a* 2 and 6, 54 *a* 4 56 *a* 1 & 4, 60 *a* 1 and 3 61 *a* 3 and 6, 61 *b* 1 62 *a* 1 and 5 62 *b* 6, 4 and 1 63 *a* 2 63 *b* 2 64 *a* 2 (tasmatkakalıtı gauıā dıtvādıtı Svāmı [mı]—Kalıngādınām pramāda ıtı tu Kaumudı) 65 *a* 1, 65 *b* 4, 66 *a* 2, 66 *b* 4 67 *a* 3 68 *a* 6 68 *b* 2 68 *b* 5 69 *a* 1 70 *b* 2 71 *a* 1 and 3, 77 *b* 4 77 *b* 2 80 *a* 5 81 *a* 4, 84 *a* 5 87 *a* 5 93 *a* 6 96 *b* 1
Kaumudıkāra 4 *b* 2, 25 *a* 2, 72 *b* 7, 32 *b* 7 33 *b* 1 42 *a* 2 66 *a* 6
Kṣīrasvāmın, 5 *a* 1 41 *a* 4 44 *b* 7, 53 *a* 2 60 *a* 6 88 *b* 5

Ganitacūdāmanau Mahimtāpaniyarājapandita—Śrinivāsah, 49 *b* 6
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Govardhanānanda 47 *b* 6
Govardhaniyonadivritti 27 *b 1*
Ghatakarpara, 46 *b* 1
Ghatakarpara (Pūrva) 81 *a* 5
Caraka 47 *a 1*
Candra 9 *b* 6 39 *b* 5, 63 *a 1* 79 *b 1* (Candrāh)
Candra Sūtra 39 *a* 2
Citralekhā (Upakathā) 59 *b 6*
Jayādītya 27 *b 5* 27 *b 2* 56 *b* 1
Jatarūpa 87 *a* 2
Jatoka 44 *b* 6
Jānakiharana, 42 *a* 5, 43 *b 5*, 56 *b* 6
Jāmbavatīvijayakāvya, 82 *b 4* (Payahprṣantibhih sprstā lānti vātāh sanaih sanaih)
Jinendrabuddhi, 79 *b 3*
Tarapāla, 89 *a* 1
Trikānda 87 *a* 3
Trikāndaseṣa, 6 *a* 5, 11 *a* 3 12 *a 5*, 15 *a 3* 21 *b* 7, 22 *a* 7, 30 *b 6* 31 *a* 4, 34 *a* 4, 41 *a 4* 47 *b 2*, 51 *a 6*, 62 *b 5*, 70 *b* 1, 75 *a* 6, 76 *a* 1 & *1*, 78 *a 1* 79 *a 1*, 83 *b* 4, 94 *a 2*.
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Dandin 40 *b* 7, 56 *a* 3 (a yamaka quoted)
Damayantīcampū 59 *b 4*
Dāmodara 7 *a* 7
Devīsataka 51 *a* 2
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Nātakaratnakosa 73 *a* 5
Nānārthakosa 67 *b* 2 (ıtı Nānārthakosadarsanāt dvıtakāra pāthah prāmādıka ıtı Kalıngādayah)
Nāmanıdhāna 15 *b* 8 22 *a* 7 23 *b* 5 26 *a* 5 37 *b* 5 41 *a* 7, 44 *a* 3 44 *b* 7, 46 *b* 1, 50 *a* 5 (Yathāhur Nāmanıdhāne Śrı—Nārāyanacaranāh) 68 *b* 1
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Brhaddhāiāvali 19 *b* 2
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Vaisesikāh, 32 *b* 4, 53 *a* 2
Vyākhyāmrta 19 *a* 4
Vyādi, 1 *b* 2, 8 *b* 7 9 *a* 6 23 *b* 2 34 *b* 2 37 *b* 4, 38 *a* 1, 39 *a* 3 94 *b* 5
Vyasa 24 *b* 6 59 *b* 3
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Śabarasvāmin, 28 *a* 6, 64 *a* 3, 76 *a* 3
Śabdānusāsana, 58 *a* 4
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Śākatāyana 6 *a* 4
Śākatāyanīyavṛttī 76 *a* 3
Śābdikanarasimha 76 *b* 2
Śālihotra, 25 *b* 3
Śāsvata 9 *b* 1 38 *a* 1 50 *a* 2
Śivabhadra 62 *a* 4 (a yamaka)
Śūdraka 59 *b* 5
Śṛngāraprakāsa, 24 *b* 8, 35 *a* 3 55 *b* 4
Śridhara, 12 *a* 2 23 *a* 4 25 *b* 2 40 *a* 6 41 *b* 2
Śrutī, 11 *b* 2 16 *b* 5 26 *a* 3 26 *b* 3 41 *a* 6
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Sāhasānka 29 *a* 1 34 *b* 3 43 *a* 2

Sundarānandacarıta, 9 *b* 5

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Haṭṭacandra, 27 *b* 4

Haducandra 6 *a* 7 14 *a* *1*, 34 *a* 6, 41 *a* *5*, 60 *a* 6 and *3*, 66 *a* 5 70 *b* 2 71 *a* *4*

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Harıvamsa 11 *a* 7 12 *a* 2 24 *a* *2*

Harşacarıta, 59 *b* 1

Halāyudha 17 *b* 2 75 *b* *4*, 79 *b* *4*

Hārāvalı, 39 *b* *4*

The followıng names occuı ın Kandas II and III –[1]

AUTHORS

Ajaya

Abhınanda

Amaradatta

Arunadatta (ıdentıcal wıth the commentatoı of Astān gahrdaya ?)

Kayyata

Kalınga

Kātya

Kātyāyana

Kāmandaka

Kālıdāsa

Kokkata

Kautalya

Govardhana

Grahakrşna

Candra

Candragomın

Caraka

Jātarūpa

Jınendrabuddhı

Tārapāla

Dandın

Dāmodara

Durga (Durgokta Lıngānu sāsana) also quoted as Durgasımha

Dhanamjaya

Dhanvantarı

Dharmadāsa (author of Vıdagdhamukhamandana)

Dharmasena

Pānını

Puruşottama

Pūrnacandra

Bāna

Bālapandıtajātakam

Bopālıta

Bhatta

Bharata

Bhavabhūtı

Bhāgurı

Bhāravı

Bhāşyakara

Bhīmasena

Śrı Bhoja

1 Thıs lıst was drawn up by Pandit Durgaprasad and ıs prınted as a Supplement ın the Orıgınal Report at pp 467 78 [N B U]

Manu
Māgha
Mādhava
Murāri
Maitreya
Maudgalyayana
Yajñavalkya
Raksita
Rantidevi
Rajadeva
Rājasekhara
Rudra
Vararuci
Varāha
Vācaspati
Vātsyāyana (author of the Kamasūtra)
Vāmana
Vikramāditya
Vrddha Rsi
Vyādi
Vyasa
Śabara (also Śabarasvāmin)
Śākatāyana
Śātātapa
Śābdika
Śālihotra
Sāsvata
Subhānga
Śūdraka
Śankara
Śridhara
Śriharsa
Sanātana
Sarvadhara
Sarvānanda
Sāhasānka
Subhūti
Somanandi
Svāmin
Hattacandra
Halāyudha

WORKS

Anunyāsa
Anekārthamañjari
Abhidhānamālā
Amaramālā
Arthasāstra
Asvatantra
Asvasāstra
Ārsakosa
Āscaryamañjari[1]
Unādivrtti ("Unādivittau Purusottamah")
Ūsmaviveka
Kanthābhūsanakāvyālamkāra
Kapphināhhyudaya (also Kasphinā & Kapphinā°)
Kalpalatā (same as the next? sometimes simply Latā)
Kavikalpalatā

1 According to a verse attributed to Rajasekhara in the Suktimuktavali, the author of the Āscaryamañjari was Kulasekhara

Kātantrapañjikā
Kādambarı
Kāvyaprakāsa
Kāvyādarsa ('Kāvyādarse Vāmanah")
Kırata
Kıcakavadha (quoted also ın Ujvaladatta's Unādısūtıa vrttı)
Kumāıasambhava
Kesaıamālā
Kaumudı
Ganıtasāstra
Cānakyatıkā
Cāndravyākarana
Tıppanı
Tıkāsamuccayasāra
Trıkāndaseṣa
Dara (?Hara?) vılāsa
Durghatavıttı
Desıkosa
Dvırūpakosa
Dharanı
Dhātupārayana
Dhātupradıpa
Dhātupradıpatıkā
Nāmaprapañca
Nāmamālā
Nāmānusāsana
Nıgama
Nairukta (also Nıruktam)
Naısadha
Nyāsa
Pañjıkā
Padacandrıkā (ı e the Com on Amarakosa by Rāya mukuta hımself)
Pārāyana[1] (same as Dhātu pārāyana ?)
Bhāttı
Bhārata
Bhāıatatıkā
Madhumādhavı
Madhāvı
Meghadūta
Medını
Yogasatakavyākhyā
Raghu
Ratnakosa
Ratnamālā[2]
Rabhasa
Rāmāyana
Rūpabheda
Rūpamañjaıı
Rūparatnākara
Lıngakārıkā
Varnadesanā
Vāyupurāna
Vā (Pā) lakāpya
Vāsavadattā

1 The author of the Pārayana ıs Purnacandra as stated ın the explanatıon of the word Jayantı

2 The author ıs Mādhava, as ıs to be concluded from the com on the word Āsu

Vidagdhamukhamandana
Visva
Vrddhanyāsa
Vṛndāvanayamaka
Vyakhyāmrta
Sabdārnava
Sa bheda (same as Ṣa bheda and Sa bheda mentioned below ?)
Śṛngaraprakāśa
Sa bheda (see Sa bheda above)
Samsīrāvalita
Saptakumārikā
Sa bheda (see Sa bheda and Ṣa bheda above)
Sarvasva
Sahasranāmaṭīkā
Susruta
Sutrabhāsya
Sudasāstra
Harivamsa
Hārāvalī

POETICS AND METRICS

COMMENTARIES ON THE RASAMAÑJARI

In this class we have in the Mratha Section a copy of a commentary on Bhānudatta's Rasamañjari by Śesa Cintāmani, the son of Śesa Nrsimha (No 662) In Dr Burnell's Tanjor Catalogue Śesacintāmani is given as the name of a work under Satakas and Anthologies but there must be some mistake Sesa is a family name and Cintāmani, of an individual belonging to that family In the Gujarat Section there is another commentary on the same work by one Visvesvara It is a very full commentary but the Manuscript is incomplete being about two thirds of the whole

No 663 is a commentary on the Śrutabodha by Manohara who composed it at the request of a prince of the name of Māṇikyamalla

MĪMĀMSĀ

No 125 is a fragment of Śabarasvāmin's Bhāṣya on the Mimāmsāsūtra A complete copy of the work was purchased by me for Government in 1879

SUCARITAMISRA'S COMMENTARY ON THE SLOKAVĀRTIKA

No 120 is a Manuscript of a work called at the end of some of the sections Kāsikāṭikā composed by Upadhyāya Sucaritamisra

Many of its leaves are lost On comparing different portions of the Manuscript with Kumārila s Tantravārtika, I find that this Tikā is a commentary on the Ślokavārtika or the first Pāda of the first chapter of the Tantravārtika The Ślokavārtika thus appears to have been called Kasikā Or perhaps Kasikā is a mistake for Kārikā and this work is the same as that put down as No 8 in the Report of the examination of Ahmedabad Manuscripts This commentary is not mentioned in Dr Hall's Index neither is there a copy of it among the Tanjor Manuscripts catalogued by Dr Burnell

SOMESVARA S NYĀYASUDHĀ

No 123 is a copy of the second Pāda of the third chapter of the Nyāyasudha, a commentary on Kumārila s Tantravārtika by Bhatta Śomesvara son of Bhatta Mādhava A Manuscript of the second Pāda of the first chapter of this work has been purchased since

KAMALĀKARA S COMMENTARY ON THE TANTRAVĀRTIKA

No 122 is a copy of the first Pāda of the second chapter of a commentary on the Tantravārtika by Kamalākarabhatta son of Rāmakrsna and grandson of Nārāyanabhatta and author of the Nirnayasindhu and other works The first leaf is missing

OTHER WORKS

No 667 is a fragment of the Mimāmsabālaprakāsa or substance of Jaimini's work by Śamkarabhatta son of Nārāyanabhatta No 124 is a Manuscript of the well known manual of the Mimāmsā by Krsnayajvan and No 121 of the first four chapters of Mādhava's Adhikaranamalatnamālā

PISTAPASUMĪMĀMSĀ

No 666 is Pistapasumimāmsā by Nārāyana Pandita The followers of Madhva maintain that in this Kaliyuga the killing

of animals at sacrifices is not allowed but that an effigy of an animal should be made of the flour of grain and that sacrificed instead of the real animal Practically whenever a Mādhva performs a sacrifice he uses such an effigy, and not a live animal This view is defended and shown to be in accordance with the Śastras by Nārāyaṇa Paṇḍita in the tract before us

He does admit that the Vedas enjoin the sacrifice of a real animal and though the act is per se sinful still because enjoined by the Vedas for sacrificial purposes it is not so But the reason why it is not sinful in this case is that its original sinfulness is neutralized by the holy rites that are performed just as charms neutralize the effects of snake poison As therefore the charms must be correctly muttered and properly used in order that they may neutralize the poison so the rites must be performed with perfect accuracy, exactly as they are laid down in the Vedas, in order that they may neutralize the sinfulness consequent on the destruction of animal life Such a perfect accuracy and a perfectly faithful observance of all the conditions laid down in the Vedas are not possible in this age of ignorance and human frailty So that at the present day the destruction of life at sacrifices cannot but be productive of sin Therefore it is that Manu has laid down that effigies of animals should be made of ghee or flour and sacrificed instead of real animals (Manu V 37) Kullūkabhatta's explanation of this verse is pronounced by Nārāyana to be wrong This is the text on which the advocates of Piṣṭapasu take their stand but their doctrine is cried down as heterodox by Brahmans of other sects and there are treatises written in refutation of it

VEDĀNTA AND OTHER SYSTEMS OF THEOSOPHY

I—ADVAITA OR ŚAMKARĀCĀRYA'S SYSTEM

COMMENTARIES ON THE UPANISADS ETC

No 136 is a copy of Śamkaracarya's Bhāṣya on the Kena Upaniṣad No 148 is a commentary on the Śvetasvatara by

Vijnānabhikṣu The first two leaves are wanting and similarly one or two at the end are missing Nos 132 136 144 and 674 also belong to this branch

COMMENTARIES ON THE BRAHMASŪTRA

No 671 is a fragment of Śamkarācārya s Bhāṣya with the Ratnaprabhā No 143 is a concise but clear commentary on the Sutra entitled Brahmāmrtavarṣinī The author is spoken of as Rāmakimkaravarya pupil of Mukunda Govinda but in some Manuscripts of the work his name is given as Rāmānanda sarasvatī Copies of this work are by no means rare there being two in previous Collections and one or two offered to me since having been rejected by me

INDEPENDENT WORKS BY SAMKARĀCĀRYA

Nos 130, 131 133 134 135, 138 and 139 belong to this branch Of these No 135 is written in the Śāradā character and Nos 131 133 134 and 139 are also of a Kasmir origin No 138 is the Tripuriprakarana with Ānandajñāna s Commentary It treats of the three bodily vestments of the soul corresponding with the three conditions of wakefulness dreamy sleep and sound sleep

WORKS BY THE FOLLOWERS OF SAMKARĀCĀRYA

KASMIR TEXT OF THE PAÑCADASĪ

Nos 141 and 140 are written in the Śāradā characters The first is a complete copy of Vidyaranya s Pañcadasi with the commentary of Rāmakrṣna The Pañcadasī has been printed several times on this side of the country but No 141 has been purchased as a representative of the Kasmir text of the work

No 145 is called Vedāntasāra but it is not the work usually known by that name and begins with an exposition of the text Tattvamasi

No 127 is a fragment of a work called Advaitacandrikā by Brahmānandasarasvatī pupil of Nārāyaṇatīrtha and Paramā

nanda and No 128 is a copy of a large portion of the Advaitalaghucandrikā by the same author This last is an exposition of the Advaitasiddhi of Madhusudanasarasvati and in the introduction the author seems to say that this exposition contains in an abridged form what he has written in the Candrikā that is, the first work and hence it is that he calls it Laghucandrika or abridged Candrika

No 137 is Tattvanusamdhāna by Mahādevasarasvatī pupil of Svayamprakasānanda

No 149 is Tantradipikā otherwise called Sarvopanişatsāra which in the colophon is attributed to Samkarācārya But in the body of the tract the authors of the Vivarana the Samksepa sārīraka and the Vartikas as well as the Misra (i e Vācaspati) are mentioned wherefore it cannot be the work of Samkarācārya

No 146 is an incomplete copy of a work entitled Vedānta siddhāntabheda It expounds the varied views on certain points such as the nature of Māyā Jiva Upādāna &c held by different writers belonging to the school of Śamkarācārya There is far from agreement between them though the system followed by them all is generally the same For instance the question is raised Brahman being the only reality and the animal spirit or individual soul being Brahman equally with God to what is the distinction between them due?" This question is according to our author thus answered by various writers In the Prakrtipuruşaviveka it is stated that the uncreated undefinable constituent cause of objects is Māyā which stands in a certain relation to the principle of Absolute Thought (Cinmātra) Absolute Thought or Cit as reflected in that Māyā is God (Īsvara) while as reflected in the innumerable definite or determined parts of that Māyā which are called Avidyā, and which possess the powers of hiding the true nature of the spirit and of generating appearances, it is the animal spirit (Jīva)

The view propounded in the Tattvaviveka—the first of the fifteen essays which compose the Pañcadasi—is that the original constituent cause which is made up of the three principles of Sattva, Rajas and Tamas has two forms in one of which the Sattva or principle of goodness is predominant not being over powered by Rajas or the principle of action and Tamas or the principle of evil and in the other it is so over powered and is impure The first is Māyā and the second is Avidyā and absolute Thought as reflected in them becomes God and the animal spirit respectively

Some say that the original constituent cause when the power of generating appearances is predominant in it is Mayā and it is the environment (Upādhi) of God while when the power of concealing the true nature is predominant the same original cause is Avidyā and in this form it is the environment of the animal spirit Hence it is that the animal spirit is ignorant of his real Brahman nature while God is not

The author of the Samkṣepasārīraka holds that the original cause is the environment or Upādhi of God while its effects are the environment of the animal spirit But the relation between these environments and Absolute Thought is not like that of Ākāsa or space to the jar in which it is enclosed but like that of a mirror to the thing which is reflected in it Thus Absolute Thought as reflected in the original cause which is Avidya, is God and as reflected in the mind or the cognitive apparatus (Antahkarana) which is an effect of Avidyā it is the animal spirit According to these views final deliverance consists in abandoning the conditions of reflections or images and attaining to the condition of the thing which is reflected i e of Absolute Thought

Our author then proceeds to the more recondite and detailed explanations given in other treatises into these I need not enter my object being simply to illustrate the large variety

of theories that obtains even within the boundaries of the system of the Vedānta promulgated by Śamkarācārya

PĀKHANDACAPETIKĀ

No 142 is Pākhandacapetikā or a slap on the face of heretics The heretics who come in for this treat at the hands of the author Vijaya Rāmacārya, are the followers of Madhva Their getting their bodies branded with heated seals of the Śankha or conch shell and the Cakra or discus of Visnu is the principal subject of the attack The text from the Vedas and the Purānas adduced by the Madhvas in favour of their practice are declared to be forgeries and in some cases explained in a manner different from that in which they are understood by the members of that sect The author then adduces his own texts in condemnation of the practice and consigns the Madhvas to the tortures of hell The tract ends with a quotation from the Kurmapurana representing Śamkarācārya as an incarnation of Śiva and recommending his system to those who seek enternal happiness

No 129 140 147 668 669 670 672 and 673 also belong to this branch of the Advaita Vedānta

II—VISISTĀDVAITA OR RĀMĀNUJA'S SYSTEM

No 153 is a commentary on the Bhagavadgītā by Rāmānuja Ramanuja's system is principally followed in Southern India in the Tamil and also in the Telugu country and a good many works belonging to it have been printed in Madras in the Telugu character The system has also a pretty considerable following in Rajaputana and Marwar and also in Gujarath and therefore the Manuscripts in this Collection purchased in the North are written in the Nagari character No 153 was transcribed in 1792 Samvat

THE ARTHAPAÑCAKA

No 152 is a copy of the Arthapañcaka by Nārāyanaparivrāt This is a summary of the topics belonging to the system which

primarily are five each being divisible again into five The five principal ones are (I) Jiva i e animal spirit or dependent spirit (II) Īsvara i e God (III) Upāya i e the way to God (IV) Phala or Purusartha i e the end of life and (V) Virodhinah i e obstructions to the attainment of God

ANALYSIS OF THE WORK

(I)—Jivas are of five kinds viz (1) Nitya i e, those who never entered on Samsara or the succession of lives and deaths at all such as Garuda Visvaksena and others (2) Mukta i e those who have shaken off the fetters of life and whose sole purpose and joy is attendance (Kaimkarya) on God (3) Kevala i e those whose hearts being purified are fixed on the highest truth and who are thus free from the succession of births and deaths (4) Mumuksu i e those who having experienced the misery of life are averse to its enjoyments and have fixed their desire only on the highest end viz the attainment of the condition of an attendant on God and (5) B ddha i e those who devoting themselves to the life whether of a god man or brute that their previous merits or demerits (Karman) have assigned to them seek only the enjoyments of such a life and are averse to the joys of Brahma(n)

(II)—The manifestations of Īsvara or God are five viz, (1) Para i e, he who lives in Vaikuntha and whose presence is enjoyed by the Nitya and Mukta spirits who dwell near him who is unbeginning and endless who wears celestial ornaments celestial garments and celestial weapons who possesses celestial beauty and an endless number of holy attributes and who is accompanied by Śri Bhū and Līlā (2) Vyūha, i e, the forms of Samkarṣana Pradyumna, and Aniruddha assumed for the creation protection and dissolution of the world (3) Vibhava, i e incarnations such as Rāma and Krsna for the establishment of Truth the protection of the good and the destruction of the

wicked (4) Antaryāmin, who has two forms in one of which he dwells in everything and rules over all is bodiless all pervading and the store of all good attributes and is called Visnu Nārayana Vāsudeva &c and in the other he possesses a body bearing celestial weapons such as a conch shell and a discus and celestial ornaments dwells in the heart of man is the store of all good attributes and is known by the names of Hrsikesa Purusottama Vasudeva &c and (5) Arca i e idols of stone metal &c in which he dwells and allows himself to be worshipped by his devotees

In the Yatindramatadipikā to be noticed below and in other places the Vyuhas are given as four Vasudeva possessed of the six great attributes being the first Samkarsana possessed of two viz Jñana and Bala being the second Pradyumna having Aisvarya and Virya the third and Aniruddha possessed of Sakti and Tejas the fourth The first Vyūha is assumed in order that it may serve as an object of devotion and the other three for the creation &c of the world In the present work the Vasudeva Vyūha is put down as the second form of the Antaryāmin

(III)—The Upāyas or ways to God are five viz (1) Karma yoga (2) Jñanayoga (3) Bhaktiyoga (4) Prapattiyoga and (5) Ācāryābhimānayoga Under the first comes the whole Vedic sacrificial ritual and the Smārta or domestic ceremonies along with the fasts and observances by going through which the person is purified Then by means of Yama Niyama &c mentioned in the Yoga Śāstra one should concentrate his mind upon himself This concentration leads to Jñānayoga which consists in fixing the mind on Narāyana or Vāsudeva described in the Vāsudeva Vyuha as the person on whom one's own self on which the mental powers have already been concentrated depends Thus the devotee arrives at God through himself The Jñānayoga leads to Bhaktiyoga which consists in continuously seeing nothing but God Prapatti is resorted to by

those who cannot avail themselves of or are not equal to the first three methods It consists in throwing one's self entirely on the mercy of God There are many details given which need not be reproduced here The last method, Ācāryābhimānayoga is for one who is unable to follow any of the others and consists in surrendering oneself to an Ācārya or preceptor, and being guided by him in everything The preceptor goes through all that is necessary to effect his pupil's deliverance as a mother takes medicine herself to cure an infant

(IV)—The Purusarthas are five viz (1) Dharma (2) Artha (3) Kama (4) Kaivalya and (5) Moksa The first three do not differ from those ordinarily called by those names and the last two are the conditions attained by the Kevala and Mukta spirits (I 3 and 2 above)

(V)—The Virodhins are five viz (1) Svasvarūpavirodhin i e that which prevents one's own real or spiritual nature from being seen such as the belief that the body is the soul (2) Parasvarūpavirodhin or that which prevents one's approach to the true God such as devotion to another or false deity or disbelief in God's incarnations (3) Upāyavirodhin or that which prevents the true ways from being resorted to as the belief in ways other than those mentioned above being more efficacious or in the latter being inadequate (4) Purusārtha virodhin or attachment to other than the true or highest object of life (5) Prāptivirodhin, i e the being connected with a body that one's own Karman has entailed or with other spirits who are so embodied

YATINDRAMATADĪPIKĀ

No 154 is a Manuscript of the Yatindramatadipikā in which the whole system of the Yatindra or Rāmānuja is briefly explained The author is Śrinivāsa, son of Govindācārya of

the Vādhula family The following persons are mentioned in the beginning as the propounders of the system —

Vyāsa	Dramidacārya
Bodhayana	Śriparankusanātha
Guhadeva	Yāmunamuni
Bhārucı	Yatisvara
Brahmānandin	

At the end the author states that in his explanation of the doctrines of the sect he has followed the following works —

Dramidabhāsya	Darsanayathātmyanirnaya
Nyāyasiddhi	Nyāyasāra
Siddhitraya	Tattvadipa
Śribhāṣya	Tattvanirnaya
Dipasārasamgraha	Sarvārthasiddhi
Bhāṣyavivarana	Nyāyaparisuddhi
Samgatimālā	Nyāyasiddhajñāna
Sadarthasamkṣepa	Paramatabhanga
Śrutaprakāsikā	Tattvatrayaculuka
Tattvaratnākara	Tattvanirūpana
Prajñāparitrāna	Tattvatrayavyākhyāna
Prameyasamgraha	Caṇḍamāruta
Nyāyakulisa	Vedantavijaya
Nyāyasudarsana	Pārāsaryavijaya

And others

The last in the first list or Yatisvara is Rāmānuja and his work, the Sribhāsya, is the fourth in this This is so because the followers of Ramanuja believe that the system was taught by several teachers who flourished before Rāmānuja Rāmānuja himself states at the beginning of the Bhāṣya that the Vrtti on the Brahmasutra written by Bodhāyana was abridged by his predecessors and among these Dramidācārya is mentioned in the Śrutaprakāsikā, the commentary on the Bhāṣya

DIFFERENT DIVISIONS OF THE TOPICS BELONGING TO RĀMĀNUJA'S SYSTEM

Śrinivāsa then proceeds to indicate the variety of views entertained by different classes of writers The Sūris admit only one entity (Tattva) the Rsis divide it into two Ātman and Anātman and the Ācāryas professing to follow the Śruti propound three Tattvas or entities viz (1) Bhogya or what is to be enjoyed or suffered (2) Bhoktṛ the enjoyer or sufferer (3) Niyantṛ or the ruler and controller Some Ācāryas teach the system under the four heads of (1) Heya or what is to be shunned (2) the means of keeping it off (3) Upādeya or what is to be sought and secured and (4) its means Other teachers (Desikas) divide the subject into five parts viz (1) what is to be attained or got at (Prāpya) (2) he who attains it (Prāptṛ) (3) the means of attainment (Upāya) (4) the fruits or objects of life (Phala) and (5) obstructions or impediments These are the five topics or Arthapañcaka described above as given in [this year's Manuscript] No 152 Some teachers add one more topic which is called Sambandha (relation) and thus expound six

There is no real difference according to our author between these several views since the variety is due to the adoption of a different principle of division by each teacher The true substance of the Vedāntas or Upaniṣads is that there is only one Brahma(n) with the animal or individual spirits and the dead world as its attributes (Cidacidviśiṣṭādvaitam)

RĀMĀNUJA'S SYSTEM SAME AS THAT OF THE PĀÑCARĀTRAS

The body of doctrines which constitutes the system of Ramānuja is eventually the same as that professed by the more ancient school of the Pañcarātras or Bhāgavatas The doctrine of Vyūhas Vāsudeva as the name of the Supreme Deity and Bhakti or faith and love as the way to salvation are characteristic of the school It does not trace all our finite

thought and feeling to a principle alien to the soul such as Prakrti or Mayā as the Sāmkhya or Advaita Vedānta does and look upon freedom from that sort of thought and feeling as Moksa or deliverance It is a system of popular religion and has not such a metaphysical basis as either of those two has Vasudeva was recognised as the Supreme Deity even in the time of Patañjali for under Panini IV 3 98 the author of the Mahābhāsya states that the Vāsudeva occurring in the Sutra is not the name of a Kṣattriya, but of Tatrabhagavat which term is explained by Kaiyata as signifying a certain (form of the) Supreme Deity

HISTORY OF THE PAÑCARĀTRA SYSTEM

The Pañcarātra system is mentioned along with the rival system of the Pasupatas, and with the Sāmkhya, Yoga, and Vedas or Āranyakas in the Nārāyaniya section of the Moksadharmaparvan which forms a part of the Śantiparvan of the Mahabhārata (Chap 349 Bom Ed) and explained in detail to Nārada in the Śvetadvipa by the Supreme Narāyana who manifested himself to him (Chap 339) The whole Narāyaniya section seems to refer to that system one way or another This section is older than Rāmānuja since he refers to it in the passage in his Vedantabhāsya to be noticed below and older also than Samkaracārya who quotes in his Bhasya under II 1 1 from chapters 334 and 339, (p 409 Vol I Bibl Ind Ed) and from chapters 350 and 351 (p 413) Dhruvasena I, one of the earlier princes of the Valabhi dynasty is called a Bhāgavata while others are styled Māhesvaras Among the sects mentioned by Bāna in the eighth chapter of the Sriharṣacaritra are those of the Bhagavatas and the Pañcarātras

From this and also from the passages noticed below occurring in the Vedanta Bhāṣyas of Samkarācarya and Ramānuja, it appears that these were two sects, but they did not differ

materially from each other and the Pāñcarātras considered themselves to be Bhagavatas also Samkaracarya refutes the doctrines of the Bhagavata school in his Bhāsya under the Vedānta Sutras II 2 42 and 43 and the same doctrines amended so as to avoid his objection are refuted under Sūtras 44 and 45 and the name Pāñcarātra is used in connection with them

RĀMĀNUJA'S DEFENCE OF THE PĀÑCARĀTRA SYSTEM

Ramānuja on the other hand interprets the first two Sūtras as setting forth the objector's view or the Pūrvapaksa represents the opponent as giving the same doctrines that are refuted by Samkarācārya under those two Sūtras as the doctrines of the Bhāgavatas, and makes him pronounce them to be opposed to the Śruti Then under Sūtra 44 he says that the view of the objector is based on a misconception of the doctrines of the Bhāgavata system and gives the correct doctrines under that Sutra and the next one of them being the same as that mentioned by Śamkarācārya under Sūtra 44 These doctrines are he asserts in harmony with the Śruti and thus according to him the Pāñcarātra system is not refuted by Badarāyana the author of the Sūtras In connection with his arguments he quotes from the Pauskara samhitā Satvata samhitā and Parama samhitā

Under Sutra 45 Śamkarācārya accuses the Pañcarātras of treating the Vedas with contempt since it is stated in one of their books that Śāndilya not having found the way to the highest good in the four Vedas had recourse to this Śastra Rāmānuja answers this accusation by saying that a similar statement occurs in the Bhūmavidyā (Chāndogya Up VII 1) Narada is represented there as saying that he has studied all the Vedas and other branches of learning and still he only knows the Mantras and not the Ātman This does not involve the contempt of the Vedas but the object of the statement is simply to extol the Bhūmavidyā or the

philosophy of the highest object that is explained further on Or the sense is that Narada studied all the Vedas but was not keen enough to comprehend the nature of the Ātman though set forth in those works Precisely the same interpretation should be laid on this statement of Śāndilya s not having found the way to the highest good in the four Vedas and it should not be construed as involving contempt for the Vedas

THE NON VEDIC ORIGIN OF THE PĀÑCARĀTPA SYSTEM

But in spite of all this defence there can be no question that the Bhāgavata or Pañcaratra system did not owe its origin to the Vedas or Upanisads It arose from that current of thought from which the Bhagavadgitā the worship of Vāsudeva and the doctrine of Bhakti sprang and the sacred books which are appealed to are the different Samhitās of the Naradapañcaratra six of which have been mentioned before as existing in the Library of Jasvantrai Gopalrai at Patan[1] and three of which are, it will have been seen quoted by Rāmānuja The present Collection also contains one which will be noticed below The book printed under the name of Naradapañcarātra in the Bibliotheca Indica is only one of the Samhitās—that called Jñanāmṛtasāra corresponding with *b* in Jasvantarai's list Of the three quoted by Rāmānuja one—the Pauskarasamhitā—occurs in that list The account of the Pāñcarātra given in the Nārāyaniya section of the Mahābhārata is perhaps one of the oldest

PĀÑCARĀTRA SAME AS THE SĀTVATA SYSTEM

In forming some idea of the origin of this system the following circumstances must be taken into account —

(1) The characteristic name of the supreme deity is Vāsudeva, and Nārāyana Viṣnu and even Krsna are only additional and probably later names or identifications

1 Ante p 69 [N B U]

(2) In the Nārāyanīya section of the Mahābhārata the Pañcarātra is represented as an independent religion professed by the Sātvatas and is also called the Sātvata religion (Chap 348 vv 34 59 and 84) and Vasu Uparicara who was a follower of that religion is spoken of as worshipping the Supreme God according to the Satvata manner (Vidhi) which was revealed in the beginning by the Sun (Chap 339 vv 19 and 24)

(3) The religion is stated to be the same as that taught to Arjuna by Bhagavat himself when the armies of the Pandavas and the Kurus were drawn up in battle array and Arjuna's heart misgave him (Chap 348 v 8 and Chap 346, v 11) In the Bhāgavata the Sātvatas are represented as calling the highest Brahma(n) Bhagavat and Vāsudeva (X 9 49), and as worshipping and adoring Krsna in a peculiar way (XI 21 1) Rāmānuja too refers as we have seen to the Satvatasamhitā

THE KSATTRIYA ORIGIN OF THE SĀTVATA RELIGION AND OF THE GENERAL PHILOSOPHICAL SPECULATION

Sātvat was the name of a descendant of Yadu as we learn from the Purānic genealogies and his race was the race or clan of the Satvatas The Sātvatas are mentioned in the Bhāgavata along with the Andhakas and Vrsnis which were two of the Yādava tribes (I 14 25 and III 1 29) Vāsudeva himself was a prince of that race being called Sātvatarsabha (Bh XI 21 1) and Satvatapumgava (Bh I 9 32) The worship of Vāsudeva ascends as we have seen higher into antiquity than Patañjali or even Panini since the name Vāsudeva is contained in the Sutra itself About the time when he flourished or when the Upanisads were written, and even later, when Buddhism and Jainism arose, the energies of the Indian mind were directed to religious speculation and we find a variety of systems coming into vogue

In this intellectual race the Ksattriyas took a much more active part than the Brahmans In the Chāndogya Upanisad,

a prince of the name of Pravahana the son of Jaibala (V 3) and Asvapati king of the Kekaya country (V 11) appear as teachers of religious truth and Brahmans as learners, and in the former passage it is even stated that the Ksattriyas were the original possessors of that knowledge Similarly in the Kausitakibrāhmanopanisad, we find Ajātasatru, king of Kāsī explaining the true Brahma(n) to Bālāki the Gārgya who had only pretended to teach it to the king but did not know it really The same story is told in the Brhadāranyaka Buddha was a Ksattriya and belonged to the Śākya clan so was Mahāvira who belonged to the race of the Jñatrkas

Since then the Ksattriyas were so active at the time in propounding religious doctrines and founding sects and schools we may very well suppose that a Ksattriya of the name of Vasudeva belonging to the Yādava, Visni or Sātvata race founded a theistic system as Siddhārtha of the Śakya race and Mahāvira of the Jñātrka race founded atheistic systems And just as Buddha under the title of "Bhagavat" is introduced as the teacher in Buddhistic works, so is Vāsudeva as Bhagavat introduced in the Bhagavadgītā and some other parts of the Mahābhārata That must have been one of his most prominent names since his followers were in later times called Bhāgavatas

Or perhaps it is possible that Vāsudeva was a famous prince of the Satvata race and on his death was deified and worshipped by his clan and a body of doctrines grew up in connection with that worship, and the religion spread from that clan to other classes of the Indian people In its origin this religion must have been simple and it must have developed into the Pāñcarātra system when some of the Samhitās mentioned above were written Other elements represented by the names Visnu, Nārāyana, Govinda, and Krsna were engrafted in later times on the religion of Vāsudeva, and thus the various forms of modern Vaisnavism arose

It is therefore clear that the Pāñcaratra was a distinct system

independent of the Vedas and Upanisads But during the early centuries of the Christian era while the country was under the domination of foreigners of the Śaka Pahlava and Yavana races the Buddhists had grown powerful With the restoration of the native dynasties in the fourth century the influence of Brahmans increased and they then began a fierce conflict with all heretics These were cried down as scoffers, atheists, nihilists (Vaināsikas) &c The great Mimāmsakas, Śabarasvāmin Mandanamisra Kumārila and others flourished during this period of conflict They ran down even the Aupanisadas, or the holders of the Jñānamārga i e the religion of the Upanisads as against the Karmamārga or the sacrificial religion The Bauddhas and Jainas who had no regard for the Vedas whatever met them on independent or rationalistic grounds But the Aupanisadas fought them on the field of Vedic orthodoxy and succeeded in maintaining their position There were unquestionably in ancient times several Aupanisada systems but it was the doctrine of the unreality of the world and the unity of spirit with which the name of Śamkarācārya is connected and which has been characterized by the Mādhvas as but Buddhistic nihilism in disguise that succeeded on the present occasion And that doctrine was by others considered as subversive of religion and certainty Śamkarācārya and his followers did not treat tenderly the religious systems that had become popular such as that of the Bhāgavatas or Pāñcarātras and of the Pāsupatas

RĀMĀNUJA'S FINDING A VEDANTIC BASIS FOR THE SĀTVATA RELIGION

It was, therefore, Rāmānuja s endeavour to put down the pernicious doctrine of Māyā or unreality and seek a Vedāntic and philosophic basis for the religion of Bhakti or Love and Faith that had existed from times immemorial and thus the Pañcarātra system which was independent of the

Vedas before, became a system of the Vedānta or an Aupanisada system

III —DVAITA OR MADHVA'S SYSTEM

Rāmānuja found a Vedāntic basis for the Pāñcarātra or Bhāgavata religion and vindicated the reality of the world, and the separate existence of the human or animal spirit But the theory that he set up in the place of Śamkarācārya's Māyā and unity of spirit viz that the world and the individual spirits are the attributes of the Supreme spirit did not sufficiently distinguish the latter from the two former and was not calculated to emphasize the supreme greatness of God as compared with the littleness of the animal spirit and of the world

MADHVA'S CARRYING ON THE REFORM OF RĀMĀNUJA FURTHER

Madhva or Ānandatirtha therefore propounded the doctrine of Dvaita or duality and laid particular stress on the five eternal distinctions viz, the distinction between (1) God and the animal spirit (2) God and the inanimate world (3) the animal spirit and the inanimate world (4) one animal spirit and another and (5) one inanimate object and another In other respects he like Rāmānuja was a vindicator of the Pāñcarātra religion But he seems to have given a more general or a less exclusive form to it The name Vişnu is more prominent in his system than Vasudeva, and thus the historical nature of the Pāñcarātra religion is thrown into the back ground

In the Bhāratatatparyanirnaya Ānandatirtha gives as authorities for his doctrine of the supreme greatness of Vişnu and for other points in his system the four Vedas Rk and others the Pañcarātra (Samhitās) the Bharata the original Rāmāyana, Brahmasūtra and other texts that agree with these and not those that disagree The Vaişnava Puranas are also to

be accepted, because they are of the nature of the Pāñcarātra works and the Smritis of Manu and others in so far as they agree with the doctrine [Chapter I vv 30 32]

MANUSCRIPTS OF MĀDHVA WORKS

The present Collection does not contain many Manuscripts of works belonging to this school but since the close of the year copies of important Mādhva works have been purchased and these will be noticed in the next Report

No 156 is a complete copy of Ānandatirtha's Bhāsya on the Brahmasūtra and No 678 is a fragment of the same work beginning with Sūtra I 3 23 and coming down to the last but one Sūtra of Chap III No 675 contains the first two chapters of Ānandatirtha's Bhāsya on the Bhagavadgitā and No 679 is an incomplete copy of Vidyādhirāja's commentary on the same work No 677 is a commentary on the Sahasranāmastotra of Vyankatesa the god whose shrine on the Vyankatagiri is famous The author was a pupil of Satyavijaya who died in Śaka 1661

IV—SUDDHĀDVAITA OR VALLABHA'S SYSTEM

Vallabhācārya gave a sensualistic form to Vaiṣnavism The deity is worshipped in the form of Krisna the lover of the Gopīs or shepherdesses (rather cowherdesses) living in Gokula Vallabha's heaven is a region containing cows (Goloka) to which the devotees of Krisna repair and where assuming the forms of Gopis they sport with their lover His Vedāntic theory is called Śuddhādvaita according to which the animal spirits and the inanimate world are but forms of the Supreme Spirit and are related to him as the sparks of fire to the fire We have got a Manuscript of one work only belonging to this school (No 157) in the Collection

V—MISCELLANEOUS VAISNAVISM

PARAMĀGAMACŪDĀMANI

No 158 is a copy of the Paramāgamacūdāmani Samhitā of the Naradapancarātra As the Pañcarātra Samhitās are

acknowledged to be the chief authorities for Vaisnavism by the earlier Vaisnava sects, and consequently do not belong to any one system in particular I have put the Manuscript under the above heading it being the only one of its class

VISNUBHAKTICANDRODAYA

No 162 is Viṣnubhaktıcandrodaya which looks like a manual for the use of an ordinary Vaisnava not necessarily belonging to any of the sects already mentioned but worshipping Viṣnu according to the general precepts contained in the Purānas The work is certainly older than Vallabha for another Manuscript recently purchased was transcribed in Samvat 1496 and Śaka 1361 the cyclic year being Siddhārtha in the reign of Mahārāya Śivadāsa and was finished on Wednesday the 14th of the dark half of Āsvina the 15th or Amāvāsyā falling in the afternoon of the day while Vallabha is said to have been born in Samvat 1535

No 160 is Bhagavadbhaktıratnāvalı which consists of a collection of the several texts on Bhaktı scattered in the different parts of the Bhāgavata with a commentary and introductory verses The author is Viṣnupurı who calls himself a Tarabhukta i e , a native of Tırabhuktı or Tırhut

WORKS ON LATER VAISNAVISM

No 159 Bhaktırasamrtasındhu and No 161, Muktıcıntāmanı are representatives of later developments of Vaisnavism The author of the former was a pupil of the celebrated Krsna Caitanya of Bengal and wrote the work in the Śaka year Rāmānkasakra which expression signifies 1493 But the commentator takes it as equivalent to 1463 wherefore it appears that the word Anka" occurring in that expression is a mistake for 'Anga" The names of the author and of the commentator are not given, but the former calls himself a Varāka or a poor thing " and Kṣudra or a " little creature " The date of

the composition of the treatise agrees well with the date of Caitanya who was born in 1407 Śaka

The Muktacintamani promises Mukti or eternal bliss to those who adore Jagannātha of Orissa

VI—KĀSMĪR SAIVISM

Śaivism is perhaps as old as Vaisnavism It does not seem to have a historical element in it as Vaisnavism had in the Sātvata religion founded by Vasudeva or inculcating the worship of Vāsudeva and hence the doctrine of Bhakti plays no prominent part in it When the doctrines were reduced to a definite shape the system came to be known by the name of Pasupata or Mahesvara

PĀŚUPATA OR MĀHESVARA SYSTEM AND THE DIFFERENT MĀHESVARA SECTS

The Pasupta system is as we have seen mentioned along with the Pāñcarātra in the text from the Mahābhārata referred to above Images of Siva for purposes of worship are referred to by Patañjali The Pāsupatas are mentioned by Hwhan Thsang as existing in different towns and cities in India in his time Bāna speaks of them in the Harsacarita and Kadambari Most of the princes of Valabhi are styled Māhesvaras Śamkarācārya refutes the doctrines of the Māhesvara school under II 2 37 Rāmānuja also does the same under that Sūtra and mentions four sects the Kāpalas the Kālāmukhas the Pāsupatas, and Śaivas Mādhava explains the doctrines of two of these sects the first of which he calls Nakulisa Pāsupata and the second Śaiva

SPANDASĀSTRA AND ITS PROMULGATORS

The Kāsmir Māhesvaras are different from all these Their literature has two branches one of which is called Spandasāstra and the other Pratyabhijñasāstra The principal

work belonging to the former is that called Śivasūtrāni which according to Bhaskara the author of the Vartikas manifested themselves to Vasugupta under the guidance of a Siddha[1] Ksemaraja however in the Spandanirnaya states that Vasugupta found them inscribed on a stone through the will of God[2] being directed to the place in a dream In a verse at the end of Rama s Spandakarikavivarana we are told that these Sūtras were communicated by Mahesa to Vasugupta in a dream[3] Utpala in the Spandapradipikā states that he learned them from a Siddha[4] However he may have obtained them, it is clear that other people got them from Vasugupta, i e he was their author

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[1] श्रीमन्महादेवगिरौ वसुगुप्तगुरो पुरा ।
सिद्धादेशात्प्रादुरासञ्शिवसूत्राणि तस्य हि ॥
सरहस्यान्यत सोपि प्रादाद्भट्टाय सूरये ।
श्रीकल्लटाय सोप्येव चतु खण्डानि तान्यथ ।
व्याकरोत्त्रिकमेतेभ्य स्पन्दसूत्रै स्वकैस्तत ॥—From Manuscript No 171 of this year's Collection

[2] स्वप्नोपलब्धोपदेश श्रीमान्वसुगुप्ताचार्यो महादेवपर्वताद्भग वदिच्छयैव महाशिलातलोल्लिखितान्यतिरहस्यानि शिवसूत्राण्यासाद्य प्रसन्नगम्भीरैरेकपञ्चाशता श्लोकैरागमानुभवोपपत्त्येकीकार प्रदर्श यन्सगृहीतवान् ।—From Manuscript No 512 of 1875 76

[3] दृब्ध महादेवगिरौ महेशस्वप्नोपदिष्टाच्छिवसूत्रसिन्धो ।
स्पन्दामृत यद्वसुगुप्तपादै श्रीकल्लटस्तत्प्रकटीचकार ॥

[4] अयमत्र किलाम्नाय सिद्धमुखेनागत रहस्य यत् ।
तद्भट्टकल्लटेन्दुर्वसुगुप्तगुरोरवाप्य शिष्याणाम् ।
अवबोधार्थमनुष्टुप्पञ्चाशिकयात्र सग्रह कृतवान् ॥
यदपि तदर्थो व्याख्याज्योत्स्नाप्रकटीकृतोस्ति तेनेषत् ।
मोहनिशामध्यगता मन्ददृशस्तदपि नाथमीक्षन्ते ॥—From Manuscript No 173 of this year s Collection,

Another work of equal authority is the Spandakārikās, as to the authorship of which also there are varying statements Bhāskara says that Vasugupta communicated the Śivasūtras to Kallata three parts of which he explained by composing Sutras of his own In the Spanda-kārikāvivarana it is stated that Kallata only published the Spandāmrita which was composed by Vasugupta on Mahādevagiri Ksemaraja in the Spandanirnaya says that Vasugupta having obtained the Śivasūtras embodied their substance in fifty one Ślokas Utpala on the other hand tells us in the Spandapradipika that it was Kallata who composed the fifty Anustubh Ślokas after he had learned the Rahasya or essence of the Śāstra from his preceptor Vasugupta [1] At the end of the treatise he gives a Śloka as if occurring in the original in which the same thing is stated [2] "The Sūtras of his own" which Bhāskara speaks of must undoubtedly be the fifty or fifty one Kārikās mentioned by others Since this author flourished before the others his account is likely to be correct If the verse given by Utpala at the end does really occur in the original it decides the point, and the author of the Karikās must be taken to be Kallata But even if it does not there is another verse which is commented on both by Utpala and Rāma and which consequently does belong to the original treatise, i e, the Kārikās, in which the author praises the style of his master [3] This master is explained to be Vasugupta by both the commentators hence the author of the Kārikās must be Kallata Perhaps the best way of reconciling the varying statements would be to suppose that Kallata put in verse what his master taught him

1 See the verses given before in the footnotes

2 वसुगुप्तादवाप्येद गुरोस्तत्त्वार्थदर्शिन ।
रहस्य श्लोकयामास सम्यक् श्रीभट्टकल्लट ॥

3 अगाधसशयाम्भोधिसमुत्तारणतारिणीम् ।
वन्दे विचित्रार्थपदा चित्रा ता गुरुभारतीम् ॥

or both together composed the Kārikās while Kallata published them Kallaṭa wrote also a short Vrtti on the Kārikās which is given in some places in Rāma s work and is frequently alluded to by Ksemarāja who expressly attributes it to him The work composed of the Karikās and the Vrtti is called Spandasarvasva

PROMULGATORS OF THE PRATYABHIJÑĀSĀSTRA

The founder of the Pratyabhijñāsāstra, the other branch of Kasmir Śaiva philosophy was Somānanda the author of a work called Śivadrsti but the writer of the principal work of the system the so called Sūtras which are verses was his pupil Utpala the son of Udayākara

The present Collection has the following works belonging to these two branches

No 171 is a Manuscript in the Śārada character of Bhaskara's Sivasūtravārtika The introduction of this is given by Dr Buhler in his Report for 1875 76 from which we learn that the author of the Vārtika belonged to the sixth generation after Vasugupta

No 173 is a copy of the Spandapradipikā in the same character There is a modern copy of the work in Nāgari in Dr Buhler's Kasmir Collection The author is Utpala who Dr Buhler thinks might be the same as the author of the Pratyabhijñāsūtra But the former was the son of Trivikrama who lived at Nārāyanasthāna as we are told in the introduction of the Spandapradipikā as well as at the end while the latter was the son of Udayākara The author of the Spandapradīpikā quotes from the Paramārthasāra which is a work by Abhinava gupta the pupil of a pupil of the author of the Pratyabhijñāsūtra [1]

No 168 is Pratyabhijñāvimarsinilaghuvṛtti by Abhinavagupta transcribed in Samvat 1808 No 165 is Paramārthasāra and

1 F 2*b*, b 2 of No 512 of 1875 76

Nos 166 and 167 are copies of the same with Ksemarāja's commentary in the Śāradā and Nāgarī characters respectively and No 163 is Abhinavagupta's Gītārthasamgraha in the Śāradā character We have also a Śāradā Manuscript of Nārāyana's Stavacintāmani with Ksemarāja's commentary (No 172) We have in the Collection two copies one complete and the other incomplete of a commentary on the Bhagavadgītā by Rājānaka Rāma who represents himself as the son of Nārāyana who lived at Kānyakubja and the brother of Kana (?) As the doctrines set forth in the introduction of this commentary resemble those of the Kasmir Śaiva school I have put the work in this class

SPANDASĀSTRA DIFFERENT FROM MĀDHAVA'S ŚAIVADARSANA

In his Report for 1875 76 Dr Buhler identifies the Spanda branch of the Kasmir school with the Śaivadarsana the doctrines of which are explained by Mādhava in the Sarva darsanasamgraha and makes a broad distinction between that and the Pratyabhijñā branch which is explained by Mādhava next But this view is I think untenable The first Śivasūtra Caitanyamātmā and a verse attributed to Vasugupta are quoted by Mādhava as authorities for some of the Pratyabhijñā doctrines that he explains (Bibl Ind Ed pp 94 & 95) while none of the books or writers on the Spandasāstra are mentioned by him in his account of the Śaivadarsana

COMPARISON OF THE PRINCIPAL DOCTRINES OF THE TWO SCHOOLS

Besides the doctrines of Mādhava's Śaiva school are totally different from those laid down in the Spandasāstra Śiva according to that school is only an efficient or Nimitta cause of the inanimate world the Karman of the animal or human spirits being another prompting cause (p 80), while there is also an independent material or constituent cause (p 82) The animal spirits have a separate existence from the Supreme

spirit or Śiva and even when they are delivered or freed from the trammels of the world they become *like* Śiva but not Śiva himself There is a plurality of animal spirits (pp 84 & 85) Rāmānuja also represents the four schools of Śaivas mentioned by him in the passage referred to above[1] as holding the doctrine that God or Śiva is only an efficient cause and not the material or constituent cause But the doctrines of the Spandasāstra are that God or Śiva creates the world by his mere will [2] he requires no independent material cause[3] as the Vaiseṣikas and other schools maintain neither is he himself the material cause as some of the Vedāntins hold but he makes the world appear in himself as a whole town" or other things appear in a mirror and is as unaffected by it as the mirror is by these[4] The illustration of a mirror is only applicable to this extent that he is not affected by his creation while the theory that he is the material cause involves the supposition that he undergoes development and change Being a simple substance not divisible into parts if he develops, he must be immanent in the world and can have no existence distinct from the world That Brahma(n) is the material cause of the world is the original Vedāntic doctrine as appears clearly from the Vedānta Sutras but the immanency of God and his having no distinct existence which are its consequences are denied on the ground that the Upaniṣads represent him,

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1 Ante, p 198 [N B U]

2 अनेन स्वस्वभावस्यैव शिवात्मकस्य सकल्पमात्रेण जगदुत्पत्ति-संहारयो कारणत्वम् ।—Kallata's Vrtti on the first Kārikā यस्योन्मेषनिमेषाभ्या जगत. प्रलयोदयौ &c

3 सर्वशब्देनोपादानादिनैरपेक्ष्यं कर्तुर्ध्वनितम् ।—Kṣemarāja on the second Spandakārikā

4 अपि तु स एव भगवान्स्वस्वातन्त्र्यादनतिरिक्तामप्यतिरिक्तामिव जगद्रूपता स्वभित्तौ दर्पणनगरवत्प्रकाशयन्स्थित ।—Ibid

though a simple substance without parts, to have a distinct existence at the same time that they represent him to be the material cause undergoing development The two propositions howsoever inconsistent, must be admitted on the authority of the sacred texts (Vedāntasūtra II 1 26 & 27)

Śamkarācārya and, before him Gaudapāda avoided these consequences by declaring the world of which Brahma(n) is the material cause to be unreal and due to some principle of illusion called Māyā But they are avoided by Vasugupta and Kallata by having recourse to the illustration of a mirror while Śamkarācārya's illustration is that of a rope and the serpent for which it is mistaken Creation according to the Kāsmir Śaivas is therefore not unreal and this follows also from their doctrine that it is due to God s will alone Another illustration they give is that of a Yogin who by his power produces anything he chooses without using any materials The animal spirits are identical with the Supreme spirit[1] and become the Supreme spirit when they shake off their impurity[2] These are the

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1 परमेश्वर एव स्वमायावशान्नानाक्षेत्रज्ञरूपतयावभासमान स्वामेव व्यतिरिक्ता परा शक्ति ज्ञानज्ञेयभावेनावभासयन् जागरस्वप्नदशा व्यवहारमुद्भावयति ॥—Rāma on Kārikā 18 माया is here to be understood only as wonderful power"
कथ पुन. स्वस्वभावस्यैव संसारिण. शिवत्वेन निर्देश इत्युच्यते तत् यत्र स्थितमिद जगद्यस्माच्चोत्पन्न तस्य ससार्यवस्थायामप्यनाच्छादितस्वभावत्वान्न क्वचिन्निरोधोत शिवत्वमुच्यते।—Kallata's Vrtti on Karikā 2

2 निजाशुध्यासमर्थस्य कर्तव्येष्वाभिलाषिण ।
यदा क्षोभ प्रलीयेत तदा स्यात्परम पदम् ॥—Kārikā 9 Rāma's commentary on परम पदम् is परमं निरुत्तर पद स्थान स्यात्स द्भावेन प्रकाशेत। अभेद आत्मपुरुषशब्दप्रतिपादितयो परापरयो सविदोस्तस्यामेव दशायामुपलभ्यतया प्रथेतेत्यर्थ ।

doctrines of the Spandasāstra and these are exactly the doctrines of the Pratyabhijñā school also as given by Mādhava Hence is it that he quotes the Śivasūtras and Vasugupta in his account of that school

RELATIONS BETWEEN THE SPANDA AND PRATYABHIJÑĀ SĀSTRAS

The difference is that according to the latter school the attainment of Godhead is brought about by recognition You are God, but you do not know yourself to be such through ignorance you have therefore to recognise God in yourself through the instructions of your Guru or preceptor and in other ways This doctrine was established by the founders of the Pratyabhijñā system on the basis supplied by the Spandasastra and thus this system shows a further development and in the order of time also it is later

CONCLUSION

It will thus be seen that the doctrines of the Kāsmīr Saivas are adualistic or Advaita and are radically different from those of the several schools of Śaivas mentioned by Samkarācārya Rāmānuja and Mādhava and in them the influence of the Aupanisada school—whether that of Śamkarācārya or any previous one is clearly traceable

NYĀYA AND VAIŚESIKA

TĀRKIKARAKSĀVYĀKHYĀ

We have one representative of Gotama's system in the present Collection the Tārkikaraksāvyākhyā by Varadarāja of which we have the second and third Paricchedas in No 184 The Tarkikarakṣā consists of Kārikās or Ślokas and the Vyākhyā is the perpetual commentary on those Kārikas

THE AUTHOR OF THE VYĀKHYĀ AND OF THE ORIGINAL THE SAME

Dr Burnell seems to think that Varadaraja is the author of the perpetual commentary only but at the end of the work

occur two verses the sense of which is This is the work of Varadarāja conversant with the Nyāyavidyā and thoioughly proficient in the Mimāmsa Having closely studied the difficult works of Vacaspati Udayana and others I have here given the substance which those disputants who desire victory in debate should get up' Now this cannot apply to the commentary for the substance of the works of previous writers is given not in the merely explanatory portion but in the original Kārikās Then in the colophon we have Thus ends Varadarāja s Mūlasūtra" As this Manuscript was written by a Jaina and as Jaina scribes use the word Sūtra' rather too frequently without looking to its propriety it has probably no specific signification here But the word 'Mūla' seems to point to the belief that the original text or the Tarkikaraksa was the work of Varadarāja However the point is settled by a statement occurring in a commentary on the whole work by Mallinātha a copy of which has recently been puichased to the effect that Varadarāja wrote the Vyākhā on the Ślokas of the Tārkikaraksā composed by himself

Madhava quotes a verse from this work in the Sarvadarsana samgraha (p 70) which I find in this Manuscript It is the 28th of the second Paricheda Varadarāja thus flourished a sufficiently long time before the fourteenth century to become a famous author He mentions Vacaspati and Udayana, as we have seen and in the beginning of the second Paricheda quotes from the Bhāşya Vartika, Tikā and Tātparyaparisuddhi The Bhāsya meant is that on the Sūtras of Gotama by Vātsyāyana and the Vārtika is a commentaiy on the Bhāsya by Uddyotakāra or Bhāradvāja The full title of the Tikā is Vārtikatātparyatīka which is a work on the Vārtika by Vācaspati Misra and the Tātparyaparisuddhi is a work on this last by Udayana

KIRANAVALI

No 183 is a Manuscript of the Kiranāvalī which is a commentary on Prasastapādacārya's Bhāşya on the Sutras of

Kanāda by Udayana It comes down to the end of the first category or Dravya

WORKS ON MODERN NYĀYA

Relating to modern Nyāya we have Manuscripts of parts of Gadādhara's works (Nos 693 694 and 681) and Nos 686–688 are parts of the Bhāvānandi which like the Gādādhari, is a commentary on the Didhiti of Raghunāthabhatta Śiromani

There is a commentary on the Bhāvānandi by Mahādeva Puntamkara i e Mahādeva native of Puntambem in the Ahmednagar District He was a pupil of Śitikantha, probably the same as the author of the Tarkaprakāsa Nos 689–691 are parts of Mahādeva's work

Another commentary on Śiromani's work is that by Jayarāma of the Vyāptivāda of which No 187 is a copy

We have a copy of a commentary (other than those noticed in my last Report) on Jānakināthas Nyāyasiddhānta mañjari (No 185) It is entitled Bālabodhini and the author is Narasimha Pañcānana son of Govinda Tarkālamkrtin who lived in Gaudamandala or Bengal

No 186 is an independent work on the Nyāya and Vaisesika systems resembling the Tarkasamgraha and entitled Padārtha dipika, by Kondabhatta son of Rangojibhatta, who is the same as the author of the Vaiyakaranabhūsanasāra

JYOTISA OR ASTRONOMY ASTROLOGY AND DIVINATION

I—GANITA BRANCH

No 205 is a copy of a commentary on Bhāskaracārya's Lilāvati by Mahidāsa who wrote it in the year 1644 The era is not stated but it must be the Samvat since the Manuscript was transcribed in Samvat 1733,

ANIRUDDHA'S COMMENTARY ON THE BHĀSVATĪ

No 198 is a commentary on Śatānanda's Bhāsvatikarana The epoch year of this is 1021 Śaka and the work was we are told at the end composed in the year 4200 of the Kaliyuga i e in 1021 Śaka The author of the commentary is Aniruddha whose father was Bhāvasarman and grandfather Mahasarman The last was a physician and lived at Yamanapura but his son Bhava left the place in his old age and settled in the town of Samkaia (Benares) Examples are worked in the commentary for the Śaka year 1416 corresponding to the Vikiama year 1551 which was the year of the birth of Hira the son of Aniruddha The work was finished on Saturday the 1st of the dark half of Asvayuj (?) in the Saka year 1417 The author gives 1520 (Samvat) as the date of his birth and states that he composed the commentary when he was 31 years old The Bhāsvatikarana follows the Sūryasiddhānta

OTHER COMMENTARIES ON THE BHĀSVATĪ

No 197 is a commentary on the same Karana by one Mādhava, native of Kānyakubja or Kanoj who when he works examples, uses Śaka 1447 In speaking of the Ayanāmsas or degrees of equinoctial precession the commentator tells us that the author based his rule for finding them on the supposition that in Śaka 450 the precession was zero i e the equinox corresponded with the last point of Revati and the first of Asvini, while according to the Suryasiddhānta it was zero in 421 Śaka For at the beginning of the Kaliyuga it was zero and according to the Sūryasiddhānta each libration of the equinoxes which reaches the limit of 27 occupies 1800 years So that the libration to the east was complete in Kali 1,800, and the return motion was complete in Kali, 3,600 i e, the equinox corresponded with the first point of Asvini at the end of that Kali year Kali 3 600 corresponds to Śaka 421, the difference between the eras being 3 179 Mādhava therefore proposes to correct his author's rule

At present the Hindu astronomers follow a rule based on the supposition that the equinox corresponded with the first point of Asvini in the year 444 Śaka But all these take the precession to be one minute every year i e 10 second in excess though according to the rate of 27 in 1800 years it is 54" every year and the difference has gone on accumulating until it now amounts to about 4°

No 199 is another commentary on the same Karana by Gangādhara who was a native of a town to the west of Kurukṣetra He wrote his work in 1607 Saka and his illustrative calculations are for that year

No 200 is another still but the author's name is not given The commentator tates that Bhaskaracārya prepared an abridgement of the Sūryasiddhanta to render it intelligible to his pupils under the name of Bhāsvati and a certain vain man of the name of Śatānanda made some changes here and there, adding something and taking away something inserted a verse in the beginning and another in the end containing his own name and led ignorant people to think the work as his own* But there appear to be no grounds whatever for these assertions Bhaskaracārya was born in 1036 Saka while the epoch year of the Bhāsvati is 1021 Saka on which all the rules are based Bhāskarācārya wrote a Karana in accordance with the Brahma siddhānta and it is not likely he should write another in accordance with another Siddhānta nor has there been any tradition to the effect that he did so Examples are worked in this commentary for the year 1577 Śaka and 1712 Samvat The Bhāsvati Karana seems to have been much used in Northern India since all these commentators are natives of that part of the country and most of the Manuscripts noticed were purchased at Delhi

GRAHAKAUTUKA BY KESAVA OF NANDIGRĀMA

Kesava of Nandigrāma or Nandagaum the father of Ganesa the author of the Grahalāghava, composed a Karana which

however was superseded by his son's treatise and is now little known The work is called Grahakautuka and as in the case of his Jatakapaddhati noticed in my last Report[1] Kesava himself has composed a commentary on it No 700 is a Manuscript of the original as well as the commentary transcribed in 1500 Saka The epoch year used by Kesava is 1418 while that of his son's Grahalaghava is 1442 Saka The Saka year in which the precession of the equinoxes was zero is taken to be 444 Kesava gives Kamalakara as his father's name and speaks of Nandigrāma situated on the coast of the western sea as his native place

No 217 is a Karana by one Raghunatha who uses Śaka 1484 as his epoch

KHANDAKHĀDYA

No 188 contains calculations according to the rules laid down in the Khandakhādya for the use of the Kasmirians The first Śloka in that Karana is given at the beginning and some of the Kārikās occurring in it are quoted The Śaka year used for most of the calculations is 1564 which was the year in which the author wrote From this we are directed to subtract 587 and the remainder 977 represents the number of years elapsed since the composition of the Karana The epoch year used in this Karana is we know Śaka 587

MODE OF CONVERTING A LAUKIKA INTO A SAKA DATE

In the beginning the mode of converting a Laukika year into the corresponding Śaka is given 47 is to be taken as a constant number and to that must be prefixed the number of centuries elapsed since the beginning of the Śaka era at any given time To the number so formed the number of passed Laukika years should be added and the total represents the Śaka year corresponding to the current Laukika year which Śaka year

1 Ante p 36 [N B U]

appears to be the passed Śaka year since that alone is used in calculations Thus in the time of the author fifteen centuries of the Śaka era had elapsed and with the constant number 47 we have 1547 The current Laukika year was 18 and 17 (the number of passed years) being added to 1547 we have 1564 which was the Saka year corresponding to the current Laukika year The Laukika year here mentioned must be the Saptarsi year

From the above method it will be seen that in the first Śaka century Śaka 48 corresponded to the current Laukika year 2 Now the Saka era began when 3179 years of the Kali had elapsed i e Saka 1 past corresponds to 3180 Kali past Therefore Saka 48 past corresponds to 3227 Kali past i e Laukika current 2 corresponds to Kali 3227 past Now if the Saptarsi era began in the same century as the Kali era in the first century of these eras 2 Laukika current corresponded to 27 Kali past i e the Saptarsi era began after 26 years of the Kali had elapsed This agrees with the results arrived at by Dr Buhler if the Laukika years given by him are considered as current years and the Kali years past years

RĀMAVINODA

No 204 is Ramavinoda which is a Karana composed by Rāmabhatta the son of Anantabhatta and younger brother of Nilakantha at the orders of Ramadāsa minister of Akbar The epoch year is 35 of the era of Jelaluddin Akbar who it is stated got possession of the throne in Vikrama 1612 and Śaka 1477 Akbar s genealogy is given in the beginning The Karana was composed in 1535 Saka

PHATTESĀHAPRAKĀSĀ

No 190 is Phattesahaprakasa The first five leaves of the Manuscript are missing The work appears to be a Karana having for its epoch the year 48 of the era of Phatteshah who is spoken of as king of Kedara of Badari and of Śrinagara and

as the crest jewel of the lunar race The era of Phatteshah began in 1713 of Vikrama or 1578 Śaka The state he governed must have been the Punjab Hill State of Garhwal in which there are places of the names of Kedāranātha and Kedarakānta as well as Śrinagara The author of the work is Jatādhara son of Vanamalin who lived in the country of Siharanda (Sirhind) Vanamalin was the son of Durgamisra who was the son of Uddhava of the Gargagotra

KIRANĀVALĪ

No 697 is a copy of the Kiranāvali which is a commentary on the Sūryasiddhānta by a Citpāvan Brahman of the name of Dadabhai the son of Madhava surnamed Gamvkar This work is noticed by Professor Aufrecht in the Oxford Catalogue but he does not give the date of its composition

DATE OF THE WORK

In proving that the Kali age proper has not yet begun but that we now live in the introductory period called Kalisamdhya by adding up the numbers of years for which the different dynasties mentioned in the Purānas particulary the Visnu from Parikṣit (who ascended the throne about the beginning of the Samdhya) downwards held power—the author gives his date three times as Śaka 1641 corresponding to Kali 4820 In connection with this matter he speaks of the doctrine of a complete revolution of the equinoxes as a Vedabahyamata or a doctrine opposed to the Vedas i e heterodox though it is advocated by Bhāskaracarya and others

II AND III SAMHITĀ AND HORA BRANCHES

There are several treatises belonging to these branches of Jyotisa No 210 is Vriddha Gārgyasamhitā In the body of the work, the Rsi is sometimes spoken of as Gārgya and sometimes as Gaiga The work is different from the Gārgī Sāmhitā mentioned by Dr Kern

VARSAPHALAVICĀRA BY NĪLAKANTHA

No 206 is Varsaphalavicāra by Nilakantha The commentary on the work is by Mādhava who represents himself to have entered on the 35th year of his age on Wednesday the 14th of the light half of Āṣādha in the year Samvat 1690 and Śaka 1555 and makes illustrative calculations with reference to himself Nilakantha appears to have belonged to the same family as Visvanātha the commentator on Kesava's and Ganesa's works but the verses containing an account of the family which are given in a detached form are corrupt and nothing certain can be made out

AN ACCOUNT OF VISVANĀTHA S FAMILY

An account of Visvanātha s family occurs however at the end of No 201 which is a Manuscript of the Muhūrtacūdāmani by Śivadaivajña In Golagrāma situated on the Godāvari and in the country of Vidarbha, lived Divākara who was the pupil of Ganesa, son of Kesava The Ganesa meant must thus have been the author of the Grahalāghava Divākara had five sons, the eldest of whom was Krsna who was highly honoured at the court of the king and wrote many treatises Vişnu was the name of the second son and Mallāri of the third and the last two were Kesava and Visvanātha A son of Krsna was Narasimha the author of Vasanakalpalatā and Narasimha's younger brother was Siva the writer of the present treatise The family belonged to the Bhāradvāja Gotra

The dates given in three of Visvanātha s works are as stated in my last Report[1] 1508 1534, and 1553 Saka corresponding to 1586 1612 and 1631 A D Narasimha also wrote a Commentary on the Sūryasiddhanta Ranganātha (the author of a gloss on Bhāskarācārya's Vasanā) and Kamalakara the author of the Siddhāntatattvaviveka recently printed in the Benares Sanskrit series were his sons[2] It thus appears

1 Ante pages 35 and 36 [N B U]
2 Colebrooke s Essays

that this was a family of Maratha Brahmans and the study of astronomy and astrology was successfully pursued by it for four generations their original Guru or teacher being Ganesa of Nandagaum

VIVĀHAVRNDĀVANA

No 722 is a Manuscript of a work entitled Vivahavrndavana or astrology of marriage by Kesava who belonged to the Bhāradvāja gotra and was the son of Ranaga Rānaga was the son of Śriyādītya and Śriyadītya of Janārdana who was a great Yājñika The first leaf of this Manuscript contains the introduction to a commentary on the work but in the subsequent leaves we have the original only The author of the commentary is Ganesa son of Kesava and author of the Grahalāghava who gives the following list of his works —

1 Grahalaghava a Karana
2 Works on Tithisiddhi
3 Śrāddhavidhi
4 A commentary on the Lilāvati
5 A commentary on the Muhūrtatattva (of his father)
6 Parvanirnaya
7 Vaivahasaddipikā or a commentary on the Vivāha vrndāvana

MINARĀJAJĀTAKA

No 211 is in the colophon called Minarajajātaka composed by Yavanesvaracarya but in the introduction it is stated that an ancient Muni taught the Horasastra consisting of a hundred thousand Slokas to Maya and this was abridged by Minarāja into eight thousand Ślokas In the margin the work is called Yavanajataka

MEDICINE

No 218 is a fragment of a commentary entitled Āyurvedarasāyana by Hemādri the minister of Rāma of the Yādava dynasty of Devagiri on Vāgbhata's Astāngayogahrdaya In the intro

duction it is stated that Hemādri the author of the Caturvargacintāmani composed this lucid commentary on the Āyurveda called Astāngayogahrdaya in conformity with the views of Caraka Harita and Susruta in order to enable men to acquire a healthy bodily condition so essential for the observance of the fasts and vows and for the performance of the ceremonies involved in making gifts and charities which have been laid down in the Caturvargacintāmani In this commentary he has incorporated the conclusions arrived at by Haricandra and others in their commentaries on the Caraka and by Jajyata and others in their commentaries on the Susruta Since Hemādri here speaks of himself as the minister or secretary of Rama and mentions his works on Dharmasāstra he wrote this work after 1193 Śaka or 1271 A D the year in which Mahādeva the uncle and predecessor of Rama ceased to reign

The Astāngahrdaya is the principal work commented on where it is silent the Astāngasamgraha and other works are quoted and their texts explained when difficult

No 219 contains fragments of another important work on medicine entitled Cikitsāsara by Vangasena The name of the author's father was Gadādhara whose original place of residence was Kañjikā This appears to be a very old work since we have a Manuscript dated 1376 Samvat or 1320 A D in the Collection of 1879 80

No 222 is a copy of a work entitled Virasimhāvaloka in which diseases are traced to sins and their natures and religious astrological as well as medical remedies are explained It is attributed to a prince of the name of Virasimha who belonged to the Tomara line Virasimha's father was Devavarma(n) and of this latter Kamalasimha

In the second Volume of the Archaeological Reports General Cunningham gives lists of the Tomara princes of Gwalior (p 382) In that supplied by the Tomara Zamindar occur these

three names successively —Kunwar Pal Deo Brahm Bir Simha Deo Of these Kunwar must be the same as Kamala since this word is corrupted to Kamvala in Hindi and *l* is interchangeable with *r* Deo Brahm is the same as Devvarma for according to the ordinary Hindi way of pronunciation this word is Devbarma and Bir Simha is of course Virasimha Virasimha established an independent Hindu kingdom at Gwalior soon after the invasion of Timur having shaken off the authority of the Delhi sovereign His date is 1375 A D and of his two predecessors 1350 A D and 1325 A D

In the present work the following works and authors are referred to —

Śripati (f 10 *b* 12 *b*, &c)
Sārāvali (f 2 *a* 12 *a* &c)
Jātaka (f 2 *a* 42 *b* &c)
Harita (f 2 *a* 30 *b*)
Gargya (f 2 *b*)
Māheśvaratantra (f 3 *a*)
Ātreya (f 3 *a*)
Susrutācārya (f 3 *b* 35 *a* &c)
Tisatacārya (f 4 *a*)
Vāgbhata (f 9 *a*, 13 *b*)
Sārāvalijātaka (f 10 *b*)
Padmapurana (f 11 *a* 12 *b* &c)
Śivagitā (f 12 *b*)
Gautama (f 12 *b* 37 *a*),
Brahmagitā (14 *a*)
Brahmapurāna (14 *a*)
Vrndasamgraha (15 *a* 18 *a*, &c)
Vrddhasātātapa (17 *a*)
Vrddhapārāsara (17 *a*)
Baudhāyana (17 *a* 25 *b* &c)
Ārogyacintamani (18 *a*)
Dāmodara (18 *b*)
Śaunaka (20 *a*)
Vrddhagautama (21 *a* 69 *a*)
Brahmāndapurāna (26 *a* 31 *a*, &c)
Mahabhārata (26 *a* 31 *b* &c)
Susruta (27 *b* 34 *a* &c)
Vāyupurāna (32 *a* 49 *a* &c)
Vācaspati (48 *b*)
Kūrmapurāna (II 9 *a* &c)

TĀNTRIKA LITERATURE

In this class there are Manuscripts of a good many works written in the Śāradā character more than half of which are not represented in Dr Buhler's Collection of 1875 76

VĀMAKEŚVARATANTRA AND THE LIST OF TANTRAS CONTAINED IN IT

No 236 is a copy of the Vamakesvaratantra in which are given the names of the sixty four Tantras They are —

1 Mahamāyāsambara
2 Yoginījālasambara
3 Tattvasambaraka
4 11 Bhairavāstaka
12 19 Bahurūpāstaka
20 Jñāna
21 28 Yamalāstaka
29 Candrajñāna
30 Vasukī
31 Mahāsammohana
32 Mahoccuṣma
33 Mahādeva
34 Vāthu(tu ?)la
35 Nayottara (?)
36 Hṛdbheda
37 Matṛbheda
38 Guhyatantra
39 Kāmika
40 Kalapāda
41 Kalasāra
42 Kubjikāmata
43 Nayottara
44 Vinū(ā)dya
45 Tottala
46 Tottalottara
47 Pañcāmṛta
48 Rūpabheda
49 Bhūtoddāmara
50 Kulasāra
51 Kuloddiṣa
52 Kulacudamani
53 Sarvajñānottara
54 Mahāpiṣamata
55 Mahalakṣmimata
56 Siddhayogiśvaramata
57 Kurūpikāmata
58 Rūpikāmata
59 Sarvavīramata
60 Vimalamata
61 Uttama
62 Ārunesa
63 Modanesa
64 Viśuddhesvara

The names in this list differ a good deal from those occurring in the extract from this same Tantra given by Yajñesvara Śāstrin in his Āryavidyasudhākara (p 160) and from those given by Professor Aufrecht in the Oxford Catalogue (pp 108 9) In our list Nayottara occurs twice being the 35th as well as the 43rd There must be a mistake here, and we should perhaps read Vātulottara in the first place with Yajñesvara

Śastrin and Professor Aufrecht Similarly we have Maho cchusma here for the Vāmajuṣta of others This last might be taken as meant for the Vamakesvara or Vāmikesvara Tantra the name of which must be found in the list but "Maho cchuṣma' hardly admits of being so understood whence probably we have a mistake here also

No 735 is called Śabaratantra in the colophon It contains charms and incantations in Sanskrit Hindi Gujarati and Marathi, the effect of which is the destruction of enemies the averting of evil the acquisition of miraculous powers and any desired object &c The charms and incantations are in one or two places called Śabara Mantras

In the beginning the following are mentioned as the twelve Kāpālikas —

Ādināth a	Mahākāla
Anātha	Kalabhairavanatha
Kāla	Vatuka
Atikālaka	Bhūtanātha
Karāla	Vira(Vira ?)nātha
Vikarāla	Śrīkantha

The following are mentioned as the twelve disciples, the founders of systems (Mārgapravartaka)

Nāgārjuna	Carpata
Jadabhṛta	Ava(?)ghata
Hariscandra	Vairāgya
Saptanātha	Kanthādhāri(rin)
Bhimanātha	Jalamdhari(rin)
Gorakṣa	Yamalārjuna

No 227 contains the first and ninth chapters of the Kulārnava tantra Nos 242 and 731 are from the Rudrayāmalatantra No 245 from the Brahmayāmala No 737 from the Bhairava yāmala No 228 from the Sammohanatantra No 226 from the

Viśvoddhāratantra and No 246 from the Sudarsanasamhitā No 234 contains the Bhairavastava from the Bhairavayāmala and another incomplete tract

OTHER WORKS

The rest are compilations manuals and original treatises No 224 is Siddhakhanda of the Mantrasāra by Pārvatiputra Nityanātha It gives the Mantras to be repeated and the dark processes to be gone through for the purpose of attaining miraculous or magical powers such as those of subduing other people to one's own will raising the dead, &c

The title of No 232 is Netroddyota which is a work by Kṣemaraja, pupil of Abhinavagupta

KĀMAKALĀVILĀSA AND VARIVASYĀRAHASYA

No 225 is Kāmakalāvilāsa with a commentary, and No 734 Varivasyārahasya The author of the Kāmakalāvilāsa is Punyānanda and of the commentary Natanānandanātha while the Varivasyārahasya is by Bhāskararāya the son of Gambhira raya who flourished in the beginning of the seventeenth century The subject of both works is the same, but the first is older and more authoritative and is quoted in the second They give a mystic interpretation of the modes of worshipping the Devi in her agreeable or rather sensual form, and identify the philosophy ultimately involved with that of the Upanişads The system is in some places called Śāmbhavadarsana by Natanānandanātha

ABSTRACT OF THE DOCTRINES OF THE SĀMBHAVADARŚANA

Śiva and Śakti are the primordial substances Śiva in the form of Prakāsa (light) enters into the Sakti in the form of Vimarsa or Sphūrti (feeling or appearance) and assumes the form of a Bindu (drop) and Sakti similarly enters into Śiva, whereupon the Bindu develops and there arises out of it the

female element called Nāda which is as minute as the end of a grain of rice and is pregnant with all the primary principles" which according to this system are thirty six in number These two the Bindu and the Nāda becoming united form one compound Bindu and that substance represents the intense affinity between the female and male energies It is called Kāma (Love) and the two drops of which that representing the male is white and the female red, form the Kalā Kāma is identified with the Sun and the two drops of the Kalā with the moon and fire respectively These three the compound Bindu or Kama and the two male and female drops again form one substance called Kāmakalā from which proceeds the whole creation of words and the things expressed by them (Vagarthau)

In the Varivasyārahasya the three substances forming the Kāmakala are thus stated —1st the compound drop or Kama 2nd the two male and female drops and 3rd what is called the Hārdhakalā which results from the development of the first Bindu after it has been entered into by the Sakti and the nature of which says Bhāskararāya should be known from the mouth of a Guru only and should not be described in a book This last seems to correspond to the Nāda mentioned by Natanānandanātha In a text quoted in the commentary on the Kamakalāvilāsa the highest deity or Kāmakalā is spoken of as having the sun (compound Bindu) for her face fire and moon (the red and white Bindus) for her breasts and the Hardhakalā for her organ of generation

Kāmakala is also called Parā Lalitā Bhattarikā, and Tripurasundari Śiva is symbolically identified with the letter *a* and Śakti with *h* the last letter of the Sanskrit alphabet Hence the female element called Nāda which arises from the development of the first Bindu is called Hardhakala i e, one half of the Kalā mystically identified with the letter *h* The mystic symbol of Kāmakalā or Tripurasundari who is the

result of the combination of Śiva and Śakti is the combination of *a* and *h* i e, *Ah* or *Aha* which is the same as Aham I ' Hence Tripurasundari is called Ahamtā or egoism and hence it is that all her developments (i e, the whole creation) have egoism or individuality and all souls are but forms of Tripurasundari and according to Punyānanda become Tripurasundari when they study and practise the Kāmakalavidyā with its series of Devicakras or mystic circles *A* and *h*, being the first and last letters of the alphabet contain between them all letters and through them all words i e the whole speech and just as all things are produced from Tripurasundari so are all words which express the things She is thus called Parā, the first of the four kinds of speech Creation as stated by Bhaskararāya is Parināma or development and not Vivarta or the generation of false appearances

THE THIRTY SIX PRINCIPLES

The thirty six primary principles of this system are the following —

1	Śiva	13	Prakiti	25	Pāyu
2	Śakti	14	Ahamkāra	26	Upastha
3	Sadāsiva	15	Buddhi	27	Śabda
4	Īsvara	16	Manas	28	Sparsa
5	Suddhavidyā	17	Srotra	29	Rūpa
6	Māya	18	Tvac	30	Rasa
7	Kalā	19	Netra	31	Gandha
8	Vidyā	20	Jihvā	32	Ākāsa
9	Rāga	21	Ghrāna	33	Vāyu
10	Kāla	22	Vāc	34	Tejas
11	Niyati	23	Pani	35	Ap
12	Puruṣa	24	Pāda	36	Prthivi

The first eleven only are peculiar to this system, the rest are the same as those of the Samkhyas No 17—21 are the five organs of sense Nos 22—26 the organs of action, and No 16

the organ of sense as well as action Nos 27—31 are the five Tanmātrāni or subtle elements and Nos 32—36 are the developed elements

This is the philosophy of the Śāmbhava Darśana and it will be seen that though it admits a male element in the beginning still it is thoroughly subdued by the female element which becomes predominant and the highest deity is a goddess viz, Tripurasundari The ambition of every pious follower of the system is to become identical with Tripurasundari and one of his religious exercises is to habituate himself to think that he is a woman There is a Śākta ascetic in a village in the vicinity of Poona who I am told, dresses himself like a female

MODES OF PROPITIATING THE HIGHEST DEITY

The Varivasyārahasya enters also into the details of the Śakti worship and explains their hidden sense At the end of the commentary on the Kāmakalāvilasa we are told that no one can attain the knowledge of Brahma(n) as above explained or enter into a union with Śiva or Tripurasundarī who does not assume a Dikṣā i e, who does not devote himself to a certain system of religious exercises There are three kinds of Dikṣā — Ānavī Śākti and Śambhavi The Dikṣā can be attained only by the propitiation of the supreme deity This propitiation is effected by three modes of worship which are called Para Apara and Parāpara The first consists in fully concentrating the mind on the Devi as sitting in the lap of Śiva in the Mahāpadmavana (a garden of lotuses) as possessed of a body which is pure joy and is the original cause of all and as identical with one's own self The second is the Cakrapūja the worship by means of the mystic circles which is a Bāhyayāga or material worship and the third consists in studying and knowing the true doctrine (?)

The propitiation by the mode of Cakrapūjā is effected by offering to the Devī the highest nectar i e wine Meat

and fish are also to be offered and in a text quoted in connection with this matter five things the names of which begin with *m* are mentioned as calculated to propitiate the Devi The five are Madya or liquor Māmsa or meat Matsya or fish Mudrā or mystic gesticulation and Maithuna or copulation This Sambhava Darsana is to be resorted to by those who are desirous of Moksa or final deliverance

RELATIONS BETWEEN THIS AND THE OTHER TANTRIKA SYSTEMS

The systems inculcated in other Tantras such as the Mahamāyāsambara were no doubt equally with this system taught by Śiva but they are not to be followed for Śiva taught them in order to delude the wicked and men with lower qualifications only should resort to them It will thus appear that the Tantras inculcate the worship of the supreme female deity in a large variety of mutually inconsistent forms, some of which are dark and terrific There were a great many sects of Devi worshippers and each system of worship was conceived in a distinctive spirit

ART

No 247 is a copy of the first two out of the seven chapters of a commentary on the Samgitaratnākara by Kallinātha, son of Lakṣmanārya The Manuscript is very old and the leaves are in a dilapidated condition We have a fragment of a work on dancing (No 248) and another of a work on house building called Aparājitaprcchā by Bhavadeva

JAINA LITERATURE

WORKS OF THE DIGAMBARA SECT

DHARMA

In the Pravacanaparīksā by Dharmasāgaragani to be noticed in connection with the literature of the Śvetāmbaras it is stated that the Digambara sect originated in the year 609 of Mahāvira

corresponding to 83 A D, on the supposition that Mahāvīra's Nirvāna took place in 470 before Vikrama or 526 before Christ One of the earliest authors whose works are referred to by subsequent writers is Kundakundacārya The line of High priests founded by him is mentioned in an Inscription dated 1127 Saka (JBBRAS Vol X p 236) Three of his works the Astapṛabhṛta the Bhāvādipṛabhṛta and the Samayasāra exist in Dr Buhler's Collection of 1875 76 There is another copy of the last in my Collection of 1882 83 and in the present Collection we have Manuscripts of two more of his works the Pravacanasāra (No 304) and the Niyamasāra (No 299)

PRAVACANASĀRA BY KUNDAKUNDĀCĀRYA WITH A HINDĪ COMMENTARY

The first consists of Prākṛta Gāthās by Kundakundācārya with a Sanskṛit translation by Amṛtacandra and an excellent exposition in Hindi by Hemarāja who wrote his commentary at the instance of Kaumṛapāla (Kamalapāla) of Agra Kaumra pāla represented to Hemaraja that the Samayasara had already been explained in Hindi by Rajamalla and if the same thing were done with the Pravacanasāra the religion of the Jina would flourish in all its branches and requested him to write a Hindi commentary on the work This commentary was finished on Sunday the 5th of the light half of the month of Māgha in the year 1709 during the reign of Shah Jahan The present Manuscript was transcribed in Samvat 1809 so that the date 1709 must refer to the Samvat or Vikrama era and is thus equivalent to 1653 A D when Shah Jahan was on the throne of Delhi

ANALYSIS OF THE PRAVACANASĀRA

The first leaf of the Manuscript is missing but from the Hindi commentary on the second it appears that it contained a Gāthā expressive of adoration of Vardhamāna, the last Tirthamkara In the second Gāthā obeisance is rendered to the other

Tirthamkaras along with the Siddhas and Śramanas and in the third to the Arhats living during the author's time In the fourth and fifth after having in this manner adored the Arhats Siddhas Ganadharas Adhyapakas, and Sadhus who we are told constitute the five classes of Paramesthins the author expresses his submission to or dependence on (Upasampadya) that state of serenity" (Samya) attained by them which leads to Nirvāna and which is associated with or follows upon faith in the correct doctrine (Visuddhadarsana) and knowledge (Jñāna)

THE THREE JEWELS

The sixth Gāthā sets forth that a Jiva or soul obtains Nirvāna and also the dignity of the sovereign of the gods Asuras and men from Cāritra (right conduct) associated pre eminently with faith in the true doctrine (Samyagdarsana[1]) and knowledge (Jñāna) The commentator explains that there are two kinds of Caritra one which is unaccompanied by desire (Vitaraga) and the other which is accompanied (Sarāga) The first leads to Moksa or eternal bliss and the second to the sovereign dignity spoken of in the Gāthā

In the seventh Gātha we are told that Caritra or right conduct is Dharma Dharma is what is called Sāmya (serenity or equanimity) and Sāmya is a condition induced on the soul or the developed condition of the soul (Parināma) in which ignorance (Moha) and perturbation (Ksobha) are absent

The eighth sets forth that the developed condition of any object is for the time that that condition lasts the object itself therefore, when the condition of Dharma is developed in the soul it is the soul itself i e, Dharma is the soul in that developed condition

1 This expression always means seeing or believing in the truth of the doctrines of Jina

THE THREE KINDS OF DEVELOPMENT OF THE SOUL

Ninth Gāthā —Jīva being capable of development or change becomes meritorious (Subha) when merit is induced in him by such deeds as alms giving worshipping observing vows and fasts full of demerit (Asubha) when that quality is developed by deeds of demerit and pure or serene when developed as free from desire

Tenth Gāthā —There is no substance without some development (Parināma) nor is there development without substance a thing's having existence is its being made up of substance quality and development

Eleventh Gāthā —The soul or Ātman that develops in the form of Dharma obtains the bliss of Nirvana when he realizes in himself the pure" or 'serene" (Śuddha) i e when the Dharma is of that nature and heavenly bliss when the meritorious (Śubha) is realized i e when the Dharma consists of merit

Twelfth Gātha —When the soul realizes in himself demerit he becomes a low man, a brute or a denizen of hell and being subject to a variety of torments wanders for long (through the circle of existences)

THE HIGHEST DEVELOPMENT AND ITS RESULTS

Thirteenth Gatha —Those who become perfect through being developed into pure serenity (Śuddha Dharma) enjoy in themselves bliss surpassing every other kind of it, beyond all pleasure of sense incomparable endless and indestructible

Fourteenth Gāthā —That Śramana is to be considered as having realized the pure or serene in himself (Śuddhopayukta) who knows perfectly all things and the systems that explain them who possesses self restraint and has practised austerities who is free from desire, and to whom pleasure and pain are alike

Fifteenth Gāthā —He who has become pure by the realization in himself of the pure or serene is free from the dust in the shape of everything that acts as an obstruction to knowledge (Antaraya) and that deludes or misleads (Moha) and thus obtains omniscience and becomes self sufficient

Sixteenth Gatha —Having thus attained to his nature (the highest development of his nature) and become omniscient deserving of respect from the lords of the three worlds and self sufficient he becomes what is called Svayambhū

Seventeenth Gāthā —There is in him then production (of the highest nature) not to be followed by destruction and a destruction (of the lower nature) not to be followed by production thus in him unchangeable existence production, and destruction are united

Eighteenth Gāthā —With reference to one development or another a thing undergoes production and destruction (at the same time) everything verily has existence (which existence implies the production of one development or modification and destruction of another and also permanence in so far as it is the same substance)

Nineteenth Gathā —After his Ghāti karmans[1] (the disabling Karmans) have been destroyed and he has come to have infinite power and extensive light his knowledge no more depends on the senses, and he develops in the form of pure knowledge and bliss

Twentieth Gāthā —The possessor of pure knowledge (i e, a Kevalin) has no bodily pleasure or pain since he does not

1 The Ghatini Karmani are five —1 Jnanavaraniya that which acts as an impediment to the knowledge of the truth 2 Darsanavaraniya that which acts as an impediment to the belief in the efficacy of the Jaina dispensation 3 Mohaniya that which produces bewilderment and disability to choose between the various dispensations promulgated by different teachers 4, Antarya that which prevents one s entrance on the path that leads to eternal bliss —Govindananda s commentary on Samkaracarya s Bhasya on [Vedānta Sutra] II 2 33

depend on or has no senses The nature of his knowledge and his bliss should therefore be understood

Twenty first Gāthā —To him (Kevalin) who has developed in the form of pure knowledge all the developments of substances (past present and future) are directly perceptible he has not to go through the efforts Avagrahā[1] and others (as ordinary mortals have)

Twenty second Gāthā —Nothing is imperceptible to him who has himself become pure knowledge and who possessing the perceptive power of the senses has not the senses themselves

Twenty third Gātha —The soul or Ātman is co extensive with knowledge knowledge is co extensive with the objects of know ledge the objects of knowledge are Loka (or the universe of things) and Áloka (or pure vacuity) and therefore knowledge is all reaching

Twenty fourth Gāthā —He who does not believe the Ātman to be as extensive as knowledge must believe it to be either smaller or larger than knowledge

Twenty fifth Gathā —If the Ātman be smaller then knowledge being Acetana or not knowing will not be self conscious since being larger knowledge must exist in some place without Ātman who alone is Cetana or knowing if it be larger then in places where there is no knowledge he will not know or be Cetana i e Ātman will have to be considered as Acetana in those places in which there is no knowledge

Twenty sixth Gāthā —The best of Jinas is everywhere and all things in the universe are in him (in the sense in which all things reflected in a mirror are in the mirror) for he is pure

1 Avagraha Īha Avaya and Dharana are the four stages through which a sensation passes When a thing is seen at a distance and we are unable to determine whether it is a man or a post the perception is in the Avagraha stage desire to have a distinct perception of the thing which follows is Īha distinct perception is Avaya and the retention of the impression which renders recollection possible is Dharana —Sakalakirti s Tattvārthasaradipaka

knowledge and they are the objects of knowledge (This follows from Gathā 23)

Twenty seventh Gāthā —The doctrine [of Jina] is that knowledge is Ātman for without Ātman there can be no knowledge therefore knowledge is Ātman but Ātman may be knowledge or anything else, i e any other attribute of Ātman such as happiness or power

GĀTHĀS 28 to 52

WHEN KARMAN ACTS AS A FETTER

Then up to Gāthā 52 a good deal more is said with regard to Jñana or knowledge In the 43rd and 44th we are told that the best of Jinas have taught that Karman necessarily ripens and produces its effects but it acts as a fetter (Bandha) only when delusion desire and hatred are produced by those effects if one does not allow himself to be so deluded attracted or repelled, it does not act as a fetter tying him down to the circle of births Even the Arhats have to go through certain actions such as standing, sitting and moving about and teaching the Dharma but these are spontaneous as amorous movements are in the case of young women and do not produce delusion or desire hence they do not act as a fetter

KSĀYIKA JÑĀNA

That knowledge is Ksāyika (produced by the Ksaya or de struction of the power of Karman) which embraces simultaneously the past present and future conditions of all things while that knowledge which is not simultaneous but is produced by degrees after one comes in contact with objects is not Ksāyika nor eternal nor all embracing

GĀTHĀS 53 to 68

HAPPINESS OF THE SECOND DEVELOPED CONDITION OF THE SOUL

Then, up to Gāthā 68 we have what is called Atindriya sukhādhikāra or the treatment of the bliss enjoyed by the

Kevalin who has no senses and afterwards of the happiness derived from the senses This last depends upon Śubhopayoga or the realization of the Subha or meritorious He who devotes himself to the worship of the deities the Yatis (ascetics) and the preceptor and to a virtuous course of conduct and observes fasts is a Subhopayogin By this course of conduct a soul attains happiness in one or all of the three conditions of life viz that of a brute man or god But this is a bodily happiness and does not spring from the nature of the soul it is associated with misery it only sharpens desire while being enjoyed and thus brings on restlessness So that this sort of happiness is hardly to be distinguished from the misery that follows the realization of the sinful character (Asubhopayoga) There is little to choose between them Real bliss is to be attained by him only who puts an end to all delusion (Moha) desire (Raga) and hatred (Dvesa) and one can do this only by knowing the truth taught by the Jina and learning to distinguish himself as the pure knowing soul or light from all other things which are insensate

GĀTHĀS 69 to 92

THE CONSIDERATION OF THE JÑĀNATATTVA ENDS

With Gāthā 92 ends the explanation of Jñānatattva which is called the first Adhikāra those mentioned before being subordinate Adhikāras Then begins the Jñeya Adhikāra

THE JÑEYA ADHIKĀRA

DRAVYA WITH GUNAS AND PARYĀYAS

Jñeya or the knowable is Dravya or substance with Gunas or qualities and Paryayas or developments or modifications Qualities are inseparable from Dravya and are looked upon as constituting the breadth of a Dravya while modifications extend over time and involve sequence and constitute the length of a Dravya

There are modifications of substance and modifications of qualities The modification resulting from a combination of substances is substantial modification (Dravyaparyaya) This is of two kinds —1st that produced by the combination of like substances and 2nd that produced by the combination of unlike substances The combination of atoms of the same substance to form a Skandha such as Dvyanuka Tiyanuka &c is an instance of the first kind and men gods &c resulting from the combination of spirit (Jiva) and matter (Pudgala) are instances of the second

Modifications of qualities are also of two kinds —1st that produced by the increase or decrease of the qualities of the same substance and 2nd that which is due to the combination of the qualities of different substances

It is the nature of Dravya or substance to have qualities and modifications and to be subject to production and destruction at the same time that it has permanence (Utpāda vinasa dhrauvya) To be thus is to exist Though a substance is spoken of as something distinct from its qualities or modifications still it is to be considered as identical with them since neither of them can exist without the other When an old form or modification such as that of loose earth is destroyed a new one such as that of a jar is produced and in both cases we have the same substance viz , earth Thus at one and the same time we have production and destruction along with continuance or permanence

There are two ways of looking at things one called Dravyarthikanaya and the other Paryāyārthikanaya The production of a jar is the production of something not previously existing if we think of it from the latter point of view i e , as a Paryāya or modification while it is not the production of something not previously existing, when we look at it from the former point of view i e as a Dravya or substance So when a soul becomes, through his merits or

demerits a god a man or a denizen of hell from the first point of view the being is the same but from the second he is not the same i e different in each case So that you can affirm or deny something of a thing at one and the same time

THE SEVEN MODES OF ASSEPTION

This leads to the celebrated Saptabhanginaya or the seven modes of assertion You can affirm existence of a thing from one point of view (Syād asti) deny it from another (Syān nāsti) and affirm both existence and non existence with reference to it at different times (Syād asti nāsti) If you should think of affirming both existence and non existence at the same time from the same point of view you must say that the thing cannot be so spoken of (Syād avaktavyah) Similarly under certain circumstances the affirmation of existence is not possible (Syād asti avaktavyah) of non existence (Syān nāsti avaktavyah) and also of both (Syād asti nāsti avaktavyah)

What is meant by these seven modes is that a thing should not be considered as existing everywhere at all times in all ways and in the form of everything It may exist in one place and not in another at one time and not at another &c It is not meant by these modes that there is no certainty or that we have to deal with probabilities only as some scholars have thought All that is implied is that every assertion which is true is true only under certain conditions of space time &c This is the substance of the section which treats of Dravyasāmānya or Dravya generally

SPECIES OF DRAVYA AND THEIR PROPERTIES

Then we have Dravyavisesa Dravya is divided into Jiva and Ajiva Jiva is Cetana i e sentient or conscious and Ajiva Acetana i e insentient or unconscious The latter is of five kinds—Pudgala (matter), Dharma (right conduct) Adharma (unrighteousness), Kala (time) and Ākasa, (space) Ākāsa is

divided into two parts Loka and Aloka The first is filled with Jiva and the first four unconscious substances the other is a void Some qualities are Mūrta, i e Indriyagrahya or perceptible by the senses others are Amuita or not perceptible by the senses *

The qualities of Pudgala are Murta and of the other substances Amūrta

The peculiar property of Ākāsa is Avagāha, i e giving room for the other substances to exist in of Dharma to give motion to the Pudgala associated with Jiva of Adharma to confine the Jivapudgala to a certain place of Kala or time to render the modifications of substances possible and of Jiva or Ātman to undergo Upayoga, i e the realization of the three kinds of nature mentioned before

A Jiva or Ātman in a worldly condition has four kinds of Prāna or living powers viz 1st Indriyaprana or the sensational power of five kinds 2nd, Balaprāna or the power of action by means of the body speech and mind 3rd Āyuhprāna or the power of sustaining a bodily form and 4th Ānapānaprāna or the power of respiration The first being of five kinds and the second of three we have altogether ten

The four kinds of Prāna are the effects of Pudgala and the Jiva having delusion desire and hatred developed in it becomes tied down to the Karman which Pudgala generates and to the Prānas and thus experiences the fruit of the Karman and while so experiencing contracts the ties of other Karmans The Ātman being sullied by Karman assumes Prānas again and again as long as he does not abandon his attachment to the body and other external objects" (24) The several forms of god man brute &c which the same soul goes through are due to Nāman (name) and Karman which spring from the Pudgala (27) The body the Manas

(mind) and speech are the effects of Pudgala and a Pudgala substance is a collection of atoms I am not made up of Pudgala nor have I made the collections of Pudgala atoms therefore am I not the body nor its creator' (36)

Karman arises from Pudgala but it operates as a fetter to the Ātman because he is capable of seeing and knowing the properties of Pudgala and conceiving a desire or hatred for the objects created by Pudgala (47 48 49) The modification of the soul consisting of desire hatred and delusion produces Bandha or the fettered condition (54) The Ātman is the author of his own condition or development not of that of the Pudgala the actions of the Pudgala are not done by the Ātman though he is associated with the Pudgala (58 59)

When the Ātman having desire and hatred is developed into the Śubha (good) or Asubha (evil) condition then Pudgala develops into the eight kinds of Karman[1] the first of which is the concealment of the truth and since both are associated together in same place that Karman operates as a fetter to the soul (60 61) The fetters of the soul are really his delusion desire and hatred and the actions of the Pudgala are so only in a secondary sense (63) He who does not abandon his attachment for his body and possessions and thinks here I am', this is mine, abandons the path of a Śramana and goes astray (64)

'I do not belong to others, others do not belong to me I am mere knowledge (Jñāna)' he who thinks thus thinks really of himself as the Ātman (65) I think myself to be knowledge and faith (Darsanabhūta) not to be

1 The eight Karmans are the four Ghatins mentioned before and the four Aghatins These last are—1, Vedaniya i e the belief that there is something which one has to know 2 Namika i e, the belief that I am a person bearing such and such a name 3 Gotrika i e, the knowledge that I now belong to the family of the pupils of the worshipful Arhat 4 Āyuska, i e, actions necessary for the preservation of life These four are of use to enable one to know the truth therefore they are Aghatins, i e, not injurious favourable —Govindananda loc cit

apprehended by the senses the great being firm unchangeable and independent (66) Bodies possessions, pleasure pain, enemies and friends are not everlasting the pure nature of the soul as knowledge and faith is everlasting (67) He who being purified contemplates himself as such cuts the knot of delusion (68) The knot of delusion being cut desire and hatred being destroyed a man assumes the nature of a Śramana indifferent to pleasure or pain, and attains eternal happiness (69)

HOW TO ATTAIN THE HIGHEST CONDITION OF WHICH THE SOUL IS CAPABLE

Having in this manner explained the nature of the particular Dravyas and the three conditions of the Jiva or Ātman our author proceeds to describe the way of attaining the highest condition viz that of purity and simple thought in which there is eternal bliss That way is to become a Sramana after one has taken leave of his relations and friends Here two leaves of the Manuscript are missing But the frame of mind in which one should enter on that condition of life, appears to have been given here in this way The man should think that nothing in the world really belongs to him should have subdued his passions, and should be determined to go through the several modes or processes of attaining knowledge and faith and of Cāritra, Tapas and Viiya

The commentator states that the modes or processes of attaining knowledge and faith are eight in each case Caritra is of thirteen kinds Tapas of twelve kinds and Viryacāra is intended to bring forth the powers of one's own soul The intending Śramana should also have assumed Yathājatarūpa literally that form in which one is born," the original or primitive and uncontaminated form

REQUISITES OF A SRAMANA

The external requisites of a Muni or Śramana laid down by the Jina are that he should assume such a form and should shave

off his hair and moustache should have no property abstain from killing and should not adorn his body The internal requisites which put a stop to future births are that he should be free from attachment to worldly objects that he should be devoted to the purification of his nature (Upayogasuddhi) his actions should be pure and he should not be dependent on any thing (other than himself) (4 5) He should also realize in himself such other characteristics as the preceptor who initiates him may point out and should learn the vows and then it is that he becames a Śramana (6)

The following are the primary requisites of a Śramana as laid down by the best of Jinas and if they are set at nought through carelessness the Śramana has to be re initiated (*a*) Vratas or vows for avoiding sinful actions which are five[1] according to the commentator (*b*) Samitis for the preservation of the vows which are also five[2] (*c*) Indriyanirodha or the restraining of the five senses (*d*) shaving off the hair (*e*) six[3] Āvaśyaka observances (*f*) Acela not

1 The five Vratas or Mahāvratas are —1 Ahimsā not to kill or to protect all life 2 Satya speaking the truth as well as what is agreeable 3 Asteya not to steal (even a blade of grass) 4 Brahmacarya chastity 5 Akimcanya, poverty — Sarvadarśanasamgraha Tattvarthasaradipaka

2 They are —1 Iryāsamiti going by paths trodden by men beasts carts &c and looking carefully so as not to occasion the death of any living creature 2 Bhāsāsamiti gentle salutary sweet righteous speech 3 Esanāsamiti receiving alms in a manner to avoid the forty two faults that are laid down 4 Ādānanikṣepanāsamiti receiving and keeping of the things necessary for religious exercises after having carefully examined them 5 Pāri (Pratiṣ) sthapanāsamiti performing the operations of nature in an unfrequented place —Ibid and Madhava's Sarvadarśanasamgraha p 39

3 These are —I Samayika II Caturvimsatistava III Vandana IV Pratikramana V Pratyakhyana VI Kayotsarga I Samayika is freedom from love and hatred or equanimity as regards the agreeableness or disagreeableness of things This is of six kinds 1 Namasamayika, which consists in not liking good names or disliking bad names 2 Sthapanasāmayika, not being pleased or displeased

wearing cloth' or nudity (*g*) Asnana, not bathing" (*h*) Kṣitisayana 'sleeping on the bare ground" (*i*) Adanta dhāvana not cleansing the teeth" (*k*) Sthitibhojana dining while standing' (*l*) Ekabhukta taking one meal

with beautiful or ugly images (of gods and others) 3 Dravyasamayika regarding agreeable objects such as gold and disagreeable objects such as earth equally 4 Ksetrasamayika making no difference between pleasant places such as a garden and unpleasant places such as a forest of brambles 5 Kalasamayika not being pleased or displeased by agreeable or disagreeable seasons and times 6 Bhavasamayika love for all living beings and shunning everything of an evil tendency Some of these are also otherwise explained

II Caturvimsatistava is the praising with devotion of the twenty four Tirthamkaras This is also of six kinds Namastava Sthapanastava Dravyastava, &c

III Vandana is humbling oneself before one who deserves to be worshipped by making obeisance and praising invoking a blessing singing his triumph &c

IV Pratikramana is the expiation of the sins concerning Naman (names) Sthapana (images) Dravya (objects) Ksetra (places) Kala (times) and Bhava (mental states) or sins generally by means of Nindana Garhana and Alocana, and other processes Nindana is condemning the sinful act or repenting of it to oneself Garhana is doing the same before a Guru and Alocana is making a confession of it to a Guru Pratikramana is of seven kinds —That performed (1) every day (2) every night (3) every fortnight (4) every four months and (5) every year (6) that which has reference to Iryapatha (walking) and (7) Uttamarthika consisting in abstaining from food for the remainder of one's life after confessing all sins and becoming careless about the body The particular species of Pratikramana are differently given in other books

V Pratyakhyana is keeping aloof from or avoiding evil or improper names (Naman) images (Sthapana) objects (Dravya), and the other three in order not to incur sin

VI Kayotsarga is the abandoning of one's body i e, one's attachment to his body in order to purify himself from sins incurred by resorting to evil names images objects &c to lessen the force of Karman and thrive in holiness This is done while a man is standing with all his limbs immovable, his arms hanging downwards straight, the knees unbent the feet apart from each other by the distance of four fingers and the toes straight —From Chap VIII of Asadhara's Dharmāmrta

only " In all there are twenty eight observances (7 8) If after the holy bodily observances have been begun a break occurs it should be condoned by processes the first of which is Ālocana or confession And if there is an interruption in the internal advancement the Śramana should go to another Śramana who is proficient in the doctrine of the Jina confess his fault and abide by his directions (10 11) Wherever he lives whether in the company of other Śramanas or alone a Śramana should take care that his vow is not violated and should avoid attachment for all things other than his pure soul The Śramana's vow is to be considered as properly observed only then when he avoids all attachment devotes himself to the true doctrine and to the acquisition of knowledge and fulfils the (twenty eight) primary requisities (12 13)

Attachment to objects other than one s pure soul operates as a fetter therefore do Śramanas abandon everything Without total renunciation the heart is not purified and if the heart is not purified what possibility is there of the destruction of Karman (18 19) ? But this general rule has exceptions A Śramana may having in view the necessities of the time and place when and where he lives take such things to himself as do not check his highest development (21) Such form of the body as befits a Śramana the words of a Guru discipline (Vinaya) the study of the Sūtras must be accepted (24) these cannot be renounced So also the things the abandonment of which would check progress must be accepted Without the body you cannot go through the whole discipline which brings on the highest development it should therefore be preserved and food taken to preserve it But if the food is acquired by begging without committing the forty two faults the Śramana who eats it may be said in effect not to eat it (26) He is a Śramana who does not care for this world or for the next who eats and moves just in the proper manner, and who is free from Kaṣāya, i e love and hatred or

likes and dislikes (25) The body is the only property of the Sramana and for it even he has no attachment

PERFECT FAITH IN THE TRUE DOCTRINE NECESSARY FOR A SRAMANA

This is the Ācāra or course of conduct prescribed for a Sramana but one essential thing more is required for the attainment of Mokṣa He who is absorbed in one thing only is a Śramana Such singleness of devotion he only has whose knowledge about the nature of things is certain and certainty of knowledge can be had from the Āgamas or Jaina sacred books only therefore the study of Āgamas is a matter of the highest importance (1) The Śramana who has not studied the Āgamas does not know the nature of his soul and the nature of things distinct from the soul and it is not possible for him to put an end to Karman if he does not know the nature of these things (2) All objects with their various qualities and developments are properly explained in the Āgamas and the Śramanas know them only by learning the Āgamas (4) If a Śramana does not see things through the Āgamas, there can be no moral discipline for him (Samyama), and if there is no moral discipline how can he become a Śramana (5) ? He does not become perfect by merely learning the Āgamas if he has no faith in what is taught there about things nor does he obtain eternal bliss (Nirvāṇa) by mere faith if he does not go through the moral discipline (6)

NO KNOWLEDGE WITHOUT FAITH IN THE SCRIPTURES NO ETERNAL BLISS BY MERE FAITH WITHOUT MORAL DISCIPLINE THEREFORE THE THREE JEWELS NECESSARY

Here is explained the necessity of the so called three jewels (Ratnas) viz Jñāna or knowledge of things as revealed in the Āgamas Darsana or faith in what is taught there and Cāritra or Dharma i e , moral discipline —But if a man has a particle of attachment for the body and other things he does

not become perfect or attain eternal bliss even if he knows all Āgamas (8) That Śramana who has realized the five Samitis and the three[1] Guptis restrained the five senses got over the Kasāya[2] and has Darsana and Jñana fully is to be considered as having undergone thorough discipline (Samyata) (9) Friends and foes pleasure and pain praise and censure a clod of earth and gold are alike to him (10) He who is perfected simultaneously in Darsana Jñāna and Cāritra is to be regarded as having attained singleness of devotion (Aikāgrya) and has completely realized the nature of the Śramana

THE ŚRAMANAS WHO ATTAIN THE SECOND CONDITION ONLY

The way to eternal bliss has thus been shown The author next proceeds to mention the duties of the Śramanas who realize the Śubha or good only and not the Śuddha These two classes of monks are mentioned he says in the scriptures the first have Āsrava[3] and the last are free from it The duties of the Subhopayogin are —Devotion for the Arhats kindness towards

1 Gupti means the protection of the soul from desire hatred and delusion which tie him to the Samsara They are three —1 Manogupti or preventing the mind from wandering in the forest of sensual pleasures by employing it in contemplation study &c 2 Vaggupti i e preventing the tongue from saying bad things by a vow of silence &c 3 Kayagupti i e, putting the body in an immovable posture as in the case of Kayotsarga —From Sakalakirti s Tattvarthasara

2 Krodha, anger Mana pride Maya 'deceit, and Lobha greed —Sarva darsana and Sakalakirti.

3 Āsravas are the movements of the soul corresponding to the movements of the Manas speech, and body through which Karman flows in from the Pudgala to the soul This Karman brought in by the movements (i e the Āsravas) the soul takes in when he is influenced by Kasaya as a wet piece of cloth takes in all the particles of dust brought towards it by the wind.—Sarvadarsanasmgraha and Kartikeyanupreksa Sometimes the flowing in of the Karman through the movements which are called Yogas is regarded as Āsrava —Sakalakirti.

the learned adorning and saluting the great Śuddha Śramanas treating them with respect by going forward to receive them when they come and following them when they go preaching Jñāna and Darsana receiving pupils and bringing them up giving instruction in the worship of the Jinas doing all the good he can to the four classes of Srāvakas (lay followers) Srāvikās (females) Yatis (priests) and Āryās and to the body of the Śramanas without doing harm to his own person conferring benefits on all Jainas priests as well as lay persons through compassion without expecting anything in return and doing what he can to bring relief when he sees a Śramana afflicted with disease hunger thirst and fatigue Such a course of conduct is good for a Śramana but for a Grhastha or householder it is of the highest importance and leads him indirectly to Moksa

THE FIVE JEWELS

Then follow a few Gāthās which contain some general observations and the work ends with five each of which is according to the commentator devoted to each of the five jewels (Ratnas) which make up the whole Jaina creed These five jewels are —1 Samsāratattva 2 Moksatattva 3 Moksatattva sādhaka 4 Moksatattvasādhana 5 Śāstraphalalābha

1 —In the first of these Gāthās it is stated that he who does not apprehend the true doctrines which form the Jaina creed and believes his fancies to be true revolves in the circle of existences for ever

2 —He whose conduct is not improper and who has firm belief in the truth and is at peace does not remain long without the fruit

3 —He who knows all things truly is free from attachment for external as well as internal things foreign to his true nature

and has no desire for the pleasures of sense, is called Śuddha or pure

4 —He who is pure is a real Śramana he alone knows the correct doctrine and possesses true knowledge and he alone attains Nirvāna

The next five leaves being lost the fifth Gāthā is not before me

COMPARISON OF THE CARDINAL DOCTRINES OF JAINISM WITH THOSE OF THE SĀMKHYA VEDĀNTIC AND BUDDHISTIC SYSTEMS

This is a summary of the Jaina doctrines as explained by a teacher of very great authority among the Digambaras The idea of the three conditions of the soul the sinful the meritorious or virtuous and the pure or serene —with the corresponding fruits of a miserable life among the lowest orders of being of a life of happiness and pleasure in the regions of the gods and of eternal bliss— is common to this system with the Sāmkhya the Advaita Vedānta, and Buddhism But it differs from the last in maintaining the existence of the soul as an independent substance and from the other two in regarding love hatred, merit or virtue &c as qualities of the soul and in maintaining that the soul is capable of development or modification According to the Sāmkhya and Vedānta the soul is in its nature unchangeable (Avyaya) unperishable (Nitya) pure (Śuddha) limitless thought (Buddha) and unfettered (Mukta) while love, hatred, virtue &c and the fettered condition are the results of the insentient principle which is Prakrti in the first system and Māyā or Avidyā in the second

With the Jainas the fettered condition is the result of the qualities of the soul love or desire and hatred and of their insentient principle the Pudgala To distinguish the soul from the Prakrti or Avidyā with its results and know it as distinct is what is necessary for Moksa or deliverance according to those two systems

while according to the Jainas that condition of the soul in which it loves and hates must give way to the development of the highest qualities viz , purity serenity and limitless knowledge

In admitting love hatred and others as the qualities of the soul the Jainas agree with the Vaiseşikas On one or two points they hold a view which is of the nature of a compromise between the Sāmkhyas and the Vedāntins on the one hand and the Vaisesikas on the other The former maintain the doctrine of Satkārya i e that an effect is the same as its material cause or pre exists in that cause and is only made mani fest by the operation which that cause undergoes while the latter advocate the doctrine of Asatkārya i e that the effect which is produced is something new and did not exist before But the Jainas maintain that an effect pre exists in the cause in one sense and is a new thing in another If you look at an effect such as a jar as a mere substance the substance is the same as in the loose earth of which the jar is made but if you look at the jar as a modification it is new and did not exist when the earth was in the condition of loose particles

Similarly Dravya as the substratum of qualities is not recognised by the Sāmkhyas and Vedāntins with them a Dravya and its qualities are identical The Vaisesikas regard the two as distinct but connected together by the relation of Samavāya (constant connection) The Jainas admit Dravya as the substratum of qualities but like the Sāmkhyas and Vedāntins regard both as identical since one of them cannot exist without the other

JAINISM NOT A SECT OF BUDDHISM

The Jainas attribute the fettered condition of the soul or Bandha to delusion desire and hatred or more systematically to Kaşaya as explained in a former note and inculcate moral discipline as the means of destroying them The Bauddhas also seem in a way, according to some writers to attribute it to desire but they trace worldly misery and the succession of

births and deaths to Avidyā or ignorance of the truths that everything is momentary and there is no such permanent substance as the soul This is unknown to Jaina metaphysics but the two systems agree in laying down moral discipline as the way of riddance from the Samsāra They have also got some names such as Arhat Śramana, and Jina which are common, though the Jainas have altered the sense of a few such as the term Pudgala But the doctrinal differences and differences on minor points are so great that Jainism and Buddhism must be considered as two different systems of religion springing from the same stream of ideas just as in modern times the systems of Rāmānuja and Madhva have sprung up from the same current of Pāñcarātra and Vedāntic ideas and one of them can by no means be considered to have branched off from the other

But, that as a system Jainism is much later than Buddhism is I think, unquestionable because 1st some of its ideas resemble those of the Vaisesikas 2nd, a morbid extravagance characterises its moral discipline while the tone of that of Buddhism is much more healthy and 3rd its sacred language is the principal Prakrit while that of the Buddhists was orginally the Pali and the Prakrits were as I have stated elsewhere[1] formed in my opinion about the beginning of the Christian era So that though the Niggantha Nātaputta may have flourished about the time of Buddha Jainism must have received a definite shape and the sect become compact several centuries later But of this more hereafter

THE NIYAMASĀRA

No 299 is a copy of the Niyamasāra with a commentary by Padmaprabhāmaladhārideva The Manuscript is in many places unreadable In the second Gāthā it is stated that Mārga and

1 In his Wilson Philological Lectures on Sanskrit and the Prakrit Languages, included in the Fourth Volume of this Edition [N B U]

Mārgaphala are mentioned in the system of Jina Mārga is the way to deliverance (Mokṣa), and its fruit is Nirvāna

Niyama means that which must be necessarily done and Jñana or knowledge Darsana or faith and Caritra or moral discipline constitute Niyama Niyama is the way to deliverance and its fruit is the highest Nirvāna

NATURE OF ITS CONTENTS

The work thus expounds the whole discipline which the seeker of eternal bliss should subject himself to and the great vows, the Samitis the Guptis &c, are explained In the introduction the commentator renders his obeisance to Siddhasena to Akalankabhatta who was a 'sun to the lotus in the shape of reasoning" to Pūjyapāda who was a moon to the sea of words' (grammar) and to Vīranandin In the body of the work Padmaprabha quotes Amrtacandra, Gunabhadra Samantabhadra, Somadeva and others

The work contains twelve Adhikaras which are as follows — 1st Jiva, 2nd Ajiva 3rd Bhava, 4th, Vyavahāracāritra 5th, Niscayapratikramana 6th Niscayapratyakhyāna, 7th Ālocana 8th Śuddhaniscayaprāyascitta 9th, Paramasamādhi 10th, Paramabhakti 11th Niscayaparamāvasyaka 12th Śuddhopayoga Each of these is called a Śrutaskandha At the beginning of the fifth Adhikāra Mādhavasenasūri is adored by the commentator and at the end Vīranandin

DHARMĀMRTA WITH A COMMENTARY BY ĀŚĀDHARA AND ITS CONTENTS

No 297 is a Manuscript of the Dharmāmrta by Āsādhara with a commentary by himself entitled Bhavyakumudacandrikā The work has nine chapters In the first, the general nature of Dharma consisting of the three jewels is explained and in the second the nature of Samyaktva as well as the way of realizing

it Mithyātva is faith in gods that have animal and human attributes such as hunger desire and hatred in teachers who are encumbered with clothing &c and in Dharma that allows of the destruction of life and the opposite of this is Samyaktva So that Samyaktva is faith in the Jaina or in this particular case the Digambara doctrines and Mithyātva is faith in other creeds In the Niyamasāra also it is stated that Samyaktva is the result of faith in the doctrines laid down in the Āgamas revealed by the Āpta who is spoken of as one who is free from all shortcomings and in whom the highest qualities have been developed

The subjects treated in the following chapters are these —III Jñana IV Cāritra or Samyakcāritra V Pinda visuddhi or the unobjectionable food VI Mārgamahodyoga i e the subduing of the passions such as anger pride &c and the acquisition of the gentle virtues VII Tapas—(1) external consisting in fasting or eating little, &c and (2) internal, consisting in Ālocana or confession Pratikramana and several other processes[1] VIII, the six Āvasyakas explained in a former note[2] IX, the daily and occasional duties (Nitya and Naimittika) such as the adoration of the Jinas and of the Guru the worship of the images of the Tirthamkaras and others

ĀSĀDHARA'S HISTORY

At the end of the work Āsādhara gives his own history Āsādhara belonged to the family of Vyaghreravāla and was the son of Sallakṣana or Laksana and his wife Ratnī He was born in the fortress of Mandalakara situated in the country of a lac and a quarter " (Sapādalakṣa) which was the ornament of the Śākambhari Lake He had by his wife Sarasvatī a son of the name of Chahada who was a favourite of Arjunadeva king of Mālava Āsādhara was lovingly complimented by the sage

1 These will be fully given below

2 Ante, pp 236 ff, note 3 [N B U]

Udayasena in the words "Great is Āsādhara who is the swan on the lotus of the family of Vyāghreravāla the son of Sallaksana and the Kalidāsa of the Kali age whose limbs are gratified by drinking the nectar of poetry and who possesses an all seeing eye of wisdom' Madanakirti the great Yati or ascetic also said to him 'You are a store of wisdom" When the country of "a lac and a quarter' was subdued by Sahibavandina the king of the Turuskas Āsādhara being afraid of religious violence (literally destruction of righteousness) emigrated to the country of Mālava in which the holy triad flourished under the fostering care of the king of the Vindhyas and living in Dhārā with a large family learned the principles of the Jaina faith and Jainendravyākarana from Pandita Mahāvira the pupil of Pandita Dharasena He was praised by Vilhana, the lord of poets" and the minister for peace and war of Vijayavarman king of the Vindhyas or Mālava in the words Noble Āsādhara, know that being a son of Sarasvati you are my brother as a matter of course and a friend and to say that you are so in words involves redundancy"

Āsādhara afterwards lived in the city of Nalakacchapura for advancing the cause of the Jaina faith in the territory of king Arjuna which was full of Sravakas He taught grammar to Pandita Devacandra and others to Visalakirti and others the six Tarkasāstras which operated in their hands as a weapon for conquering all enemies, the works or doctrines of the Jina to Vinayacandra and others and poetry to Valasara svati and Madana the great poet so that they became renowned among men of taste and culture

LIST OF HIS WORKS

Āsādhara wrote the following works —I Prameyaratnākara, a metaphysical treatise containing a clear exposition of the Syādvāda 2 Bharatesvarābhyudaya a poem having at the end of each canto a stanza containing the word Siddhi, with a gloss

3 Dharmāmrta containing the essence of the teaching of the Arhat with a gloss entitled Jñānadipikā 4 Rājimativipralambha a small poem on Nemi with a gloss 5 Adhyātmarahasya composed at the command of his father and much liked by those who have begun the practice of Yoga 6 glosses on the Mūlārādhanā Caturvimsatistava &c 7 Kriyākalāpa from the Amarakosa 8 a commentary on Rudrata's Kāvyālamkāra 9 Sahasranāmastavana of the Arhats with a gloss 10 Jinayajñakalpa with a gloss entitled Jinayajñakalpadipikā 11, Trisasti smrti containing stories about the sixty three persons abridged from sacred (Ārsa) Mahāpurānas with a commentary 12 Nityamahoddyota describing the manner of washing the [images of the] Jinas and worshipping them 13 Ratnatrayavidhāna explaining the importance of the worship of the Ratnatrayavidhāna 14 Astāngahrdayoddyota written to render the Vāgbhatasamhitā plain ' Āsādhara the author of so many works wrote this commentary to elucidate the duties of the Yatis laid down in his own Dharmamrta

There was a rich man of the name of Pāpa, the foremost of the citizens of Nalakacchapura who belonged to the family of Khankhilya He was a Jaina and a good and virtuous man of gentle manners and liberal in his gifts for the worship of the Jinas He had two sons of the names of Bahudeva and Padmasimha Bahudeva s sons were three Haradeva Udayin and Stambhadeva Haradeva represented to Āsādhara that Mahicandra the Sādhu had caused to be written a commentary on the duties of the lay followers laid down in the Dharmāmrta and solicited him to do him the favour of writing a commentary on the duties of the Yatis or monks, which portion of the work was unintelligible even to the most intelligent Being so requested by Haradeva and out of regard for Dhanacandra Pandita Āsādhara composed this commentary entitled Bhavya kumudacandrikā

It thus appears that we have before us one only of the two parts of the Dharmamrta the portion containing the duties of lay followers (Śravakas or Grhasthas) not being in this Manuscript The commentary was composed in a Jaina temple in Nalakacchapura in the reign of Jaitugideva the son of Devapāla king of Mālava or Avantı and belonging to the Pramara race and was finished on Monday the 5th of the light half of Kārttika in the year 1300 of Vikrama

Of the works mentioned by Āsādhara as having been composed by him we have besides the Dharmāmrta No 10 Jinayajñakalpa, in Dr Buhler s Collection of 1875 76 and Nos 9 and 11 have been purhased by me since At the end of the latter there is a Prasastı like the one under notice but much shorter and most of the verses in it are the same as in the other The work however, was composed in 1292 of Vikrama, that is eight years before the commentary on the Dharmāmṛta The reigning prince even there was Jaitugideva, son of Devapāla of the Pramāra race, and Āsādhara was living at Nalakacchapura, and composed the work in the temple of Nemi

IDENTIFICATION OF SAHIBAVANDINA

The Sahibavandina after whose conquest of the country about the Sambhar lake, Āsādhara emigrated to Mālava must have been Shahabuddin Ghori who vanquished Prthuraja king of Ajmir and Delhi in 1193 A D and laid the foundation of the Mahomedan empire in India The two dates given by our author correspond to 1236 A D and 1244 A D When Āsadhara left his country he must have been a young man, for he studied the doctrines of Jainism and grammar at Dhārā For this reason and also because the fear of religious violence that drove him away, must have been excited in the minds of the people immediately after the Mahomedan conquest, it appears likely that he left the Sāmbhar country soon after 1193 A D, so that

at the time when he wrote the Trisastismiti (No 11) he must have been in Mālava for about forty two years

MĀLAVA PRINCES MENTIONED BY ĀSĀDHARA

During this time he speaks of three reigning kings of Malava Vijayavarman whose minister Vilhana was his friend Arjuna during whose reign he went to live at Nalakacchapura and whose favourite his son was and Jaitugideva the son of Devapāla In the list of the princes of Mālava hitherto traced we have the name of Arjuna and his latest known date is 1272 Vikrama i e 1216 A D He is therefore the Arjuna spoken of by our author but he must have died before 1292 Vikrama since Jaitugi was the reigning prince in that year The name of this king as well as of his father Devapāla have not yet been found elsewhere and the latest prince we know of is Arjuna The Vijayavarman mentioned by Āsādhara may have been Jayavarmadeva the son of Yasovarman This last prince ascended the throne in 1190 Samvat or 1134 A D wherefore it is possible that his son Jayavarman was on the throne about 1195 A D or 1251 Samvat when Āsadhara must have been in Dhārā But between 1195 A D and 1211 A D —the earliest date of Arjuna—we shall have to place two princes at least Vindhyavarman and Subhatavarman regarding the others as collaterals holding subordinate power, and the Āmusyāyana of some of the Inscriptions as a pronominal derivative [1]

SAKALAKĪRTI S TATTVĀRTHASĀRADĪPAKA.

No 294 is Tattvārthasāradipaka by Sakalakīrti Sakalakirti was the spiritual head of one of the branches of the sect and succeeded Padmanandin as we learn from the Prasasti at the end of the Harivamsa to be hereafter noticed by Jinadāsa who was a pupil of Sakalakirti

1 See JAOS, Vol. VII Prinsep s Tables JBBRAS, Vol I p 263 and Colebrooke s Essays Ujjain Inscriptions

THE DATE OF SAKALAKĪRTI

Sakalakırtı was succeeded by Bhuvanakırtı and a pupıl of thıs latter named Jñānabhūsana wrote a work entıtled Tattvajñāna tarangını a copy of whıch has been recently purchased ın 1560 of the Vıkrama era Śubhacandra the fourth Hıgh prıest of the sect after Sakalakırtı and the second aftei Jñānabhusana wrote two of hıs works as wıll be stated hereaftei ın 1608 and 1613 of Vıkrama So that Sakalakırtı must have lıved about 1520 Samvat or 1464 A D Sakalakırtı wrote many works some of whıch are represented ın the present Collectıon but more have been pro cured sınce

The Tattvārthasāradıpaka ıs dıvided ınto twelve chapters In the first we have after the usual salutatıons a statement of the seven Tattvas or prınciples These aıe (1) Jıva (2) Ajıva (3) Āsrava (4) Bandha (5) Samvara (6) Nırjarā and (7) Mokṣa The fiıst four and the seventh have already been explaıned ın the precedıng pages Samvara ıs preventıng the Āsrava or flowıng ın of the Karman upon the soul by means of the Samatıs and Guptıs explaıned before and Nırjarā ıs the destructıon of the Karman ın two ways (1) by sufferıng or enjoyıng ıts fruit when ıt ıs produced (Savıpāka) or (2) puttıng an end to ıt before ıt matures and bıings about the fruit Those who desıre final delıverance ıesort to the latter way and destroy theır Karman by means of Tapas or auṣtere observances bodıly and spırıtual

Jīva ıs descrıbed as a conscıous substance capable of develop ment (Upayoga) ımperceptıble to the senses an actıve agent, and as bıg as the body ıt anımates He suffers or enjoys the fruıts of hıs deeds, goes through a successıon of bırths ın consequence of Vıdhı (Karman) and becomıng perfect through the destructıon of the Vıdhı soars upwards He obtaıns knowledge of five kınds —1st Matı or sensatıonal 2nd Śruta,

that derived from the sacred books 3rd, Avadhi[1] limited or conditioned 4th, Manahparyaya knowledge of what passes in the minds of others 5th Bodha or Kevala the highest or perfect knowledge Sensational and revealed knowledge is explained at length in the first chapter The four stages of the former Avagiaha Īhā &c are explained in a former note

SRUTAJÑĀNA OR THE SACRED LITERATURE OF THE JAINAS

Under the second the author gives an account of the whole sacred literature which I here reproduce —

The three grand divisions are Anga Purva and Angabāhya

I.—ANGA

1 Ācārānga in which the duties of Yatis or monks are given It contains 18 000 words (Pada)

2 Sutiakritānga in which the ways of condoning any violation of discipline that may have occurred are explained It contains 36 000 words

3 Sthanānga which treats of Dravyas and the things comprehended under that category It is made up of 42 000 words

4 Samavāyānga by means of which the divisions of Dravya Ksetra Kala and Bhava are shown by proficient

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1 Avadhijnana is the ocular perception of visible objects existing over an extent of space the magnitude of which is determined by the nature or merits of the seer Some gods see all things in the region below heaven up to the end of the first Naraka, others up to the end of the second and so on to the seventh or last Naraka but in the regions above heaven they see only up to the end of the flag staff of their cars. The denizens of the Narakas also see things over distances varying from a Yojana to a Gavyuti This power of seeing things over large distances is acquired by men who go through austere religious exercises This sort of perceptions is called Avadhi because it is the perception of things below as in the case of the gods or of things which have a certain definite characteristic, viz., visibility, or perhaps of things over a certain definite or limited extent of space —Śrutasagara s Tattvārthatika on Sutras I, 10 and 22 (p 405)

men to be of the same number by the same kind of calculation It is made up of 164 000 words

5 Vyākhyāprajñaptyanga containing the answers given by the Jinendra to the sixty thousand questions put by the Ganadhara, as to whether a Jiva exists or not com posed of 228 000 words

6 Jñatrdharmakathānga containing various religious con versations between the Tirthamkaras and Ganadharas composed of 556,000 words

7 Upāsakādhyayanānga in which the vows and duties of the lay followers and the righteous course of conduct proper for them are detailed by the Ganadharas It contains 1,170 000 words

8 Antakrddasanga in which is given the history of ten Kevalins belonging to the system of each of the twenty four Tirthamkaras, who with great courage overcame all obstacles and effected the destruction (Anta) of Samsāra It is composed of 2 328 000

9 Anuttaraupapādikanga in which is similarly given the history of ten Yogins for each Tirthamkara who attained to the five highest (Anuttara) conditions It contains 9 244 000 words

10 Prasnavyākarananga in which the questions of others are answered It has 9,316 000 words

11 Vipākasūtranga in which the results of the good and evil actions of men are explained It has 18,400,000 words

The total number of words in all the Angas is 41,502 000

12 Dṛṣtivādānga, in which an account is given of the advocates of the theory of action (Kriyāvādins) and of other things, and which is made up of five classes of

treatises viz, (i) Parikarman, (ii) Sutra (iii) Prathamānuyoga (iv) Pūrvagata (v) Cūlikā

(i) Parikarman consisting of

1 Candraprajñapti in which the lords of the Jinas have described the power motion and such other things relating to the moon and given the duration of his life It has 3 605 000 words

2 Sūryaprajñapti containing a similar account of the sun It has 503 000 words

3 Jambūdvipaprajñapti containing an account of the mountain ranges land, &c of Jambūdvipa It has 325 000 words

4 Dvipavārdhiprajñapti, containing an account of the innumerable islands seas and mountains It has 5 236 000 words

5 Vyākhyāprajñapti expounding the nature of the six Dravyas with their qualities and modifications It has 8 436 000 words

In all Parikarman is made up of 18 105 000 words

(ii) Sūtra, in which men's being the agents of their actions and having to suffer or enjoy the fruits and such other things are taught It contains 8 800 000 words

(iii) Prathamānuyoga containing 5 000 words and explaining the nature of the sixty three holy persons (Śalakāpurusas)

II—PŪRVAS

(iv) Pūrvagata

1 Utpādapūrva 10 000 000 words treats of the production, destruction, and continuance or permanence of Jiva and others.

2 Agrāyanıyapūrva 9 600 000 words expounds the chief thıngs ın or the essence of the Angas

3 Vıı yapravādapurva 7 000 000 woıds treats of the poweıs and knowledge of the Cakıins Kevalıns the gods &c

4 Astınāstıpravādapūrva 6 000 000 words dıscusses the doctrines about the exıstence oı non exıstence of the five Astıkāyas[1] ıncluded undeı Dravya

5 Jñānapravadapūrva 9 999 999 words tıeats of the oıigın of the five kınds of knowledge and of the three kınds of ignoıance and of the peısons who possess them etc

6 Satyapravadapūrva 10 000 006 words treats of Vāg guptı or the restraınt of speech and of agreeable and truthful speech, &c

7 Ātmapravādapūrva 260 000 000 words treats of the agency of the souls of theır suffeıing and enjoyıng the fruıts of theır actıons, &c

8 Karmapravādapūrva 18 000,000 words, treats of the Karman (works) of men

9 Pratyākhyānapūrva 8 400 000 words treats of the fettered condıtıon of the soul that condıtıon of the Karman ın whıch ıt begıns to produce ıts effect (Udaya) ıts beıng ınactıve (Śama), the shunnıng of evıl the nature of the vows and observances &c

10 Vıdyanuvādapūrva 11 000 000 words treats of the eıght parts the reason and others of Vıdyās or systems of knowledge

1 Jıva and four of the five subdıvısıons of Ajıva ı.e Pudgala Dharma and Ākasa, are called Astıkāyas They are so called because they exıst ın tıme and spread over space Kala does not extend over space, therefore ıt ıs not Astıkaya

11 Kalyāṇapūrva 260 000 000 words recounts the blessed deeds of the 63 holy persons (Śalākāpurusa)

12 Prānavāyapūrva 130 000 000 words treats of medicine (?)

13 Kriyavisālapūrva 90 000 000 words treats of metres figures of speech poetry arts the merits (of these) &c

14 Lokabindusārapūrva 125 000 000 words teaches the way to deliverance and other things

The total number of words in the Pūrvas is 955 000 005

It should be remarked that the Pūrvas form one of the three chief divisions and are thus contrasted with the Angas but they are also regarded as forming one of the subordinate divisions of Drstivāda the twelfth Anga

(v) Cūlikā

1 Jalagatā 20 989 200 words walking on water and arresting the force of water by means of charms, &c

2 Sthalagatā 20 989 200 words charms and other processes (Mantra and Tantra) for walking on land

3 Māyāgatā 20 989 200 words charms for producing magical wonders

4 Rūpagatā 20 989 200 words teaches the art of assuming various forms such as that of a tiger an elephant &c

5 Ākāsagatā 20 989 200 words gives the Mantras and Tantras for moving in the sky

In all the number of words in the Cūlikās is 104 946 000

The total number of words in the last Anga composed by the Ganadharas with its five divisions is 1 086 856 005

The total number of words in the Jina scripture, consisting of the twelve Angas composed by the Ganadharas is 1,128 358 005

The total number of letters contained in all the Padas or words uttered by the Jina is 16 348 307 888

In the first Pūrva there are 10 Vastus or topics in the second 14 in the third 8 in the fourth 18 in the fifth 12 in the sixth 12 in the seventh 16 in the eighth 20 in the ninth 30 in the tenth 15, and in the remaining four 10 each In all there are 195 topics in the fourteen Pūrvas Each of these Vastus or topics has twenty Prābhrtas so that the total number of Prabhrtas is 3,900

III —ANGABĀHYA

1	Sāmāyika	8	Uttarādhyayana
2	Caturvimsatistava	9	Kalpavyavahāra
3	Vandanā	10	Kalpākalpavidhānaka
4	Pratikramana	11	Mahākalpa
5	Vainayika	12	Pundarika
6	Krtikarman	13	Mahāpundarika
7	Dasavaikālika	14	Asitikasama

These fourteen miscellaneous (Prakirnaka) treatises not included in the Angas (Angabāhya) were composed for the benefit of persons not possessing much intelligence The total number of Padas or words contained in them is 80 108 175

The contents of the succeeding chapters of the Tattvārthasāra dipaka are as follows —

Chapter II 1 The nature of the remaining three kinds of knowledge 2 The fourteen Gunasthānas or stages in the development of the soul from the lowest that of an unbeliever and a sinful man to the highest, that of a Jina or Kevalin The three kinds of souls (1) Bahirātman, (2) Antarātman, and (3) Paramātman The ignorant unbelieving, thoughtless sinful worldly man belongs to the first class he who is a believer, is thoughtful and righteous, and is engaged in working out his deliverance belongs to the second and those who are delivered to the third

Chapter III Ārtaraudradhyāna, i e , contemplation of or constant thinking about the misery in which one is or the

calamity he has met with (Ārta) and about unjust cruel, unmerciful and sinful deeds (Raudra) such as killing and stealing This sort of contemplation should be avoided by one who seeks deliverance

Chapter IV Dharmasukladhyāna —Dharmadhyana i e contemplating in a retired place how and when one shall be free from the circle of births (Apāya) by what means one s mind and body will be pure, and Karman be destroyed (Upāya) and the nature of the soul (Jiva) of inanimate things (Ajiva) of the ripening of the Karman (Vipāka) &c This Dhyāna is of ten kinds Śukladhyāna i e externally keeping the body and the eye perfectly steady and motionless and restraining the breath internally (1) contemplating the things included under the categories laid down in the sacred books or their names one after another that is first a Dravya or substance then its quality or modification, or another substance &c (2) fixing the mind on one of these things only Before, however one is qualified to enter on this Dhyāna he must already have made a great deal of progress in holiness and have accustomed himself to the other Dhyānas to be mentioned below and the result of this Dhyāna is said to be the destruction of all Karman and final deliverance

Chapter V The other Dhyānas necessary for the success of the Śukladhyāna are (1) Pindastha (2) Padastha (3) Rūpastha and (4) Rūpatita The first has what are called five Dhāranās, i e fixing the mind successively on five things They are (1) Pārthivi (2) Āgneyi (3) Maruti (4) Vāruni and (5) Rūpavati The Yogin should imagine or place before his mind a vast ocean of milk hushed and tranquil and without waves He should then imagine a lotus with a thousand petals as big as Jambūdvīpa and shining like gold to be situated in the midst of it and the lotus to have a celestial pericarp like a mountain of gold He should conceive a lofty throne resembling the autumnal moon to be placed in that pericarp and should imagine himself as sitting at ease on that throne serene without desire or

hatred and prepared to conquer his enemy the Karman Thus ends the first Dhāranā The Yogin should then imagine a shining and beautiful lotus with sixteen petals jutting out, as existing in the hollow of his navel He should contemplate the fourteen vowels and am ah as marked on the sixteen petals and the great Mantra Arham (अर्हं) with the dot over the line as shining on the pericarp Then he should imagine a volume of smoke arising from the curvilinear r or Repha of the Mantra, then a succession of sparks and then a continuous flame The flame increasing in intensity burns the lotus which exists in the heart, upside downwards and which is the product of the eight Karmans and has eight petals He should then imagine fire in a triangular shape with the Svastika on its apex away from his body blown by the wind and burning brightly with a golden flame The fire from the Mantra burns the body in the inside and this fire from the outside and being in flames the body is reduced to ashes and also the lotus in the navel Thus far we have the Āgneyi Dhāranā or the concentration of the mind on fire

Then the man should imagine wind blowing with the violence of a tempest and scattering away the ashes after which he should think of it as becoming still This is the Māruti Dhāranā

Then he should contemplate a number of clouds pouring down rain in torrents accompanied by thunder and lightning After that he should imagine a stream of water bearing the standard of Varuna beautiful like the crescent of the moon and overflowing the sky With this water he should wash off, in imagination all the ashes of his body This is Varuni Dhāranā

Then he should contemplate himself to be in qualities like an all knowing being free from the seven elements sitting on the throne adored by the gods, possessing celestial excellences, and shining like the full moon

The contemplation or Dhyāna that is effected by using certain words or letters is called Padastha The Yogin should imagine lotuses in certain parts of the body with a certain number of petals and think of the sixteen vowels written on the petals of one the twenty five cosonants from k to m on those of another and the remaining eight y r &c, on those of a third and then sit muttering and contemplating them He should similarly with a concentrated mind meditate on the highest Mantra Rhrum (ह्रूँ) which according to the various sects is Brahman Hari Buddha Mahesvara Śiva Śarva and Mahesana But it is the all pervading all knowing serene Jina the god of gods that stands there having assumed the form of that Mantra The Yogin should also mutter and meditate on the Mantra ha (ह) and on Om (ॐ) which last he should imagine as existing on the pericarp of the lotus of his heart Om is made up of the first letters of the names of the five Parameṣthins Arhat or Arahanta Asarira or Asarira (Kevalin) Ācārya or Āiriya Upādhyāya or Uvajjhaya and Muni (Sādhu) and it should thus be thought of Again the Yogin should mutter imagine as drawn on lotuses on his body and meditate on, the following Mantras containing the names of the Parameṣthins —

णमो अरिहन्ताण। णमो सिद्धाणं। णमो आइरियाणं।
णमो उवज्झायाणं। णमो लोए सव्वसाहूणं।

There are a good many details about such matters into which I will not enter

Rūpasthadhyāna is contemplating the Lord Jina, sitting on a throne of jewel in the assembly of men who are desirous of salvation, surrounded by the twelve Ganas and the eight door keepers possessing infinite greatness, a store of infinite virtues of a celestial body shining more brilliantly than a Koti of suns fanned by excellent chowries attended on by the gods free from the eighteen blemishes endowed with all the excellences, and expounding the Dharma

Rūpātītadhyāna consists in contemplating the highest form of one's own soul as immaterial a store of virtues, and resembling the Siddhas between whom and himself there is no specific difference

Chapter VI —Dhyānabhāvanā which consists in imagining oneself as having realized the highest qualities The Yogin should think 'I am a Siddha I am like a Siddha, I am an enlightened soul I am in infinite bliss, I possess infinite power' &c, &c There is a long string of such assertions with regard to oneself After this we have some general remarks on contemplation and the conditions on which success in it depends

Chapter VII —In this are given the characteristics of the five classes of Nirgranthas who are qualified to enter on and practise the Dhyāna of Dharma and Śukla The names of the five classes are (1) Pulaka (2) Vakusa, (3) Kusila, (4) Nirgrantha and (5) Snātaka Then are described the five Bhāvas or spiritual conditions of a man They are (1) Aupasamika which is of two kinds, (2) Kṣayika of nine kinds, (3) Ksāyopasamika, of eighteen kinds (4) Audayika, of twenty one kinds and (5) Pārināmika of three kinds

The Aupasamika condition arises from the Karman being for a time separated from the soul and the purity of the latter consequent upon it is compared to that of turbid water which has been purified by its being touched with such a thing as the Kataka fruit the sullying matter settling down at the bottom of the vessel containing the water The Ksāyika condition is produced by the destruction of Karman and is comparable to that of pure water which has been separated from the dirty matter and kept in a clean vessel The Kṣāyopasamika condition is a mixture of the last two and arises from a partial destruction of Karman It is comparable to turbid water that has become partially clean

The Audayika condition arises from the Karman being about to produce its effect such as taking a soul to the world of the gods or lower animals according to his deserts The Pārināmika condition is the original or natural condition of the soul independently of his connection with Karman such as his conscious nature The circumstances under which some of these Bhavas arise and their spiritual effects as well as their sub divisions are explained Then we have the seven Nayas the points of view or principles with reference to which certain judgments are arrived at or arrangements made The Dravyārthika and Paryāyārthika rules mentioned before are divisions of the first of these Nayas

Chap VIII treats of the five divisions of the Ajiva principle Chap IX of the Āsrava Chap X of the Bandha, Chap XI of Samvara, and Chap XII of Nirjarā

KARTIKEYĀNUPREKSĀ

No 290 is Kārtikeyānupreksā with a commentary by Śubha candra The original consists of Prakrit Gāthās in the Āryā metre by Kārtikeyasvāmin who is called a Sādhu by the commentator Śubhacandra was the spiritual head of the Balātkāra gana which was a branch of the Nandisamgha, and belonged to the same line as Kundakundācārya The succession list is thus given —Padmanandin Sakalakirti Bhuvanakirti Jñānabhūsana Vijayakirti Śubhacandra Śubhacandra finished his work on the 10th of Magha in the year 1613 of Vikrama Another work by Śubhacandra the Pandava Purāna a copy of which has been procured since was composed we are told at the end of the Manuscript, in 1608 Vikrama

CONTENTS OF THE KARTIKEYĀNUPREKSĀ

Anupreksā is thinking meditation reflection study and there are twelve such Meditations or Studies in the book I Anityānupreksā setting forth the impermanence of everything II Asaranānupreksā or "the reflection about helplessness,"

in which it is stated that nothing can save man except the three jewels III Samsārānupreksā in which the unceasing succession of births and the miseries the soul has to go through are mentioned IV Ekatvanupreksā in which we are told that the soul goes through the circle of existences alone suffers alone and can be blissful alone When this is borne in mind everything else becomes unworthy of the soul's desire V Anyatvānupreksā where it is laid down that everything from the body downwards our friends relations and possessions are foreign to our soul VI Asucitvanupreksā where we are asked to reflect how impure the body with the blood flesh and other things is and how in connection with it the soul becomes impure therefore we should cease to love the body and concentrate our whole attention on the pure soul VII Āsravānupreksā where the nature of Āsrava is explained VIII Samvarānupreksā where the mode of resisting the operation of the Āsrava is explained IX Nirjarānupreksā in which the manner of destroying the Karman is given X Lokānupreksā in which we have a description of Loka and the six kinds of objects contained in it Loka was not created, nor is it supported by any being of the name of Hari or Hara and is in a sense eternal Its area the upper and the lower worlds the beings existing in it with their different kinds the duration of the lives of gods beasts &c the different kinds of bodies made up of light air earth, and water the nature of the soul the three kinds of soul, Bahirātman and others the connection between the soul and Pudgala the nature of Dravya generally of Kāla, &c are mentioned XI Durlabhānupreksā The soul dwells in various bodies and for a long time The attainment of the human body therefore is a matter of great difficulty it is more difficult to have a sound and healthy body and still more to have a sound mind in that sound body therefore one should make good use of his life as a human being and resort to the three jewels Even as a god he is not

able to go through the whole discipline that is necessary for attaining final deliverance XII Dharmanupreksā in which the Dharmas of householders or lay followers and of the monks are given The first are twelve in number and they are as follows —

DUTIES OF THE LAY FOLLOWERS

I A Śravaka or lay follower must be Samyagdarsanasuddha, i e must have faith in the Jaina dispensation and thus be free from the faults and defects leading to and arising from unbelief and false belief

II He should abstain from wine flesh and others Under the expression and others" the commentator puts down assafœtida oil ghee and water kept in a leathern vessel honey butter rice gruel nocturnal meal five kinds of fruit containing insects in them such as Udumbara gambling intercourse with a courtesan or the wife of another man hunting theft onions or bulbous roots other roots and leaves These two duties appear to be compulsory on all Śrāvakas The following are optional

III Vratadhārin —There are Śrāvakas who assume three kinds of vows viz (i) five Anuvratas, (ii) three Gunavratas and (iii) four Sikṣāvratas

(i) THE ANUVRATAS

The Anuvratas are the same in name as the Mahāvratas of the Śramanas or monks but in some cases interpreted differently They are —1 Not to destroy or cause, or permit to destroy, life 2 Not to speak about killing, or harshly or abusively or reveal a secret but to speak what is agreeable and beneficial to all living beings, and what is righteous The commentator quotes a verse in which not to tell a lie is spoken of as the second Anuvrata 3 Not to take a very valuable

thing in exchange for one of little value not to appropriate what has been lost by another to be content with a small gain and not to take what belongs to another without his permission 4 To look upon a woman other than one s wife as a mother a sister or a daughter 5 To destroy greed and be content regarding everything as perishable and to lay down a limit beyond which one shall not go in the acquisition of money, grain, gold, land, &c

(ii) THE GUNAVRATAS

The Gunavratas are —I Digvirati i e, to lay down a limit beyond which one shall not travel in the different directions or a limit as to the countries one shall visit for the acquisition of wealth II Anarthavirati or the avoiding of the five evils, viz (1) Apadhyāna i e finding faults in others, envying their wealth, casting a glance at their wives and wit nessing their quarrels (2) Pāpopadesa or giving advice to others in matters concerning agriculture tending of cattle trade and such other things and about the union of men and women (3) Pramādacaryā, or doing anything without any purpose with earth, water fire, and air and cutting trees uselessly (4) Himsādāna i e keeping a cat or such other destructive animal dealing in weapons and iron implements (such as a spade) keeping (and giving) sealing wax the residue of oil seeds after they are ground and other things (i e according to the commentator, opium aconite &c) and (5) Dussruti i e hearing read the Śāstras which delude (such as Bhārata Bhāgavata &c) and works containing buffoonery, and teaching the art of subduing others to one's will by means of charms and books on erotics and hearing others vilified III Bhogopabhogaparimāna, or regulating one's enjoyment of food betel nut and leaves clothes &c, according to one s means

(m) THE ŚIKSĀVRATAS

The Śikṣāvratas are —1 Samāyika which consists in sitting or standing as long as may be convenient in a quiet place in the morning, noon and evening with the body motionless the hands folded the senses restrained all sinful thoughts expelled and the mind concentrated on the words of the Jina absorbed in the contemplation of one's own pure or highest nature and reflecting on the hidden sense of the Vandanā, (i e, according to the commentator the names of the five Paramesthins and the words images and temples of the Jinas together with prostrations and other movements that are made in pronouncing the formulas containing their names) 2 Prosadha[1] or Posaha i e to observe a fast or eat once only or one dish only on the two holy days (the 8th and the 14th of each fortnight) after having given up bathing unguents ornaments company of women odours incense lights &c and assumed renunciation as an ornament 3 Atithisamvibhāga i e giving food medicine knowledge and protection from danger to the three classes of persons worthy of the gifts (viz first a believer who has assumed the great vows next a believer who has assumed the Śrāvaka vows and lastly a simple believer) 4 Desāvakāsika which consists in drawing closer or contracting every day the limits already laid down (in accordance with the Gunavratas) to the range of one s travels and to the enjoyment of the objects of the five senses and doing the same with clothes and the other things enjoyed in order to destroy greed and desire and avoid sin

SĀMĀYIKAVRATA

IV Sāmāyikavratadharin is one who with a serene heart makes Kāyotsarga i e abandons his love for his body, turns the

1 This word is one of the several instances in which the Jainas have given Sanskrit forms to Prakrit words instead of finding the original Sanskrit words of which they are corruptions and using them The word in the Gatha is Posaha, which without doubt, is the Pali Uposatha and the Sanskrit Upavasatha

hands twelve times[1] prostrates himself twice bows his head four times reflects on his own pure nature or the image of Jina, or the highest syllable and contemplates the various effects of Karman These movements of the hands and the prostrations are it appears to be made while pronouncing the five formulas given before (**णमो अरिहन्ताण** &c)

PROSADHAVRATA

V Prosadhavratadhārin is he who on the 7th and 13th of each fortnight going to a Jaina temple in the afternoon and performing some ceremonies undertakes to observe a fast so as to abstain from eating drinking tasting and licking abandons all household occupation passes the whole night in meditations about Dharma rises early in the morning goes through all the ceremonies passes the day in the study of the Scriptures, performs the Vandanā passes the night in the same way goes through the Vandanā again next morning and the ceremony of worship feeds guests belonging to the three classes (mentioned before viz a monk a believer who has assumed certain vows, and a simple believer) and then dines himself

THE OTHER DUTIES

VI He is Sacittavirata who does not eat a leaf fruit bark root and tendril which have life

VII A Nisivirata Śrāvaka is one who abstains from eating, drinking &c , at night and does not cause others to eat drink &c

VIII A Brahmavratin Śrāvaka is one who has no desire for any woman

IX He is Tyaktārambha who does not enter upon any under taking nor causes others to do so

X A Nirgrantha Śrāvaka is one who has freed himself from attachment to anything internal or external considering it a sin

1 This expression has been variously explained by the commentator

XI That Śravaka is Anumananavirata who goes through his household affairs not through a feeling of pleasure, but because they must be gone through

XII He is Uddistāhāiavijata who eats the proper sort of food given to him by others without his asking for it and free from the nine faults of being prepared caused to be prepared or wished for by the mind speech or body

THE TEN DUTIES OF MONKS

The author next proceeds to describe the ten duties of monks They are these —1st Uttama Kṣamā or perfect forbearance 2nd Uttama Mardava perfect humility 3rd Ārjava or perfect simplicity 4th Śaucatva perfect purity or freedom from greed 5th Satya or veracity 6th Samyama, or acting in a manner not to occasion the destruction of life 7th Tapas or bodily mortification and purificatory exercise 8th Tyāga or renunciation of palatable food furniture and house 9th Ākimcanya or renunciation of all attachment for a living or dead thing and of worldly affairs and 10th Brahmacarya or chastity Then are mentioned some virtues that a believer should realize and thus ends the twelfth Anupreksa

A CŪLIKĀ AND THE TWELVE KINDS OF TAPAS

Then follows a Cūlikā in which the twelve kinds of Tapas are explained They are —1 Anasana 2 Avamodarya 3 Vittiparisamkhyāna 4 Rasaparityāga 5 Viviktasayyāsana 6, Kāyaklesa , 7 Prayascitta which is of ten kinds 8 Vinati of five kinds 9 Vaiyāvrtya 10 Svādhyāya 11 Kāyotsaiga , 12 Dhyāna Under the sixth Dharma or duty given above viz Samyama come the Samitis and the other requisites mentioned in other treatises, come under one or other of the ten modes of Tapas The Dhyāna which is the twelfth kind of Tapas is here of the same kind as that described by Sakalakirti, and very often the same words are used in both the treatises in explaining

its nature The first six modes of Tapas constitute the Bāhya or ' external " Tapas and the rest the ' internal " or spiritual Tapas

PRAŚNOTTAROPĀSAKĀCĀRA

No 305 is Prasnottaropāsakācāra by Sakalakīrti It is written in the form of questions from a pupil and their answers by the teacher and contains an exposition of the duties of householders or Srāvakas These duties we are told were first of all laid down in the seventh Anga Upāsakādhyayana, which was composed by the Ganadhara Viṣabha (sena) after he had learnt the subject from the first Jina Subsequently each successive Tirthamkara taught the Anga and last of all it was taught by Mahāvira and Gautama and then by Sudharma Jambusvāmin Visnu and other Munis who knew the twelve Angas But in the course of time when man's life became short and his intellect narrow the Angas Pūrvas and other sacred works were lost Then the great Yatis Kundakundacārya and others taught the duties of householders and the knowledge traditionally handed down from them, Sakalakīrti proposes to avail himself of in the composition of his treatise As these duties of the Śrāvakas have already been given I need not examine the present Manuscript further

TWO WORKS ON THE RITUAL

No 291 is Jinasamhitā, in which the modes of worshipping the Jinas constructing temples consecrating images &c, are explained It is put in the old form of the Ganadhara Gautama speaking to the king of Magadha

No 293 is a work of the same sort, but cast in the form of the ceremonial Prayogas of the Brahmans The author is Śrutasāgara the writer of another work the Tattvārthadīpikā which will be noticed in the next Report

SRUTASĀGARA AND HIS DATE

Śrutasāgara was, as stated at the end of the work, the pupil of Vidyānandin who was the successor as High priest of

Devendrakirti Devendrakirti's predecessor was Padmanandin In a work entitled Sudarsanacarita by Nemidatta Simhanandin is represented as Nemidatta s teacher and as the pupil of Mallibhūṣana the successor of Vidyānandin Śrutasāgara who is also mentioned must have been a fellow student of Mallibhūsana Nemidatta wrote another work called Śripālacarita a copy of which we have in the present Collection (No 310) in Samvat 1585 Here he gives the following succession list — 1 Padmanandin High priest of the Sārasvatiya Gaccha of the Mūla Samgha 2 Devendrakirti 3 Vidyānandin 4 Mallibhūsana Simhanandin the author s teacher was the pupil of this last Nemidatta represents himself as devoted to the service of Śrutasāgara and other Yatis" So that Śrutasāgara's literary activity must be referred to about the year 1550 Samvat or 1494 A D

SŪTRAS ON JAINISM BY UMĀSVĀTI

As a further authority for the explanation of the doctrines of the Digambara Jainas here attempted I [may refer to] the entire Sūtras of the system composed by Umāsvāti or Umāsvāmin two copies of which I have procured since the above was written These Sūtras are alluded to by Mādhava in his account of the Jaina sect and also a Vitti on them by Yogadeva a Manuscript of which was purchased by me about a year ago Umāsvāti appears to be an old author and two other Vrttis on his Sūtras by Pūjyapada and Vidyānandin are mentioned by Yogadeva

LEGENDARY LITERATURE

PADMAPURĀNA

No 301 is a Manuscript of the Padmapurāna by Ravisena Dr Buhler's Collection of 1875 76 contains a Hindi version of it (No 632) and this is the original Sanskrit The Purāna contains the story of Rāma and Rāvana, and, as in other cases

was first communicated by Mahāvira to his Ganadhara Indrabhūti (Gautama) from whom it passed to Sudharma and thence to Jambūsvāmin This last communicated it to Prabhava and he to Kirti and Kirti to Anuttaravāgmin Ravisena got a Manuscript of the work as composed by the last and wrote his Rāmayana At the end the same thing is stated in other words Indrabhūti taught the Purana as he learnt it from Mahāvira and it was published by Uttaravagmin the pupil of the grand pupil of Jambūsvāmin Anuttaravāgmin is it will be seen here called Uttaravāgmin Ravisena was the pupil of Laksmanasena and he of Divakarayati Divakara was the pupil of Indraguru

DATE OF THE COMPOSITION OF PADMAPURĀNA

Ravisena composed this Purāna when one thousand two hundred years and one half of the fourth after that had elapsed since Vardhamāna attained to perfection i e in 1204 of the era of Mahāvira's Nirvāna From the Digambara Pattāvali two copies of which exist in Dr Buhler's Collection of 1875 76 (Nos 628 and 629) it appears plain that though the Digambaras refer the birth of King Vikrama to 470 A Vira they place the beginning of his reign and consequently the epoch of the era eighteen years later i e in 488 A Vira and calculate their dates in accordance with that —So that 1204 A Vir corresponds to 716 Vikrama or 660 A D while if we take 470 A Vir as the initial date of the Vikrama era it corresponds to 734 Vikrama or 678 A D

JINASENA S ADIPURĀNA

No 288 is a Manuscript of the Ādipurāna, a work by Jinasena It contains an account of Vrsabha, the first Tirthamkara

THE AUTHOR S DATE

Jinasena wrote another work entitled Harivamsa and a verse occurring at the end of it in which he gives the date of

its composition as 705 Śaka corresponding to 783 A D, has been given by me in my Early History of the Deccan[1] The Purāna we are told, was first narrated by the first Jina to Bharata through his Ganadhara Visabhasena and by Gautama the Ganadhara of Mahavira the last Tirthamkara, to Śrenika From Gautama it passed on to Sudharma from him to Jambūsvāmin and so on through a continuous line of teachers and pupils to Jinasena

PREVIOUS JAINA AUTHORS MENTIONED BY JINASENA

In the introduction Jinasena speaks of the following authors in terms of praise —

1 Siddhasena, who was a lion to the elephants in the shape of opponents in argumentation

2 Samantabhadra who with the thunderbolt of his words shattered to pieces the mountains in the shape of false doctrines

3 Śridatta who acted the lion in the destruction of the elephants in the shape of his opponents

4 Yasobhadra the mention of whose very name was sufficient to humble the pride of a whole assembly of learned men

5 Prabhācandra who by his Candrodaya delighted the worlds —In a marginal note the full name of the work is given as Nyayakumudacandrodaya

6 Śivakoti by means of whose words the world resorting to the four ways of deliverance becomes happy —The work here alluded to is called Bhagavatyārādhanā catustaya

7 Jatācārya —In a marginal note Simhanandin is given as his proper name

1 Volume III of this Edition p 89, footnote 3 page 65 footnote 2, of the Edition of 1895 [N B U]

8 Kānabhikṣu the bright jewels of whose words agreeing as they did with the Dharmasutras attained the form of Kathālamkāra —Probably he was the author of a work called Kathālamkāra

9 Deva called Devamuni in a marginal note the Tirtham kara of all authors the Tirtha or holy water of whose words wash away the dirt in the shape of the flaws in the speech of learned men

10 Akalanka
11 Śrīpāla
12 Pātrakesarin

} whose merits adorn the bosom of learned men like a necklace when fully apprehended by the heart

Akalanka is praised by all subsequent writers and he is spoken of as having defeated the Bauddhas in argument

13 Vadisimha than whose learning dialectic skill and clearness of exposition could go no further

14 Virasena the teacher of Jinasena and an eminent dialectician who obtained the title of Bhattāraka and was the author of glosses (Upanibandhas) on the Siddhāntas in whom learning and a knowledge of the world were combined and who could speak like the god of speech himself

15 Jayasenaguru, author of Vagarthasamgraha

Jinasena uses in one place puns on the words Brhatkathā, Lambha, and Gunādhya, and in another quotes a definition of poetry given by some writer and expressing his dissent gives his own At the beginning of the chapter there is an interesting passage containing the refutation of the doctrine of a Creator in which objections of the nature of those considered and answered in the first Pada of the Second Chapter of Samkarācārya's Bhāsya on the Vedanta Sūtras are brought forward against that doctrine

THE FIFTY THREE RITES

In chapters XXXVIII—XL are described the fifty three rites or ceremonies to be performed from conception to death a good many of which correspond to those of the Brahmans and have the same names such as Garbhadhāna Nāmakarana Caula Upanīti Vivāha &c Fires Mantras and other things are admitted but the Mantras are not those of the Brahmans but others newly composed Jinasena professes to follow in this part of his work the seventh Anga or the Upāsakadasanga Out of the forty seven chapters of this Purāna the last five were written by Gunabhadra, the pupil of Jinasena who also wrote the second part or Uttarapurana of which No 289 is a copy

THE UTTARAPURĀNA BY GUNABHADRA

The Uttarapurāna contains an account of the other Tirtham karas down to Vardhamāna the last

At the end there is a long and valuable Prasasti already brought to notice by Mr K B Pathak in the Indian Antiquary and by myself in the Early History of the Deccan [1]

PRASASTI AT THE END

In the beginning we are told that " the line (of teachers and pupils) known by the name of Sena was the place in the ocean of the Mūlasamgha where were found bright jewels in the shape of great men In that line flourished Virasena Bhattaraka, the leader of the army of Vira (Mahavira) who frightened away all elephants in the shape of opponents in argumentation In him Jñāna and Cāritra assumed, as it were a bodily form, and he shone to confer benefits upon those who were his disciples Wonderful it is that the sun lotuses of the faces of

1 Volume III of this Edition p 95 footnote 2 page 69, footnote 2 of the Edition of 1895 The full text of the Prasasti is given at pp 426 430 of the Original Report [N B U]

princes who prostrated themselves (at his feet) while going round him, bloomed and looked beautiful by means of the rays of the moon in the shape of the nails of his toes The monks expound the Siddhibhūpaddhati (the way to the region of perfection) to others though there is a difficulty at every step after having studied his commentary" It thus appears that Virasena composed a commentary on a work entitled Siddhibhūpaddhati

Virasena was followed by Jinasena The king Amoghavarsa prostrated himself at his feet and considered himself to have been purified when he did so Jinasena was a man of great learning and masterly in the refutation of the views of opponents knew the exact truth as regards the Siddhantas was skilful in telling stories solved knotty points in books and was a poet of a high order He had a colleague of the name of Dasaratha in whose perspicuous words the true import of all the Śastras shone as clear as an image in a mirror and could at once be apprehended even by children " Gunabhadra of a world wide fame was the pupil of these two He knew the truth as well as the works which expound it and his mind was matured by his resolutely going through the Siddhāntas which contain information on all the minor branches of learning He devoted himself to the practice of Tapas and his words dispelled the darkness in the heart of men

The revered Jinasena the author of glosses on the Siddhantas composed the life of Puru (Ṛṣabhacarita) in which there instances of all metres and figures which sets forth the doctrines of all the Śastras incidentally is calculated to put to shame all other poems and is worthy of being read even by the learned —Whether the glosses meant were those contained in his Purānas or were separate treatises does not appear clear —The work left incomplete by Jinasena was

completed by Gunabhadra who was obliged to have recourse to brevity on account of the long time that had already elapsed and consequently his portion does not contain details The reader of this Purana will learn the nature of the fettered condition of the soul with its causes and effects will know what are good deeds and what evil deeds and will see that there is such a thing as final deliverance and a way that leads to it His faith will increase and he will learn how the Āsrava or flowing in of Karman is prevented and how its Nirjarā or destruction is effected Therefore this Purana should be explained to others heard read by those who long for deliverance thought about worshipped transcribed and caused to be transcribed Lokasena who was the chief of Gunabhadra's disciples obtaining influential assistance succeeded in having his teacher's instructions as regards this Purana acted up to always by respectable people —The instructions meant must be those expressed in the last sentence

DATE OF THE CONSECRATION OF THE PURANA

This holy Purana containing the essence of all the Śastras was consecrated by the best among the faithful and worshipped on Thursday the 5th (of the light half) of Āsādha in the year 820 of the Saka king the cyclic year being Pingala —This was the current year and 819 was the past year —At that time Akalavarsa of fair fame who had destroyed all his enemies was ruling over the whole earth His war elephants had on the one side drunk the waters of the Ganges and as if their thirst had not been quenched had on the other resorted to the dense forest of sandal trees open to the gentle breezes blowing from over the waves of the ocean a forest into the shade of which the rays of the sun did not penetrate The goddess of prosperity tormented in all her previous abodes found a happy resting place in his bosom And Lokāditya alias Cellapataka was governing the province of Vanavasa at Bankāpura which was

named by his father after himself He belonged to the Padmālaya family was the son of Cellaketana and younger brother of Celladhvaja and encouraged the growth of Jainism — Then follow a few laudatory verses but we have had enough of that sort of matter

IDENTIFICATION OF THE PRINCES MENTIONED IN THE PRASASTI

The princes Amoghavarsa and Akālavarsa mentioned in this Prasasti belonged to the Rāstrakūta dynasty which ruled over the Deccan and here as elsewhere we have evidence of the great power of the family and the large extent of territory over which it ruled The dates of the former occurring in Inscriptions are Śaka 775, 787 (which is represented as the fifty second year of his reign) and 799 Jinasena who is spoken of as having been adored by the prince wrote his Harivamsa as has already been stated in Śaka 705 when Vallabha, son of Krsna, whom I have identified with Govinda II was on the throne Amoghavarsa must have succeeded his father Govinda III in Saka 735 so that Jinasena lived at least 30 years after the completion of his Harivamsa and may have lived longer Akalavarsa s other dates are Śaka 797 and 824 There must be some mistake as regards the former if his father's date 799 which occurs in an Inscription in one of the Kānheri caves is correct [1] The Prasasti represents him as reigning in Śaka 820

1 At the end of the Digambara rescension of the Prasnottaiaratnamalika Amoghavarsa is represented to have abdicated the throne through the growth of the religious sentiment so that the inconsistency noticed in the text is to be accounted for by supposing that his son Akalavarsa was the actual sovereign in Saka 797 and 799 but as Amoghavarsa was not dead though he had ceased to concern himself with State affairs his name is mentioned in the Kanheri Inscrip tion as the reigning sovereign in the latter year The stanza referred to in the Prasnottaramalika a copy of which I have recently procured, is as follows —

विवेकात्त्यक्तराज्येन राज्ञेय रत्नमालिका ।
रचितामोघवर्षेण सुधिया सदलङ्कृति ॥

which is perfectly consistent with the date 824 In Śaka 820 we gather that Gunabhadra the pupil of Jinasena and the continuator of his work was not living and it was his pupil Lokasena who consecrated the Purāna So that supposing Jinasena to have lived for about ten years after Amoghavarsa s accession i e up to Saka 745 the interval of 75 years between Śaka 745 and 820 is not too long for his pupil Gunabhadra and Gunabhadra s pupil Lokasena

There are Inscriptions of the times of Amoghavarsa and Akālavarsa in which Bankeyarasa and Samkaraganda of the Cellaketana family are represented as ruling over the province of Banavāsi as their feudatories The latter of these is probably the prince spoken of in our Prasasti

Another work of Gunabhadra entitled Ātmanusasana has recently been discovered and a copy of it purchased for Government Gunabhadra is there also called the pupil of Jinasena

At the end of No 288 the copyist gives a succession list of the High priests of his sect which is as follows —1 Śubha candradeva who belonged to the line of Kundakundācārya to the Sarasvatigaccha Balatkāragana, Nandyāmnāya and Mūlasamgha 2 Jinacandradeva 3 Prabhacandradeva 4 Candrakirtideva 5 Devendrakirti The last was living in Samvat 1674 when the Manuscript was transcribed by his pupil Rṣabhadāsa

SĀNTICARITA BY SAKALAKĪRTI

No 309 is Śantinathacarita or the life of the Tirthamkara Sāntinatha by Sakalakirti In the beginning the author offers his salutations to or adores the following —

THE PARAMESTHINS

1 The Tirthamkaras, some by name and the rest generally

2 The Siddhas, who are delivered from their enemies the Karmans are possessed of the eight virtues have ascended to the highest top of Loka are free from all misery and enjoy infinite bliss

3 The Acāryas who go through the five courses themselves and take their pupils through them These five courses are Darsanācāra Jñānācāra Tapaācara Caritrācāra Viryacāra—These the reader will remember are mentioned by Kundakundācārya, and are given in a marginal note in this Manuscript

4 Pathaka munis or Upadhyāyas as they are usually called who study the Angas Purvas and Prakirnakas to attain perfection and teach them to their pupils and who are familiar with the twelve Angas

5 Sadhus who by difficult and terrible Tapas, and by means of the three jewels walk by the path which leads to deliverance and are at all times absorbed in Yoga (mental concentration)

These are called the five Parameṣthins

THE KEVALINS

6 All the Ganadharas from Vrsabhasena to Gautama who composed the holy twelve Angas for the benefit of those who wish to be delivered

7 Sudharmācarya the possessor of pure knowledge (Kevalāvagama) who like a cloud rained down the nectar of Dharma

8 Jambūsvāmin who even in his boyhood killed by the sword of his asceticism the enemies desire and delusion

THE SRUTAKEVALINS

9 The five Śrutakevalins Visnu Nandimitra, Aparājita Govardhana and Bhadrabāhu They were called by

that generic name because they were conversant with the whole of the sacred lore

THE SŪRIS

10 The Sūris, Visakhāchārya and others

THE KAVIS

The Kavis, viz —

11 Kundakundācarya
12 Akalanka the great dialectician
13 Samantabhadra
14 Pūjyapāda
15 Nemicandra who was familiar with the Siddhāntas
16 Prabhachandra
17 Jinasena

It will thus be seen that there are among the Digambara Jainas five classes of persons deserving of adoration viz —I the five Parameshthins II the Kevalins Gautama and his two successors III the five Śrutakevalins IV the Sūris V the Kavis The Kavis are later writers of repute and undoubtedly historical personages According to the fifth Gāthā of the Pravacanasāra, the Ganadharas form the third of the five groups included under Parameshins But these groups of the Parameshthins seem to be ideal and were suggested by the actual Tirthamkara Mahāvira his Ganadhara Gautama and the Śrutakevalins Visnu and others They figure in all the formulas repeated at the time of Jina worship

PĀRSVANĀTHACARITA BY THE SAME AUTHOR

Another work of Sakalakirti the Pārsvanāthacarita of which No 303 is a copy contains in the introduction verses of the same nature as the above some of them being identical The Manuscript was transcribed in Samvat 1662 or 1605 A D, at Māharotha during the reign of Akbar and of a dependent native prince of the name of

Rāyasila It was finished on the 5th of the light half of Bhādrapada

The succession list of High priests of the Sarasvati Gaccha of the Balatkāragana of the Mulasamgha belonging to the line of Kundakundacārya is thus given —1 Padmanandin 2 Subhacandra 3 Jinacandra 4 Prabhācandra The second pupil of this last was Ratnakirti his pupil Bhuvanakirti and his Dharmakirti and Visalakirti Laksmicandra was the pupil of the last and was perhaps the head priest of some branch of the sect for we have the expression Tatpatte used after him So then we have this part of the list thus —1 Laksmicandra 2 Sahasrakirti, 3 Nemicandra 4 Yasahkirti From Ratnakirti downwads each of these has the title of Mandalācārya Then follows the genealogy of Nivāi wife of Malu who was a follower of the last priest and who caused the Manuscript to be written

JINADĀSA'S HARIVAMSA

Nos 314 and 315 are copies of a work entitled Harivamsa by Jinadāsa pupil of Sakalakirti In the introduction Jinadāsa says that these legendary histories were communicated by Vira to Gautama and thence they passed to Sudharma Jambusvamin Vidyucara Kirti Anuttaravid Ravisena and Jinasena in succession Ravisena's Prabhava is here called Vidyucara and Anuttaravāgmin Anuttaravid It will be seen that Ravisena is here placed chronologically before Jinasena and that is the conclusion we have arrived at from the dates occurring in their works No 314 was transcribed in Samvat 1654 and finished on Thursday the 10th of the light half of Pausa It was caused to be transcribed by Ksemacandra the pupil of Candrakirti the successor of Prabhācandra High priest of the Balātkāragana and Sarasvatigaccha of the Nandisamgha which was a branch of the Mūlasamgha

No 310 is Śripālacarita by Nemidattayati which has already been noticed It was composed by the author in Samvat 1585

in the temple of Ādijina in the town of Purnāsā which was situated in the country of Mālava

JIVAMDHARASVĀMICARITA BY SUBHACANDRA

The Jivamdharasvāmicarita (No 292) was composed by Śubhacandra in Vikrama 16— There is a misreading in the verse in consequence of which the figures in the units and tens places cannot be made out In the introduction the author mentions Pūjyapada Samantabhadra Akalanka Jinasena Jñānabhūsana and Śubhacandra There is a Prasasti of the copyist at the end but a portion of the leaf is torn off and so it cannot be properly made out

SUBHAUMACARITA BY RATNACANDRA

No 313 is Subhaumacarita by Ratnacandra Subhauma is the future Tirthamkara At the end of the work we have a succession list First of all in the Sārasvata Gaccha of the Mula samgha there was a Muni of the name of Kundakunda who belonged to the school of Simamdhara In his line flourished (1) Padmanandin whose successors were (2) Sakalakirti and (3) Bhuvanakirti Then we have two Mandalācāryas the first of whom was Ratnakīrti the fellow student of Bhuvanakirti and the second or his successor Yasahkirti In the line of this last flourished Gunacandra who was succeeded by Jinacandra the leader of the Balatkāragana He was followed by Sakalacandra and after him came Ratnacandra who is spoken of in the present tense since it was he who composed the work

DATE OF THE COMPOSITION OF SUBHAUMACARITA AND THE HISTORY OF THE AUTHOR

The composition of the work was finished on Thursday the 5th of the light half of Bhādrapada in Samvat 1683 in a temple of Parsvanātha situated on the banks of the Gangā at

Patalıputra ın the country of Magadha durıng the reıgn of Salem Śah the lord of all Mleneccha kıngs Assıstance was gıven ın the compositıon of the Subhaumacarıta by Tejapāla son of Dhanarāja and Hemarāja son of Reśā who belonged to the Khandelavāla lıne and were the followers and pupıls of Dıvıjendrakırtı (Dvıje) the successors of Candrakırtı who hımself followed Prabhācandra In a margınal note ıt ıs stated that these Hıgh prıests belonged to the Delhı establıshment (were the occupants of the Delhı throne ") Teja belonged to the Gotra of Saumanya and Hema to the Pattanı Gotra and lıved ın a cıty of the name of Pattana Ratnacandra had come (to Magadha) on a pılgrımage to Sammedācala accompanıed by Jayakırtı son of Jaganmalla Kamalakırtı Kalyana Kacara Kānhajı and Bhogıdāsa Ratnacandra son of a merchant named Mahı of the Bhuyada caste and hıs wıfe Campā com posed the work [then]

Of all the Śrāvakas who adore the Khandelavālas Agravalas Dānıs and Jaısavālas the assıstance rendered by Tejapāla son of Dhanaraja Kesın was the most valuable ın so far as everythıng needed was provıded Hemarāja the lord of Hamırde together wıth hıs nephew Hıra caused thıs (work) to be wrıtten Blessıng be to Mangala the son of the merchant Hema who lıved ın the town of Saga (Sagavādānıra) sıtuated ın the provınce of Vagvara (Vāgada) ! Rājasımha and Amara the sons of Kısnadasa Bahuāna (Cāhuāna?) of the Ksatrıya race Bhıma and others(?) and Hemakırtı raısed Ratnacandra the author of thıs work to the pontıfical chaır —In a margınal note Salem Sah s other name ıs gıven as Jehangır so that the Mogal Emperor durıng whose reıgn Ratnacandra wrote hıs work was Jehangır the son of Akbar who reıgned from 1605 A D to 1627 A D The date 1683 Samvat the month beıng Bhādrapada (September Octobeı) corresponds to 1626 A D

TRADITIONAL HISTORY OF THE JAINA SACRED LITERATURE FROM A DIGAMBARA PATTĀVALI

We have seen that Ravisena Jinasena Sakalakirti and others speak of the sacred lore as having passed from Gautama to Sudharma thence to Jambūsvāmin and so on in regular succession This means that Jainism had no written books for a long period after the foundation of the religion But the tradition as regards this matter is fully given in the Pattāvali mentioned before (No 629 of 1875 76) on the authority of old Prakrit Gāthās which are there quoted It is to the following effect —

After Mahāvira's Nirvāna three Kevalins flourished They were (1) Gautama who lived for 12 years (2) Sudharma who also lived for 12 years and (3) Jambūsvāmin who taught the creed for 38 years

Then there were five Śrutakevalins 1 Visnunandin for 14 years 2 Nandimitra for 16 3 Aparājita for 22, 4, Govardhana for 19 and 5 Bhadrabāhu for 29 These knew the eleven Angas and the fourteen Purvas by heart But this statement does not occur in the Gāthās it is made by the Hindi commentator It is however in every way in keeping with the whole tradition and with the name Śruta kevalin and Sakalakirti confirms it in the Prasnottaropāsakā cāra as we have seen Then followed eleven persons who knew ten Pūrvas by heart Their names and dates I give below It will be seen that the last Śrutakevalin ceased to be in 162 A Vir

DASAPŪRVADHĀRINS

1 Visākhācārya	A Vir 162	6 Siddhārthācārya,	A Vir 247
2 Prostilācārya	A Vir 172	7 Dhritisenācārya	A Vir 264
3 Kṣatriyācārya	A Vir 191	8 Vijayācārya	A Vir 282
4 Jayasenācārya	A Vir 208	9 Buddhilingācārya,	A Vir 295
5 Nāgasenācārya	A Vir 229	10 Devācārya	A Vir 315
11 Dharmasenācārya	A Vii 329		

Then followed five persons who knew the eleven Angas

EKĀDAŚĀNGADHARINS

1 Naksatrācārya A Vir 345 3 Pāndavācarya, A Vir 383
2 Jayapalācārya A Vir 363 4 Dhruvasenacārya A Vir 422
5 Kamsācārya A Vir 436

After the last the number of Angas known went on decreasing
1 Subhadrācārya A Vir 468 knew ten Angas only
2 Yasobhadrācārya A Vir 474 knew nine Angas only
3 Bhadrabāhu A Vir 492 knew eight Angas only
4 Lohācārya A Vii 515 was the head of the church for 50 years but what the extent of his knowledge was is not clear Probably he knew seven Angas

Then followed five men who knew one Anga only
1 Ahivallyācārya A Vir 565
2 Māghanandyācārya A Vir 593
3 Dharasenācāryā A Vir 614
4 Puspadantācārya A Vir 633
5 Bhūtavalyācārya A Vir 663 He was the head of the Church for 20 years

Thus for 683 years after the Nirvāna of Mahāvira the knowledge of the Angas remained though in a gradually decreasing ratio Then according to the Hindi commentator the last two of these Munis reduced the whole sacred lore to writing It will be seen that the Kevalins and the Srutakevalins here named are the same as those mentioned by Sakalakirti in the Śantināthacarita and the Ācāryas from Visakha downwards are spoken of by him as Sūris

MEANING OF THE TRADITION

The meaning of this very important tradition as I consider it to be, is clear The knowledge of the doctrines of the founder of Jainism was only orally handed down and there were no books Gradually a great change came over the system Some of the original doctrines were forgotten or ceased to be believed in and others must have come into vogue

WHEN THE JAINAS CAME TO HAVE WRITTEN SCRIPTURES

The Jainas came to have written scriptures about 683 A Vir corresponding to 195 A Vikr and 139 A D when the last of the men who knew any portion of the sacred lore by heart died Up to this time their sect must have been very unimportant though it was probably founded about the time of Buddha And its being in that condition is also indicated by the fact that while there are many Inscriptions referring to Buddhism there are only a few solitary ones referring to Jainism up to about the 5th century of Christ And the date 139 A D agrees very well with my conclusions as to the period when the Prakrits were developed They began to be formed as I have stated about the beginning of the Christian Era and by about 139 A D they must have become distinctive dialects spoken in different parts of the country It was therefore in the vernacular prevalent in one of the provinces in the second century that the Jaina books were written

Jainism probably began to raise its head when Buddhism began to decline and succeeded in making way by bringing its doctrines nearer to the popular creed sanctioned by Brahmanism They gave a substantial existence to the soul which was denied by the Buddhists and raised their Tirthamkaras to the rank of the Supreme being though they denied to them the authorship of the world They connected the popular heroes Rāma Krsna and others with their creed and even admitted domestic ceremonies such as those of the Brahmans The compromise that some of their philosophic doctrines present between two Brahmanic schools has already been spoken of [1]

N B —The Manuscripts of works belonging to the Svetambara Jainas were made over for examination by Sri R G Bhandarkar to his Manuscripts Assistant Mr (afterwards Professor) Shridhar Ramkrishna Bhandarkar A Report was drawn up by the latter and it is printed on pp 126—157 of the Original Report [N B U]

1 Ante pp 242 ff [N B U]

A NOTE ON THE SAMVAT ERA

[FROM THE REPORT ON THE SEARCH OF SANSKRIT MANUSCRIPTS FOR 1883 84 pp 158 ff]

In a Review of my last Report[1] characterised by a general spirit of fairness which forms a distinguishing feature in the writer s character and has enabled him to acquire that influence over his brother scholars both in Europe and India which he now wields Dr Buhler finds fault with me for taking the word Samvat as expressive in all cases of the Vikrama era which begins in 57 B C His words are —

I must however add that it is hazardous to assume as Professor Bhandarkar seems to do throughout that all dates preceded by the word Samvat ' belong to the era of 57 B C In common with other Sanskritists I too have held this opinion for many years But recent discoveries have shown that even the scribes of Gujarat and Rajputana where the Vikrama era is universally used in every day life sometimes put Samvat instead of Śakasamvat As instances I may point out the Manuscript of the Mahābhāsya (Kielhorn Mah II 3 p 8) written at Iladurga (Idar) in Samvat 1513 and 1514, where the mention (in the colophon) of the victorious reign of the illustrious Nārāyanadasa the Rao Narondās of the Ayin Akbari, shows that Śakasamvat 1513—1514 is meant and the copy of Govindarāja's Smitimañjari in the India Office Library (No 1736) dated Samvat 1467 which Colebrooke and the editors of the Palaeographical Series believed to correspond to 1410 A D In the colophon of the latter work the scribe states however that he wrote at Vasurāvi (Vasrāvi) during the reign of Mahārana Udayasimha As Mahārnā Udayasimha

1 That is the Report on search of Sanskrit Manuscripts for the years 1882 83, included in this Volume earlier [N B U]

of Mevād came to the throne in 1541 A D it is not doubtful that Samvat 1467 refers to the Śaka era and corresponds to 1545 A D Under these circumstances every Samvat date requires verification

That the word Samvat ' denotes at the present day the Vikrama era alone and the word Śaka the era which begins in 79 A D is a fact that cannot admit of dispute But Dr Buhler thinks this was not the case in former times and that the word Samvat was sometimes used to denote the Śaka also and brings forward two instances in which if we understand the Vikrama era by the word Samvat we are led to wrong results The wrong results only show that there is some mistake here but they do not necessarily show that the word Samvat is here used to express the Śaka era And besides the Saka will hardly do for the first of the two above dates For Śaka 1514 corresponds to 1592 A D when it is highly questionable whether Nārāyanadasa was the reigning chief at Idar for in 1576 A D a large army was sent to Idar to subdue that chief he having previously shown a rebellious spirit and Nārāyandāsa was defeated and his capital fell into the hands of Akbar Kinloch Forbes immediately after this speaks of Viramadeva the successor of Narāyanadasa The wrong results may be due to the transcribers of the Manuscripts having copied the dates from their originals and given the names of the princes in whose reigns they themselves lived or to an actual slip of the pen in writing them

Not only therefore do these two dates afford no ground whatever for the supposition that the word Samvat " is here used to denote the Śaka era but I can give a mass of positive evidence to show that for the last four hundred and fifty years at least, the word ' Samvat " has been, just as it is at present, used to denote the Vikrama era only, and the word Śaka " or ' Śāka " the other I have recently collected a

large number of instances of double dates from Śaka 1361 or 1439 A D downwards in which the word Samvat' is used before one and Śaka" or Śāka ' before the other The manner in which these words are contrasted shows that Samvat " denotes an era different from that which Śaka ' denotes and the number expressive of the date in the first case being in excess of that in the second by 134 135 or 136 the era expressed by the word Samvat" in these instances is unquestionably that of Vikrama These double dates are as follows —

1 A MS of the Visnubhaktıcandrodaya recently procured has at the end **सवत् १४९६ वर्षे शाके १३६१ प्रवर्तमाने सिद्धार्थनामसवत्सरे**

2 No 106 of 1882 83 Mıtaksara has **स्वस्ति सवत् १५३५ वर्षे शाके १४०१ प्रवर्तमाने**

3 No 533 of 1883 84(the present Collectıon) Danavākyāvalı, has **सवत् १५३९ शाके १४०४ समये पौषशुदि पञ्चमी रविवासरे**

4 No 197 of 1883 84 Mādhava's Commentary on the Bhāsvatı has (f 65 *a*) **संवत् १५८२ शाक १४४७**

5 No 324 of the Vısrāmabag Collectıon Prakrıyākaumudı has **स्वस्ति श्री सवत् १५८३ वर्षे शाके १४४८ प्रवर्तमाने भाद्रपदमासे शुक्लपक्षे त्रयोदश्या तिथौ भौमदिने**

6 No 86 of 1883 84 Vısnubhaktıkalpalata with commentary has **सवत् १६६७ श १५३३ प्र । जेष्ठ शुदि ९ गुरौ**

7 No 206 of 1883 84 Varsaphalavıcārasıddhānta (a com mentary on) has (f 3 *a*) **सवत् १६९० शाक १५५५ समये आषाढमासे शुक्लपक्षे चतुर्दशी तिथि बुधे**

8 No 321 of 1883 84 Śrıpāla Caupāı has **सवत् १७३६ शाके १६०१ प्रवर्तमाने पौषमासे शुक्लपक्षे दशमी गुरुवासरे**

9 No 199 of 1883 84, Gangādhara's Commentary on the Bhāsvatı has (f 26 *b*) **अस्योदाहरण सवत् १७४२ शाके १६०७ वर्षे ज्येष्टमासे शुक्लपक्षे तिथो (थौ) पूर्णमास्या १५ शनौ**

10 No 202 of 1883 84 Dhruvabhramakayantra has **सवत् १७६१ वर्षे शा १६२७ प्रवर्तमाने ॥ अथ वैशाखमासे शुक्लपक्षे १२ तिथौ भौमवासरे ॥**

11 Kṛṣnakarnāmrta last leaf of (found in No 159 of 1883 84 Bhaktirasāmrtasindhu) has **सवत् १७६३ वर्षे साके १६२९॥ मीति आसोज सुदि ॥ १ ॥**

12 Saptapadārthitika (recently procured) has **सवत् १८११ वषे शाके १६७६ प्र। पौषस्य शुक्ला १४**

13 No 201 of 1883 84 Muhūrtacūdāmani has **सवत् १८१२ वर्षे शाके १६७८ प्रवर्तमाने मधुमासे बहुलपक्षे त्रयोदश्या भौमवासरे**

14 No 103 of 1883 84 Prabodhacandrikā has **सवत् १८५९ शाके १७२४॥**

15 No 215 of 1883 84 Sārāvali has **सवत् १८६५ शाके १७३० पौषशुदि १**[1] **वा आदित्यवासरे**

16 No 204 of 1883 84 Rāmavinoda has **सवत् १८६७ शाके १७३१ ज्येष्ठ शुक्ला १४ शनौ**

17 No 222 of 1883 84 Viiasimhāvaloka has **सवत् १८७३ शका १७३८ चैत्र कृष्णपक्षिद्वादश्या शुक्रे**

18 No 207 of 1883 84 Vāstuprakarana has **स १८७३ शा १७३८ वैशाख कृष्ण १२ बुधे**

19 No 210 of 1883 84 Vrddhagārgyasamhitā has **श्रावण शुक्ल १ सवत् १८७३ शाके १७३८ गुरौ**

It is plain, therefore from this that the word Samvat " whatever its etymological meaning and in whatever sense it may have been used in early Inscriptions has within the last five centuries, if not earlier come to be restricted by usage to the Vikrama era In No 200 of 1883 84, which is a commentary on the Bhāsvati it is expressly stated that the era of Vikramāditya is called ' Samvat " and that it is in advance of the Śaka by 135 years The words are —

विक्रमादित्यस्य सवत्सज्ञ पञ्चाग्निचन्द्रौ (द्वै) हीन शालिवाहनशको भवति।

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1 The letter **पौष शुदि १** have ink rubbed over them

20 उदाहरण ॥ सवत् १७१२ वर्षे शाके १५७७ श्रावण वदि ३०
अय(इम)मधिकृत्योदाहरणक्रमो लिख्यते ॥ सवत् १७१२
पञ्चाग्निचन्द्रैही (हीं) न १३५ शालिवाहनशको जात १५७७ शकोपि
एतै ( ) १३५ युत सवत् भवति १७१२

Nothing could be plainer than this And this occurs in a work written 231 years ago We are therefore perfectly justified in taking Samvat " as occurring in Manuscripts to mean the era which begins in 57 B C and if in any particular case wrong results are arrived at, they must be due to some mistake of the scribe of the nature of those we meet with in almost every line in a bad Manuscript Such mistakes do not and cannot point to a sense of the word Samvat other than that which usage has clearly given to it

EXTRACTS FROM THE REPORT ON THE SEARCH FOR SANSKRIT MANUSCRIPTS DURING THE YEARS 1884-85, 1885-86, 1886-87 [1]

I ISSUE the following pages with a feeling of keen regret I had planned as extensive a report as the last if not more had examined the Manuscripts collected materials and got the extracts copied out But after finishing the first two articles I had a long continued illness and since that time my College duties and other work which could not be avoided and a good deal of which was of a literary nature left me no time or energy for digesting my materials and putting them into shape I expected to be able to take up the Report after my retirement from the service but I had another attack of illness in the beginning of this year The Report however could be delayed no longer and I had to send it to the Press immediately I however hastily added three more articles before actually doing so

The second article has been published in a somewhat altered form in the Transactions of the Ninth Congress of Orientalists

THE number of Manuscripts purchased by me for Government during the three years 1884 87 is 1 406 Of these 1,135 were collected in Gujarat and Rajputana, and 271 in the Maratha Country

I will proceed to notice some of the interesting Manuscripts in the Collection and to state such points of importance as I have been able to gather from them

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1 Originally published in 1894, at the Government Central Press, Bombay

VEDAS, VEDĀNGAS, ETC

RGVEDA AND DEPENDENT TREATISES

A COMMENTARY ON KĀTYĀYANA'S SARVĀNUKRAMA

No 89 is a copy of a commentary called Bhāsya on Katyāyana's Sarvanukrama The Manuscript which was transcribed in Śaka 1583 i e 1662 AD, is in a very bad condition the paper has become so brittle that the slightest touch brings off a piece and the edges of the leaves and the corners have worn away and portions of the written lines have thus disappeared making the rest difficult to be understood and entirely unintelligible This circumstance is very much to be regretted as the work appears to be important and has not yet been subjected to examination The only other available copy of it I know of is a fragment which is in the Tanjore Collection and is noticed by Burnell in his Catalogue (page 2) The author's name cannot be ascertained

The commentary on each Mandala begins with a Sloka but it is always in praise of a deity and the author seems to have studiously concealed his name as is not unfrequently done by some Sanskrit writers The opening Śloka is the same as that which is at the beginning of Dandin's Kāvyādarsa and as if to show that it is not his, the author gives the paraphrase of it in the second In a great many places the author gives the current legends connected with passages in the text of the Rksamhitā introducing them with the words Atretihāsam ācakṣate" and rarely with Atrākhyānam ācaksate' When these are given with simply this introduction they appear to have been quoted from the Bṛhaddevatā But there are legends and quotations from the Mahābhārata and Purānas these latter being referred to by the name Purānakāra or Paurānika Some are spoken of as having been given by Vrddhācārya This author is frequently quoted Thus he is represented as considering Indragni not to be the

principal deities of the verse I 139 9, but as subordinate (Nipātabhājau) against the view of the author of the Sarvānukrama Again he is spoken of as maintaining that the first Pada of IV 57 8 has reference to the cultivation of soil the second speaks of men who subsist on agriculture the third is for rain and the fourth is composed by the Rsi through his desire for grain the whole hymn referring to agriculture This says the commentator is not opposed to the statement of the original author Vrddhacārya would thus appear to have written a work of the nature of an Anukramani or a commentary on any of the existing works on the subject and to have held some independent views The story referring to VI 75 and those about the origin of Vasistha from Urvasi in connection with the seventh Mandala and about the relations of Puruiavas with Urvasi which are the subject of X 95 are quoted as given by the same author The wording of the last is however the same as that of the version given by Max Muller (Rgveda Vol VI page 18 varietas lectionis) as belonging to the Brhaddevatā This Vrddhācārya must be the same author as that quoted by Trikāndamandana as an authority in sacrificial matters[1] Śaunaka is also very often quoted by name by our author in speaking of the deities or metres, but not as the narrator of the legends

ANUKRAMANĪDHŪNDHŪ

No 39 is entitled Anukramanidhūndhū and consists of the Sarvānukrama in a tabulated form In each line we have first the number of the hymn then the first Pāda of the first verse and afterwards follow in order the numbers of the Vargas and of the verses of which the hymn is composed the name of the Rsi the deity and the metre The next hymn is noticed in the next line When the particulars referring to a hymn are not complete in one line we have more i e a paragraph The

1 See my last Report p 28, [Ante, p 103 N B U]

Suktas are numbered continuously from 1 to 1 017 and the end of an Adhyāya is simply marked with the letters Adhya ' The Valakhilyas come between hymns 668 and 669 i e after VIII 48 and are numbered from 1 to 10 The Manuscript was transcribed on Sunday the 7th of the dark fortnight of Bhadrapada in the Samvat year 1796 and is thus a hundred and fifty years old It was purchased by our agent from a Brahman belonging to the Śankhāyana school living in Jaypur and was brought along with No 42 and copies of other works of the Sankhayana School which will be noticed in the next Report

This tabulated Anukramani agrees in all respects with the Sarvānukrama as I have found from a comparison of parts here and there with the statements at the top of the hymns in Professor Max Muller s Edition and with the original Sarvānu krama The number of verses in VII 21 is however stated as 9 probably because the tenth is the same as the last verse of the previous hymn In other places however where the same verse occurs at the end of two successive hymns it is not left out of account so that there is probably a mistake here

The number of hymns 1 017 is the same as that given in the Anuvakānukramani indexed in the Sarvānukrama and found in the Vulgate But our Dhundhu differs from the last in omitting one of the 11 Vālakhilya hymns that beginning with Yamitvijo (VIII 58) but agrees with the Sarvānukrama, for this also omits the hymn and the commentary noticed above agrees with the text as it contains no reference to it As the Vulgate is identified with the school of Āsvalāyama the slightly different text represented by the Sarvānukrama must be the one prevalent in some other School

The author of the Bhāṣya on the Caranavyūha often noticed by scholars gives the omission of VIII 58 as a peculiarity of the text of the Samhitā studied by the followers of the Śānkhāyana Sūtra At the same time he notices

the insertion of two of the three verses composing the hymn into X 88 but only as a Khila and consequently not to be counted The work before me does not notice the insertion probably just on this account assigning to the hymn nineteen verses which it has in the Vulgate The text as represented by the Sarvānukrama is thus in its entirety the text of the Śānkhāyana School and this is confirmed by the fact that my Manu script which agrees with it was got from a Brahman of the Sānkhāyana Sakhā living at a village called Brahmapol about two miles from Jaypur It follows therefore that the only difference between the Samhitās of the schools of Āśvalāyana and Śaṅkhāyana consisted in the addition or omission of VIII 58

But the statement of the commentator and this conclusion are contested by Professor Oldenberg And the grounds are these In the Upakarana ceremony usually called Śrāvani by us after the name of the month in which it is performed oblations are thrown into the fire after the repetition of the first and last verses of each Mandala In the Śānkhāyana Grhya Sutra the last verse that is directed to be repeated is Tacchamyorāvrnimahe &c which therefore must have been the last verse of the tenth Mandala of the Samhitā followed by Śānkhāyana Similarly in another place in the Sutra the teacher s having taught to his pupil the whole of the Veda ending with Samyor Bārhaspatya is spoken of Śamyor Barhaspatya here means according to Vināyaka the commentator on the Sūtra the second of the two verses Tacchamyor &c Now on the evidence of a Kārikā quoted in a Prayoga noticed by Prof Weber in his first Berlin Catalogue (p 314) it is concluded that the Bāskala Samhitā of the Rgveda ended with the verse Tac cham yor &c There is also more evidence to the same effect or rather the source of the evidence adduced by Professors Weber and Oldenberg and the statements of subsequent authors based on that source, which are not noticed by the two scholars

The Kārikā itself occurs in the work entitled Āsvalāyanagṛihya Karikā attributed to Kumārila Whether this writer is the same as Kumārila the great Mimamsaka is a point which I at least do not consider to be settled There is a copy of it in the Collection for 1883 84 and bears No 509 The Collection A of 1881 82 made by me contains two copies of a Bhāṣya on the Kārikās (Nos 176 and 177) No 176 is an excellent Manuscript and contains the original as well as the commentary The author of the latter does not give his name and though the name Nārāyana does occur in one place, still it is written in such a manner as to leave it highly doubtful whether it is meant as the name of the commentator In the introduction we are told First of all Nārāyana the author of the Vṛtti composed his work as it was difficult for persons of little learning who had simply a smattering of a part of the sacred lore, to perform the various ceremonies prescribed by Āsvalāyana with the help of the Sūtra alone Taking that Vrtti as a basis and considering the views of Jayanta and others which are in conformity with the Sūtra, the author of the Kārikā composed the Kārikā setting forth the procedure in order Still some people neglecting this Kārikā though of use to carry one through the rites on account of the difficulty arising from his brevity and regarding a Paddhati (manual) alone to be useful in this respect perform the rites for themselves and cause others to perform them in accordance with it Therefore on account of the impossibility of removing doubts by a mere Paddhati as to what is first and what last whether a thing exists or does not exist in the whole body of the rites prescribed in the Grhya Sūtra some one, through the favour of the deity presiding over the ceremonial, having sat at the feet of a master the like of whom is not to be found of the name of Vuppadeva bhatta residing in the city of Kalamba and belonging to the Āsvalāyana school of the Rgveda, for receiving instruction in the sense of the Kārikā is now expounding the whole Kārikā

for removing doubts concerning the body of rites that are performed making use of what was taught to him by the master [1]

From this it appears that the Karikā was written in accordance with Narayana's Vrtti the views of Jayanta and others being also represented And in the work the Bhagavadvrttikā and Jayanta are frequently mentioned [2] Now as regards the point in question Naidhruva Nārāyana's Vrtti on Āsv Gr III 5 9 is It is well known to students that this itself (and no other) is the Sutra and Grhya of the Śakala traditional text and the Bāskala text For the Śakalas Samāni va ākūtih is the verse because it is the final one of their Samhitā while for the Bāskalas Tacchamyorāvrnimahe is the one being at the end of their Samhita This construction is proper "[3]

The Karikā based on this Vrtti is that noticed by Professor Weber in the first Berlin Catalogue and runs thus — The

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1 तत्रादावाश्वलायनगृह्यसूत्रमात्रेणैवाल्पव्युत्पत्तिमतामध्ययनैकदेश स्पर्शिना तदुक्ततत्तत्कर्मनिर्वाहो दुस्तर इति वृत्तिकृन्नारायणो वृत्तिम करोत्। तामेव वृत्ति पुरस्कृत्य सूत्रार्थानुकूलाञ्जयन्तादीन्विचार्य कारिकाकार क्रमेणैवेतिकर्तव्यताकारिणी कारिका चकार। तथाप्यत्र केचन सक्षेपकाठिन्यात्कर्मनिर्वाहकारिणीमपि कारिका निवार्य पद्धति मेवात्रोपयोगिनीमवधार्य कर्म कारयन्ति कुर्वन्ति च। अत कोप्यत्र कर्मदेवतानुग्रहेण गृह्योक्तसकलकर्मसु किमादौ किमन्ते किमस्ति किवा नास्तीत्यादिरूप सदेह केवल पद्धत्या दूरीकर्तुमशक्यत्वात्कारिकार्थ परिज्ञानार्थमृग्वेदान्त पातिन्यामाश्वलायनशाखाया कलम्बपुरवासिन लोकोत्तर वुप्पदेवभट्टारय गुरुमुपास्य तदुक्तिमेव निमित्तीकृत्य क्रियमाणकर्मकलापसदेहापनुत्तये तावतीमेव कारिका विवृणोति। (From No 176 of A 1881 82)

2 See also Dr Buhler's review of my last Report Ind Ant, Vol XVIII, p 188 A

3 p 168 Bibl Ind Ed

last oblation (Āhuti) thrown into the fire of the Sākalas is after [the repetition of] the Rk Samāni vah and the last oblation of the Bāskalas after [the repetition of] the Rk Tacchamyor [1] The commentary on this is — In the province of the Rgveda there are five different Śākhās Āsvalāyani Sāmkhyāyani the Sakalas Bāskalas and Māndūkas Of these the last oblation of the Śakalas is by repeating Samani va and the last oblation of the Baskalas is by repeating Tacchamyor Everything else is the same This same Āsvalāyana Sutra is of use for the performance of the rites to the followers of the Āsvalayana Śakhā and to the Śākalas and Bāskalas '[2] Jayanta in the Vimalodayamālā thus speaks about the point —' Since this itself (and no other) is the Sūtra of Śākala and Baskala and this the Grhya of the two Samhitās those who end their Samhitā by the verse Samāni va ākūtih ' throw an oblation into the fire after repeating this verse and then offer to the Svistakit while those who read Tacchamyorāvinimahe at the end of their text throw an oblation on repeating that verse and then offer to the Svistakrt and not on repeating Samāni va ākūtih ' This sense is obtained from the word Ekā which occurs in both the Sutras "[3]

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1 शाकलाना समानीव इत्यृचान्त्याहुतिर्भवेत् । बाष्कलाना तु तच्छयोरित्यृचान्त्याहुतिर्भवेत् । (From No 509 of 1883 84 and 176 of A 1881 82)

2 ऋग्वेदे पञ्च शाखाभेदा । आश्वलायनी सारयायनी शाकला बाष्कला माण्डूकाश्चेति । तेषा मध्ये शाकलाना समानीव इत्यृचान्त्या हुतिर्भवति बाष्कलाना तु तच्छयोरित्यृचान्त्याहुतिर्भवति । इतरत्सर्व समानम् । आश्वलायनशाखानुसारिणा शाकलबाष्कलाना चेदमेवाश्व लायनसूत्र कर्मानुष्ठानार्थमुपकरोति ।

3 यत शाकलबाष्कलयोरेतदेव सूत्र द्वयो सहितयोर्गृह्य च। तत्र ये समानीव आकूतिरित्यनया सहिताया पार गच्छन्ति ते समानीव

It will thus be seen that the source of the information used by Professor Oldenberg is Naidhruva Nārāyana's statement in the Vrtti and though Jayanta's direct connection with Nārāyana's work is not mentioned still the passage from his work is so very much alike to that occurring in the Vṛtti that there is hardly any reasonable doubt that it is based on the Vrtti or both derived from a common source If then the Bāskala Samhitā ended with Tacchamyor '&c while the Śakala with Samāni va ākūtih the Śānkhāyana Sūtra which prescribes Tacchamyor ' etc as the verse for the last oblation in the Upakarana ceremony must be a Sutra of the Bāskala Śākhā and as according to Śaunaka the Samhitā of this Śākhā had eight hymns more than that of the Śakalas, and the arrangement of some of the smaller books composing the first Mandala was different it follows that the statement of the commentator on the Caranavyuha that Śankhāyana's Samhitā differed from Āsvalāyana's which is the same as that of the Sakalas only in excluding VIII 58 cannot be true and there is no Samhitā exactly corresponding to the Sarvānukrama which also excludes this hymn and though my Manuscript was in the possession of a Brahman of the Sankhayana school as other works of that school were still it should be considered not as representing the Samhita of that school

But it must not be forgotten that those same writers who give us the information which leads us to these conclusions tell us as a fact well known to students of Āsvalayana's Sutra that, that was the Sūtra of the Bāṣkalas as well as the Śākalas The same fact is stated by Gārgya Nārāyana in his comment on the first Śrauta Sūtra of Āsvalāyana The expression Idam eva' or

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आकूतिरित्यनयैव हुत्वा स्विष्टकृत जुह्वति। ये तच्छयोरावृणीमह इति समाम्नायान्ते पठन्ति ते तयैव हुत्वा स्विष्टकृत जुह्वति न समानी व आकूतिरिति। अयमर्थ उभयोरेकैकग्रहणात्।

'Etad eva' used by them would show that this itself or this alone was, according to the commentators, the Sūtra of the Bāskalas and if the Śankhāyana Sūtra was peculiarly theirs and the Āsvalāyana of the Śākalas they were not aware of the fact Again the traditional number of Rks 10 580¼ is not given by the existing Śākala Samhitā that ends with Samāni va akūtih' &c and the real number falls short of this by 15

This confusion is it will be seen based on Nārāyana s interpretation of Āsvalayana's Sūtras on the Upākarana III 5 8 and 9 which assigns definitely one of the verses to the one school and the other to the other and will disappear if we interpret the Sūtras in a manner which though it may differ from that of Nārāyana, is still consistent with the positive information given to us by him and the other authors By the use of the word Ekā in III 5 8 Narāyana understands that Āsvalāyana directs the use of the verse Samāni va ākūtih' to the exclusion of Tacchamyorāvrnimahe ' prescribed in the next Sutra and by the word Ekā in this last Sutra, the use of this last verse alone is meant to be prescribed to the exclusion of the other Thus the sense he says, is that or this is to be used i e Vikalpa or option is here allowed but it is a Vyavasthita Vikalpa i e , one course is to be followed by one class of men and the other by another

Now Āsvalāyana's usual way of expressing a Vikalpa is by the use of the word Vā' as in I 10 9 I 11 13 I 14 5 I 15 6 I 19 2 I 20 1 &c &c and we find the word used even a little before in the section under consideration in the Sūtra III 5 3 Different courses for two classes of persons are prescribed by naming one of the classes as in I 7 9, where the Jamadagnas are mentioned and I 10 19 where we have the Pañcāvattis or by using the word Eke, i e , ' some,' as in I 4 2 I 13 6 &c So then if he meant the verse mentioned in III 5 8 for the Śākalas, and that in III 5

9 for the Bāskalas we should expect him to name the first School in the first Sūtra or the second in the second At any rate even if this mode of expression should be considered unnecessrry the word Vā is quite indispensable And Nārāyana himself is by no means certain about the explanation he has given for he winds it up with the words Ityevam niveso yuktah ' which means this construction is reasonable " or according to the sense of the word Nivesa as used by the grammarians it means Āsvalāyana should properly have put in words to that effect ' Again the word is interpreted here by Nārāyana in quite a different sense from that in which he interprets it in III 5 6

The true explanation seems to me to be this Āsvalāyana evidently meant to prescribe the first and the last verse of each Mandala But since those for whom he wrote were supposed to know the whole Samhitā by heart continuously without proper divisions or perhaps to possess a book in which the verses were written continuously without a break he prescribes a pair of verses in each case the first of which is the last of the previous Mandala and the second the first of the next Mandala This mode of statement can evidently not be used in prescribing the first verse of the first Mandala or the last verse of the last Mandala and they must be prescribed singly But to prevent the possibility of the learner connecting the word Dvyrca pair of verses" with the first verse that has to be prescribed singly and of his repeating the second verse also of the first Mandala the word Ekā is used in the Sutra III 5 6 Agnimide purohitamityekā But there is no such necessity in the Sutra which prescribes the last verse of the tenth Mandala for even if the word pair ' were brought over to it it could have no signification as nothing follows the last verse If, notwithstanding this the word Ekā is used in that Sūtra also it follows that there were some verses in the Samhitā which came after

the last verse of the tenth Mandala 'Samānı va ākutıh' And Āsvalāyana prescribes the last of these verses also in III 5 9 but there too the word Ekā is used What could be the purpose of the word here?

We can understand the purpose only if we suppose that the verses which followed Samanı va ākutıh' constituted such a hymn as the Samjñāna hymn with fifteen Rks as given by the commentator on the Caranavyūha the fifth of which was Tacchamyoı etc, and the fifteenth or the last also the same If the word eka had not been used in the Sutra which prescribes Tacchamyor etc the learner by connecting the word pair' with it might have used the first Tacchamyor' etc, i e the fifth verse of the hymn and along with it the sixth also Nairhastyam, etc But Eka prevents the use of this and the result is that the last verse of the hymn is prescribed

But now the question arises if another hymn followed Samānı va ākūtıh' why does Āsvalāyana not prescribe its last verse only Tacchamyor etc as is done by Śānkhāyana and why does he prescribe Samānı va ākūtıh also? The reason must I think be sought for in some such fact as this that in his time there was no general agreement that the Rk Samhitā ended with Samānı va ākūtıh but that some included the Samjñana hymn also in it To meet both these views he prescribes both the verses So that there is no Vikalpa or option here to be construed as resulting in the prescribing of two different Rks for two different schools but 21 Rks are prescribed and 21 Āhutis or oblations for the followers of the Rk Samhitā And since the authors of the commentaries on both the Śrauta and Grhya Sūtras, as well as Jayanta inform us of the tradition that Āsvalāyana s Sūtra was intended for the Śākalas as well as the Bāṣkalas the 21 Rks and Āhutis must be understood as laid down for both

If then Nārāyana's interpretation that Āsvalāyana lays down two courses for the two schools is to be rejected and we must suppose that Āsvalāyana prescribes Tacchamyor' &c because the Samjñāna hymn formed a part of his Samhitā, though not acknowledged as such by all the reason why Śānkhāyana prescribes Tacchamyor etc only must be not that his Sūtra is peculiarly the Sutra of the Baskala school for that fact is implicitly denied by our scholiasts but because he acknowledged the Samjñana hymn as decidedly the last hymn of the Samhitā and probably the view of its being apocryphal was not started in his time or he neglected it Thus like Āsvalāyana's Sūtra Śānkhāyana's also was intended for both the Śākalas and the Bāskalas that is the first two are Sūtra Śākhās only and do not represent any difference in the Samhitā

That the Āsvalāyana School is a Sūtra Śakhā only and is not tied down to a particular Samhitā is in addition to the statement of the scholiasts also pointed to by the present practice of Brahmans of that school who at the end of their Samdhyā adorations have to speak of themselves individually as Rgvedāntargata Āsvalā yana Śākala sākhādhyāyin The name Śākala is added to show the Samhitā as the name Āsvalāyana in itself is not sufficient to show it

But the view that the Samjñāna hymn was apocryphal which is only indicated by Āsvalāyana gradually gained strength especially in the Śākala school through the influence of the Anukramani which rejects it and it was thrown out of the Samhitā but probably the Bāṣkalas did not keep pace with the Śākalas in this respect and hence the statement of Nārāyana and others that the Samhitā of the former had Tacchamyor' etc, for its ending verse But though the Śākalas rejected it, the verse Tacchamyor' etc is at the present day repeated every day by the followers of the school in winding up the Samdhyāvandana and the Brahmayajña It is repeated

before the verse Namo Brahmane' The last is prescribed by Āsvalāyana in III 3 4 and both in the Grhyapariśiṣta (Bibl Ind Ed p 270, 1, 8)

The Bāskala Samhitā seems not to be extant now For the author of the commentary on the Caranavyūha after giving its peculiarities on the authority of a Vrttr on the Anukramani says Evamadhyanābhāvācchākhābhāvaḥ- the Śakhā does not exist because such a text is not studied ' The only Samhitā therefore to which both Āsvalāyana and Śānkhāyana now refer is that of the Śākala school Hence this statement of the commentator on the Caranavyuha that the only difference between them is the exclusion or inclusion of Rgveda, VIII 58 and herein is the explanation of the fact that our No 39 belonged to a Śānkhāyana Brahman

The Samjñāna hymn of fifteen verses having thus very likely formed originally a part of the Śākala Samhitā one can understand why it is necessary to add the number of verses contained in it to make up the traditional number of 10 580¼ It may here be remarked that the Sūtras of Āsvalāyana and Śānkhāyana about the Upākarana oblations that we have been discussing are adduced by the commentator on the Caranavyūha as authorities for including that hymn in the text One can understand how, in his eye, the Sūtra of the latter is an authority, believing as he did that the Samhitā of Śānkhāyana was the same as that of the Śākala school But he has not explained the significance of Āsvalāyana's giving the last verse of X 191 and also of the Samjñāna hymn He of course does not adopt Nārāyana's interpretation According to the commentator the Samhitā of all the Rgveda schools is the same which, of course is true, as we have seen in the case of the four that are extant The fifth Māndukı has not yet been traced

There are two copies recently transcribed of the Caranavyūha bhāsya in the Deccan College Collections, No 19 of 1871 72 and

No 5 of 1873 74 Neither of them contains the name of the author But the work has been lithographed at Benares and also printed in the Benares Sanskrit Series as an appendix of the edition of the Pratisakhya of the White Yajurveda In both the name of the commentator is given as Mahidāsa who wrote the work in the year (expired) Tridasāngadharāmite which in the edition in the Benares Sanskrit Series is given as equivalent to 1613 but which really means 1633 tridasa meaning 33 the traditional number of the gods This Mahidāsa or Mahidāsa is probably the same as the author of the commentary on the Lilavati written in 1644 Samvat and noticed in my Report for 1883 84 under No 205 (pp 82 and 368) [1]

ĀPASTAMBADHVANITĀRTHAKĀRIKĀS

No 83 is a transcript of Trikāndamandana's Āpastambadhvani tārthakārikās In my last Report I gave the results[2] of the examin ation of the fourth part of the work The following is a list of the authors and works quoted in the first three parts —

I —Adhikāra Kānda

Ātharvana Sūtra 15 *b* 1	Bhāradvājasūtrabhāṣyakrt 4*b* 10
Āpastamba 4 *b* 9	Bhāradvājiya 24 *a* 10
Katha 17 *a* 12	Bhāradvājīyabhāsya 23 *a* 14
Karka 24 *b* 1 25 *a* 6	Mantrabrāhmanabhāsyakrt 25 *a* 6
Kātiya 22 *b* 9	Laugākṣi 24 *a* 12
Kesavasiddhānta 19 *b* 5	Laugāksikārikā 17 *a* 8
Kesavasvāmin 21 *a* 11	Vāmana 21 *b* 3
Jaimini 23 *a* 2	Vārtikadarsana 15 *a* 3
Devala 21 *b* 12	Śālikanātha 14 *b* 13
Baudhāyanamata 5 *a* 7 24 *b* 5	Śabdānusāsin 18 *b* 3
Bhāradvāja 6 *a* 11	

1 Ante, p 207 [N B U]
2 Ante, pp 101 ff [N B U]

II —Pratınıdhı Kānda

Āpastamba 5 *a* 7
Āsvalāyana 3 *b* 12 10 *b* 11
Katha 6 *a* 5 9 *a* 6 9 *b* 1 10 *a* 6, 9
Kathasākhınah 5 *a* 5
Kathasrutı 5 *a* 7 8, 11
Kathāsaya 7 *a* 12
Kātıyasūtra 4 *a* 14
Kātyāyanāsaya 1 *b* 9 Kātyāyana 6 *b* 14
Kalpabhāsya 9 *b* 11
Kesavasıddhānta 7 *a* 3
Chandoga 2 *a* 5
Kausıtakıbhıh 2 *a* 4
Chandogagrhya 2 *b* 11 3 *a* 6
Dāmodara 3 *a* 4
Bahvrc 2 *a* 5
Baudhāyana 1 *b* 14 2 *b* 14 3 *a* 7 8 4 *b* 10 6 *a* 14
Bhāradvāja—Bharadvāja 3 *a* 7 13 4 *a* 5 4 *b* 1 4 6 *b* 6 7 *a* 13
Bhāradvājıyabhāsya 8 *a* 12
Mādhyamdınasrutı 3 *a* 3
Vājınam 7 *a* 14
Vıdhıratnamata 4 *b* 11
Samagāh 5 *b* 5

III —Punarādhāna Kānda

Ātharvana 5 *b* 6
Karka 7 *b* 8 8 *a* 6
Karmadıpa 28 *a* 13 *b* 5
Kātyāyana 24 *b* 2 6
Kauşītakısrutı 14 *a* 8
Chandogaparısısta 16 *a* 1 21 *a* 6
Bahvrc 4 *b* 9 11 32 *b* 3
Baudhāyana 4 *b* 6 19 *b* 1
Baudhāyanıyaka 32 *a* 12 35 *b* 1
Bhavanāga 32 *b* 3
Bhavabhāşya 19 *b* 8
Bhāradvāja 17 *a* 3 28 *b* 5
Mādhyamdınasrutı 4 *a* 5 11
Yajñapārsva 30 *b* 7
Laugāksı 13 *b* 8 25 *a* 7 13
Vājınah 4 *b* 10
Satyāşādhādı 4 *a* 11
Sūtrakāra 3 *a* 13

The Vāmana ın the list of the first part is spoken of as having given a certain opinion on a sacrificial point in commenting on the Puruşārthādhikarana (Brahmasūtra III 4 1) He thus appears to be an old writer on the Vedānta

Devala, Dāmodara Laugāksıkārikā Karmadıpa and Bhavabhāşya mentioned ın the first three Kāndas do not occur ın the fourth, a list of the names mentioned ın

which is given in my Report for 1883 84[1] 'Jaimini" given in that Report under the head of 'other authors" must be considered to be the author of a Kalpa Sūtra.

Professor Hillebrandt states in the preface to his edition of the Śānkhāyana Sutra that Trikāndamandana ignores wholly the Sutra of Śankhāyana and adduces the authority of my last Report In the first group of names at page 28 of the Report[2] I have put down Śānkhāyana occurring twice in the fourth part of Trikāndamandana's work as the name of a Vedic Śākhā or school to be on the safe side But it is quite possible or even probable that in the two passages the author means to speak of the author of the Sūtra for Sānkhāyanāsaya or the opinion of Śānkhāyana is what is spoken of Still from the fact that the name does not occur in the first three parts of Trikāndamandana s work and occurs only twice in the fourth, it would appear that the Sūtra was rarely studied as is stated by the Professor

DIGAMBARA JAINA LITERATURE

DHARMAPARĪKSĀ OF AMITAGATI

In the Collection of Manuscripts of the Digambara sect of Jainas we have a copy of a work of Amitagati not known before the Dharmaparikṣā as well as one of his Subhāsitaratnasamdoha The date of this last is known to be 1050 of the Vikrama era while that of the new work is given at the end to be 1070 corresponding to 1014 A D

In this work Amitagati represents a demi god (Vidyādhara) of the name of Manovega son of a prince of demi gods of the name of Ajātasatru, to be a devout follower of the Jaina faith He had a friend of the name of Pavanavega who however was not a Jaina Manovega ardently desired

1 Ante, pp 101 ff [NBU]
2 Ante, p 101 [NBU]

that his friend should be of the same faith with himself and while moving in his aerial car and thinking in what way he should be converted his car stumbled when he reached Ujjayini Then getting down near the great garden of the city he found a famous Jaina saint of the name of Jinamati discoursing on religion At the end of the discourse which is given at some length the Vidyādhara asked the saint whether his friend would ever become a believer, and was told that he would if Manovega went to Puspapura with him showed him the contradictions and discrepancies in the doctrines of other sects by conversing with the followers of these and instructed him by arguments and illustrations

Manovega accordingly went with his friend to Puṣpapura The method he follows is on each occasion to assume a different form to go to the place in that form, beat a drum, and sit on what is called the golden' seat People of all sorts gather round him he shows them something which is out of the ordinary course of things, or tells a story with many inconsistencies and improbabilities and when they raise questions he asks them whether in their own religious works and beliefs there are not things equally out of the way and equally incon sistent and improbable After they admit that there are he turns to his friend and calls his attention to these faults in the ordinary religious works of the Brahmans and thus endeavours gradually to convert him to his faith

Thus at the first visit to Puspapura, the two friends appear as young men adorned with golden ornaments and gems and still bearing heaps of hay and faggots of firewood to sell The people asked them the reason of this incongruity whereupon Manovega after telling them a good many stories of unthinking persons who do not consider a thing properly or impartially, to induce them to give a calm consideration to his observations asks them in return how it was

that the Great Viṣnu—the Creator Protector and Destroyer of the world by whose mercy men attain to eternal bliss, and who pervades everything and is eternal and pure —became a cowherd in Nanda's Gokula, and looked after the cows and played with the cowherds how it was that he went to Duryo dhana as a messenger at the bidding of the son of Pandu like an ordinary foot soldier how it was that on the battlefield he became Partha's charioteer and drove his chariot how it was that he became a dwarf and like a beggar, begged of Bali in humiliating terms a piece of land and how it was that the All knowing the All pervading the Unchangeable Protector of the world was oppressed in every way by the fire of separation from Sitā like a mortal lover If Visnu does things like this no mortal can be blamed for doing them if a mother in-law is ill conducted, the daughter in law cannot be reproached for acting likewise When the whole world is in the inside of him, how can Sītā be taken away from him ? Nothing existing in space can be taken out of space If the god is all pervading, how can he be separated from his beloved ? If he is eternal, how can he be afflicted with separation ? How can the Lord of the world do the behests of others ? Kings do not do the work of their servants How can the All knowing ask others (what he does n t know) how can the Ruler (of all) beg how can the Wakeful sleep or the Unsensual be a lover ? How can He, like an ordinary miserable being become a fish a tortoise, a boar a man lion a dwarf and three Rāmas successively ?"[1]

After having argued thus with the Brahmans, he went to the garden and spoke to his friend in the same strain Friend I will tell you another thing There are six periods mentioned in the Bhārata in order having each its peculiarity like the

1 स मत्स्य कच्छप कस्मात्सूकरो नरकेसरी ।
वामनोऽभूत् त्रिधा राम पर प्राणीव दु खित ॥

seasons In the fourth period there were sixty three eminent men the twelve Supreme Sovereigns, the twenty four Arhantas (Jinas), and nine Rāmas, nine Kesavas and the nine enemies of these nine All of them have passed away there is no substance existing that is not destroyed by death (time) The last of the Visnus (Kesavas) was the son of Vasudeva and his Brahman devotees call him the Pure, the Supreme Being (They say) He who meditates on the god Visnu who is all pervading a whole without parts indestructible and unchangeable and who frees a man from old age and death is free from misery' He is traditionally known to have ten (forms) —A fish a tortoise, a boar a man lion, Vāmana Rāma Rāma and Rāma Buddha and Kalkin[1] Having spoken of him as a whole without parts they represent him to have ten different forms though there is inconsistency"

It will be seen that the idea of the ten incarnations of Viṣnu had become quite an article of ordinary belief by the year 1070 of the Vikrama era or 1014 A D , and Buddha had been received into the popular Brahmanic pantheon In the first of the two verses quoted in the notes the two last incarnations have been omitted probably because the object was to represent the birth of Viṣnu in previous ages of the world while the ninth belongs to the present and the tenth to a future age

On another occasion Manovega transforms himself into a Pulinda and his friend into a cat without ears and offers the cat for sale saying that the smell of the cat drove mice away for ten or twelve Yojana on all sides In the story he told of the cat

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1 मीन कूर्म पृथु प्रोक्तो नारसिंहोऽथ वामन ।
रामो रामश्च रामश्च बुद्ध कल्की दश स्मृता ॥

There is a marginal note on पृथु in which the word is explained as meaning सूकर or "boar The three Ramas are, of course, Parasurāma, Rāma the son of Dasaratha, and Balarāma or Krsna

the Brahmans discovered an incongruity and Manovega, on his part tells the following story as occurring in one of the Purānas of the Brahmans containing like incongruities

There was a recluse of the name of Mandapa Kausika On one occasion he sat down to dinner along with other recluses Seeing him sitting in their company the recluses rose up afraid to touch him as if he were a Cāndāla Mandapa Kausika asked them why they rose up as they should at the sight of a dog They told him that he had become a recluse immediately after he had been a Brahmacārin and without going through the interme diate order by marrying a wife and seeing the face of a son A man without a son does not go to Heaven nor are religious mortifications successful if gone through by one in that condition He then went away and asked men of his caste to give him a girl in marriage but as he had become an old man nobody would give his daughter to him Thereupon he went back to the recluses and told them of this when they advised him to marry a widow and assume the life of a householder By doing so no sin was incurred by either party as stated in the scriptures of the recluses (Tapasāgame) For they said

पत्यौ (त्यौ)प्रव्रजिते क्लीबे प्रनष्टे पतिते मृते ।
पञ्चस्वापत्सु नारीणा पतिरन्यो विधीयते ॥

In these five distressful conditions, viz when the husband has renounced the world is an eunuch is not found, has fallen away from caste or is dead, another husband is allowed to women "

The text on this subject occurring in the Smṛtis of Parāsara and Nārada and also in that of Manu, according to a statement of Mādhava contained in his commentary on Parāsara, though not found there now, is

नष्टे मृते प्रव्रजिते क्लीबे च पतिते पतौ ।
पञ्चस्वापत्सु नारीणा पतिरन्यो विधीयते ॥

The difference between the two texts is little the words are merely transposed in the first line and we have **प्रनष्टे** for **नष्टे** This transposition however allows of the proper locative **पत्यौ** of **पति** being used without the violation of the metre

In connection with another story of a re marriage the Brahmans of Kusumapura are represented to have said to Manovega who had on that occasion appeared there in the form of an ascetic Even if a woman is married once when through ill luck the husband dies it is fit that she should go through the ceremony [of marriage] again, provided there has been no cohabitation When the husband has gone away from home, a good wife should wait for eight years if she has already borne a child and for four if she has not If husbands in five such conditions are taken when there is reason, the women do not incur sin This is what Vyāsa and others say "[1]

From all this it follows that widow marriage was not a thing unheard of in 1014 A D and that the principal Smrti texts were very well known at the time and quoted in support of it

The story goes on Mandapa Kausika married a widow as directed by the recluses and they lived together as husband and wife A girl was born to them and she grew to be a woman of uncommon beauty Her name was Chāyā Subse quently Mandapa Kausika conceived the idea of going with his

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1 एकदा परिणीतापि विपन्ने देव (दैव) योगत ।
भर्तर्यक्षतयोनि स्त्री पुन सस्कारमर्हति ॥
प्रतीक्षता(क्षे)ष्ट वर्षाणि प्रसूता वनिता(ता)सती ।
अप्रसूता च चत्वारि प्रोषिते सति भर्तरि ।
पञ्चस्वेषु गृहीतेषु कारणे सति भर्तृषु ।
न दोषो विद्यते स्त्रीणा व्यासादीनामिद वच. ॥

The numeral 'five here must refer to the five cases mentioned in the text given above

wife on a pilgrimage to holy places but as Chāyā on account of her tender age could not be taken along with them he was for a long time considering who would be the proper person to whose care he should commit her Brahman Visnu and Śiva would not do on account of their various misdeeds in matters of women which are here narrated in detail and with zest and the only person fit to take care of the girl was Yama the God of Death The father committed the girl to his care and went away with his wife Yama however enamoured of her beauty used her as his wife but in order that she might not be seen and taken away from him he concealed her in his stomach

After some time Vāyu the God of Wind remarked to his friend Agni the God of Fire that Yama was the happiest of the gods living as he did in the company of a woman of incomparable beauty Agni asked how he could have access to her but Vāyu replied that Yama concealed her in his stomach and it was not possible even to see her Still, he said when Yama went to perform ablutions and the sin wiping ceremony (Aghamarsana) he disgorged her, and then only she was to be found alone Agni took advantage of that opportunity and appeared before her on one occasion He could win her easily and spent some time in amorous intercourse with her When it was time for Yama to come back Chāyā told Agni to disappear as he would destroy both of them if seen together But Agni refused to go whereupon she swallowed him and kept him concealed in her stomach

Agni having thus disappeared from the world the usual course of sacrifices and of cooking was interrupted and gods and men were greatly troubled Thereupon Indra told Vāyu to find out Agni Vāyu searched for him everywhere but did not find him He informed Indra of this, but said that there was one place which he had not searched and

where he was likely to be found Thereupon he invited all the gods to a feast He gave one seat and one offering to each of the gods but provided Yama with three Yama asked why he gave him three If he was thinking of his beloved who was concealed within him, he should give two but why three ? Vāyu promised to explain the reason and told him to disgorge Chāyā This Yama did and when Chāyā appeared Vayu told her to disgorge Agni She did let out Agni accordingly and everybody was surprised

Here we have one of the many stories about the disappearance of Agni

In this way the Vidyādhara goes on transforming himself into a different person on each occasion discoursing with the Brahmans and afterwards pointing out the absurdities of the Brahmanic sacred books to his friend The following are some of the observations he addresses to the latter ' All people divide property between themselves everywhere but the division of a woman [among several men] is censured even by the censurable [1] The Vyāsa who was the son of Yojanagandhā was a different man from him who was the son of Satyavatī a happy princess Parāsara the king was a different man from Parasara the ascetic people confound them being deluded by the identity of name Duryodhana and others were the sons of Gāndhārī and Dhrtarāstra the five Pāndavas are well known in the world as the sons of Kuntī and Mādrī All the sons of Gāndhārī, together with Karna allied themselves with Jarāsamdha and the Pāndavas with Kesava The powerful Vasudeva having killed Jarāsamdha in battle became the [one] lord of the earth on the whole surface of the earth The sons of Kuntī having practised religious austerities went to the place of Śiva or a holy place

1 This is an allusion to Draupadi s becoming the wife of the five Pandavas

the two sons of Mādrī being desirous of salvation attained to accomplishment in all respects Duryodhana and the rest having resorted to the teaching of the Jina reached the abode of the gods in accordance with their respective deeds This is old history but it is told in a different manner by Vyāsa how can men whose minds are warped by a false faith speak the truth ?"

Again Manovega said to his friend You have heard the Śāstra of our opponents which is full of incredible things He who follows their precepts or the directions laid down by them does not obtain the desired fruit Does anybody ever obtain oil by wringing sand ? It is not possible for monkeys to kill Rākṣasas what a difference between gods possessed of the eight great virtues and unintelligent brute creatures ! How can huge mountains be lifted up by monkeys and how can they stand (float) on the sea the waters of which are deep ? If Rāvana became incapable of being killed by the gods through a boon [of Śiva] how could a god becoming a man kill him ? It will not do even to say that gods became monkeys and killed the Rāksasas you do not get what you want even thus How can the All-knowing Samkara grant such a boon—a boon which was the source of irremediable harm to the world, even to the gods ? When one thinks over the Purānas of the opponents, one finds no worth in them can anybody find butter by churning water? These [beings] Sugriva and others were not monkeys and Rāvana and others were not Raksasas O friend such as people imagine All these were men pure righteous and spirited following the religion of Jina They were called monkeys because their banner had a monkey on it and the Rākṣasas who were acquainted with a great many powerful arts were so because they had a Rākṣasa on their banner One who desires salvation should have his eyes clear and believe these beings to be as they were described by Gautama the lord of the Jinas to Sreṇika "

Again Thus were great and righteous men of olden times described differently from what they were by Vyāsa and others whose minds were darkened by a false faith and who were not afraid of being precipitated into the great Hollow The deluded Vyāsa spoke a falsehood when he said that Duryodhana the bee on the lotuses in the shape of the feet of the Jina who was in his last bodily form died being killed by Bhima Kumbhakarna Indrajit and others whose hearts were anxious to embrace the lady Mukti or Salvation had the nature of a Rāksasa attributed to them, which is sinful involving as it does the abominable practice of the eating of flesh and even of men Vālmiki spoke falsely when he said that the great souled Vāli who was the bridegroom of the bride in the shape of Perfection and the fetters of whose deeds were broken, was struck by Rāma and killed "

A good deal of this is written in the manner of a sectarian but it does appear that the stories of the Mahābhārata and Rāmāyana are differently told by the Jainas and point perhaps to different authentic rescensions

In the event Pavanavega's mind is turned away from the popular religion whereupon Manovega takes him again to Jinamati the saint of Ujjayini who instructs him in the Jaina faith

Amitagati s spiritual genealogy is as follows —1 Vīrasena the best of the Māthuras (monks of Mathurā) 2 Devasvāmin 3 Amitagati 4 Nemiṣena 5 Mādhavasena 6 Amitagati the author

AN ANTHOLOGY BY DHANAMJAYA

Nos 1145 and 1146 are two copies of a thesaurus by a Digambara Jaina of the name of Dhanamjaya At the end of the first Paricccheda or part occurs a stanza in which Dhanamjaya is called a Kavi or poet In the next it is said The argumentation of Akalanka grammatical rules of Pujyapāda, and the poem of

the poet of the Dvihsamdhāna—this is a triad of jewels" "Dvihsamdhāna" is two fold interpretation and a poem each verse of which is written with the intention of bringing out two senses is a Dvihsamdhāna Kāvya It appears therefore from these two Ślokas that Dhanamjaya the author of the thesaurus is the author of Dvihsamdhāna Kāvya also No 1142 is a copy of this Kāvya, and No 1143 of a commentary on it by Nemicandra Here also the author is named Dhanamjaya Vardhamāna in his Ganaratnamahodadhi quotes Dhanamjaya I find the Ślokas in the copy of the Dvihasamdhāna before me That in p 97 of Eggeling s Edition is the 51st stanza of Canto IX that in p 409 is the 22nd of Canto XVIII, and that in p 435, is the 6th of Canto IV

The proper title of the poem is Rāghavapāndavīya and each verse has two senses one applicable to the Mahābhārata story and the other to the Rāmāyana story As the Jainas copy the Brahmans in their profane literature and as we have a Meghadūta of the Digambara Jainas and also one of the Śvetāmbaras it is not unreasonable to suppose that Dhanamjaya borrowed the idea of a Rāghavapāndavīya from the Brahmanic poem of that name by Kavirāja

Kavirāja must have flourished about or after the time of Muñja of Dhārā since he compares his patron Kāmadeva of Jayantipurī with Muñja Muñja was put to death in about 996 A D by Tailapa[1] Vardhamāna composed his Ganaratnamahodadhi in the year 1197 Vikrama or 1141 A D Both Kavirāja and Dhanamjaya therefore must have lived in the interval between those two dates the latter being considerably younger than the former if the supposition of imitation is correct

According to Mr K B Pathak the Kanarese poet Abhinava Pampa speaks of one Śrutakirtivaidya as the author of a Rāghavapāndavīya A writer of the name of Meghacandra

1 See my Report for 1882 83 p 45 [=Ante, p 51 N B U]

appears from a certain statement of his to be a contemporary of this Pampa, and Meghacandra's son wrote a work in 1076 Śaka or 1154 A D [1] There is nothing to show definitely that Srutakirti was the same as Dhanamjaya and his Rāghava pāndavīya the same as Dhanamjaya s But the date of the son of a contemporary of Pampa does harmonize with the dates arrived at before and is not against the supposition of the identity of the two individuals and the two poems

NOTICES OF SOME MANUSCRIPTS BELONGING TO THIS COLLECTION

[Originally included in the Report on search for Sanskrit Manuscripts for 1887–91 pages LV—LXXXVIII]

PRAYOGAPĀRIJĀTA BY NRSIMHA

No 294 is Prayogapārijāta Pākayajñakānda

The following are the authors and works quoted in this Manuscript —

Agnipurāna	Devala
Atri	Devipurāna
Amarakosa	Nārada
Ādipurāna	Nāradiyapurāna
Āpastamba	Padmapurāna
Āsvalāyanācārya	Pulastya
Usanas	Pracetas
Rgvidhāna	Brhaspati
Kālanirnaya	Brahmapurāna
Kūrmapurāna	Brahmavaivarta
Garudapurāna	Brahmāndapurāna
Gobhila	Bhagavadgitā
Candrikā	Bharadvāja
Chandogaparisista	Bhavisyapurāna
Jātukarnya	Bhrgu

1 Indian Antiquary Vol XIV p 14

Matsyapurāna	Vishnupurāna
Marici	Vyāsa
Markandeya	Śankha
Markandeyapurāna	Śambhu
Yama	Śātātapa
Yājñavalkya	Śālankāyana
Laugākṣi	Śaunaka
Varahapurāna	Sattrimsanmata
Vasistha	Sumanta
Vāyupurāna	Saurapurāna
Vrddhamanu	Skandapurāna
Vrddhavasistha	Smitibhāskara
Visvāmitra	Smrtyarthasara
Visnu	Hārita
Visnudharmottara	Hemādri

Prayogapārijāta is quoted in the Prayogaratna by Nārāyana bhatta whose latest known date is 1568 A D and it quotes Hemādri whose latest date is 1272 A D No closer approximation to the date of Nrsimha the author, can be made In a passage on fol 73 he states that he will give the names of the articles not to be used in certain rites in the Karnataka language wherefore he appears to have been a Kanarese Pandit

GĪTAGOVINDA WITH A COMMENTARY

No 346 is Gitagovinda with a commentary entitled Rasikapriyā The 1st leaf is wanting and the opening words of the 3rd verse

This is a commentary on Jayadeva's Gita Govinda by Kumbhakarna, who as stated in the introduction, was a prince belonging to the dynasty that ruled over Medapāta or Mewar in Rajputana The progenitor of the race was Bappa and the first prince of note was Guhila after whom the dynasty was called by the name of Gehlote In the course of time a famous prince of the name of Hammīra belonging to the family ruled

over Mewar He was succeeded by his son Ksetrasimha and this latter by Laksa After Laksa his son Mokala came to the throne and Mokala was followed by Kumbhakarna

These names are also given by Tod in his Annals of Rājasthāna and in this order The dates of accession of the princes are according to him the following —

Hammira 1301 A D
Khaitasimha (Ksetrasimha) 1365 A D
Lakṣa 1373 A D
Mokala 1398 A D
Kumbho (Kumbhakarna) 1419 A D and reigned to 1469 A D

This king is noticed in my Report for 1882 83 as the patron of the architect Mandana the author of the Rajavallabha mandana Tod mentions Kumbho s having composed this commentary or what he calls ' Appendix to the divine melodies in praise of Crishna "

In the commentary the author quotes Kārikās from the Kāvyaprakāsa and also some of the instances The metre of the first verse of the original which is Sārdūlavikridita is thus defined —

सूर्याश्वैर्मस[ज]स्ततास्सगुरव शार्दूलविक्रीडित ।

and Vasantatilakā of the next is given as

उक्ता वसततिलका तभजा जगौ ग ।

These are the definitions of the two metres given in the Vrttaratnākara of Kedārabhatta so that this work is not later than the first quarter of the fifteenth century In commenting on the 3rd verse Kumbhakarna makes out the six following poets as mentioned therein —

Umāpatidhara	Govardhana
Jayadeva	Śrutadhara
Śarana	Dhoyi (Kavikṣmāpati),

and reports the tradition that these six Pandits adorned the court of Laksmanasena A verse from Goi Dhoikavıraja quoted by Jahlana will be found in the succeeding pages Kavıraja is a paraphrase of Kavıksmāpati Laksmanasena came to the throne in Bengal after 1168 A D as will be seen hereafter

PŪRNABHADRA'S PAÑCOPĀKHYĀNA

No 371 is Pañcopakhyāna

This is an edition of the Pañcatantra prepared under the direction of a Mantrin or minister of the name of Soma and completed on the 3rd Tithi of the dark half of Phālguna of the year 1205 by a man of the name of Purnabhadra The text of the Pañcatantra he says had become corrupt and he corrected every letter word sentence story and verse Accordingly we find on comparing this edition with the existing text as printed in the Bombay Sanskrit Series that there are differences of reading in almost every line Some of the prose passages and verses in the latter are omitted and sometimes there are others in the place of those occurring there Sometimes there are verbose prose passages to which there is nothing corresponding in the existing text The work might be characterized as Pañcatantra re written Who the Soma Mantrin mentioned by the author was it is difficult to say The date in all probability refers to the era of Vikrama wherefore it is equivalent to 1199 A D

PADYAVENĪ BY VENIDATTA

No 375 is Padyaveni by Venidatta son of Jagajjivana, grandson of Nilakantha and belonging to Yājñika family

Names of authors and works occurring at the end of the verses quoted —

Akabbarikālidasa	Amara
Akalajalada	Amaracanda
Anantabhrāta	Āsamitra

Indrakavi
Uddāmakavi
Kavikankana
Kavirāja
Kavindra
Kalidāsa
Kūrmācalanrpati
Krsnadāsa
Krsnapandita
Kerali
Kesarikavi
Ksemendra
Ganapati
Gūrjara
Govardhana
Govindabhatta
Gauri
Gauripriya
Ghanasyāma
Candracuda
Cintāmani
Cintāmanidiksita
Jagajjivana
Jagajjivanavijyā
Jagannatha
Jayadeva
Trivikramabhatta
Dandin
Dāmodarabhatta
Devasiddhivedin
Devesvara
Dhūrta
Nāthopādhyāya
Nilakantha
Padmavati
Pingala
Prabhakaribhatta
Balakrsna
Balajibhatta
Bindukavi
Bilhana
Brahmendrasvāmin
Bhartihari
Bhavadeva
Bhanukara
Bhuvanānanda
Bhupatimisra
Bhojaprabandha
Madhusudanasarasvatī
Madhusūdanasvāmin
Mahakavi
Mādhava
Maithila
Mollikā
Mohana
Mohana Otra (drā ?)ka
Raghunāthopādhyāya
Ratnāvali
Ramānāthakavirāja
Ramacandra
Rāmacandrabhatta
Rāmacandrāgamin
Rāmacandropādhyāya
Rāmajit
Rāyabhatta
Rudra
Rūpaka
Lakşmana

Laksmanasena
Laksmanasenaputra
Lolimba
Vamsimisra
Vānikanthabhaiana
Vānirasālavijjyā
Vāhinipati
Vijasesaia (Dvijasekhaia ?)
Vitthalesvara
Virāja
Visvambhatabhyatta
Venidatta
Verādidātta (dattā ?)
Vaidyabhānu
Vyāsa
Śamkaiamisra
Śārngadhara
Śiva
Sivānanda
Śista
Sriyājñika
Śiiharsa
Sānmāsika
Sadāsiva
Sarvadāsa
Sarvabhauma
Simhadatta
Subhāṣitamuktāvali
Smarapungava
Harinārāyanamisra
Harihara bhatta
Hanūmat

Dr Rajendralal Mitia notices a MS dated 1701 of a glossary composed by the author and entitled Pañcatattvaprakāsikā (Vol IV p 48) From the letteis SK printed after the date, it appears that it is to be ieferred to the Śaka eia Prof Aufrecht, however seems to iefei it to the Vikiama era and consider its equivalent (1644 A D) to be the date of the composition of the work (Catalogus Catalogorum Part I p 314)

PADYĀMRTATARANGINI BY BHĀSKARA

No 376 is Padyāmrtatarangini by Bhiskara son of Āpājibha tta and belonging to the family of Agnihotiin

Names of poets and works occuiiing at the end of verses —

Akabariyakalidasa
Anyoktikanthābharana
Amarusataka
Kavyapiakāsa
Ganapati
Gadadhara
Gunākara
Gauda
Candiakavi
Jayadeva

Trivikrama	Mūrtakavi
Devagana	Rāmacandra
Dhaianidharabhatta	Laksmana
Panditarāja	Vamsidharamisra
Prastāvacintamani	Valmiki
Bhattanilakantha	Vidyāpati
Bhānukara	Visvanāthavāhinipati
Bhāvasataka	Sāingadhara
Bhāskara	Sānmāsika
Bheribhānkara	Sadāsiva
Matkita (Bhāskarakrta) Bhāskaracaritra	Sabhyakanthābharana
	Haribhatta

The commentary on the Vrttaratnākara to be noticed below apparently by the same author was composed in Vikiama 1732 or 1676 A D Probably this author is the same as the author of the Paribhāsābhāskara noticed in my Report for 1883 84 p 60 [1] for in both cases the author's name was Bhāskara his father's Āpaji grandfather s Hari and great grandfather's Puruşottama, the family name being Agnihotrin In the colphon ot the commentary on the Vrttaratnākara Bhāskara's other name is given as Hari Probably his grandfather s name was given to him according to the usual Maratha custom Bhāskara's chro nological relations with Bhattoji Diksita and Nagojibhatta mentioned in the Report[2] are consistent with the above date

ŞABHYĀLAMKARANA BY GOVINDAJI

No 417 is Sabhyālamkarana by Govindaji (Sanskritized into Govindajit)

Names of poets and works occurring at the end of the verses quoted —

Amaraka	Uddiyakavi
Amaracandra	Utpala

1 Ante p 164 [N B U]
2 Ante p 162 [N B U]

Kalasa
Kavirāja
Kālidāsa
Kumaradasa
Kṣemendra
Gānapati
Gadādhara
Gopāditya
Govardhana
Ghatakharpara
Jayamādhava
Trivikrama
Dandin
Darpana
Dharmadasa
Nirmala
Nilakantha
Nilakanthasukla
Prabhākarabhatta
Bālabhārata
Banabhatta
Bilvamangala
Bilhana
Bhattasomesvara
Bhartrhari
Bhavabhūti
Bhānukara
Bhānupandita
Bharavi
Bhavamisra
Bhāsa
Bhimasimha
Bhimasena
Bhojaprabandha
Mahānātaka
Māgha
Murāri
Medha (dhra ?)
Raghupati
Rajasekhara
Raghavānandadeva
Rudra
Laksmana
Vararuci
Varaha
Vāsudeva
Vikatanitambā
Vedavyāsa
Śakaviddhi
Sāngadhara
Śivasvāmin
Srihasa
Sanmāsika
Samkula
Harihara

ALAMKĀRAMAÑJŪSĀ BY DEVASAMKARA

No 519 is Alamkāramañjusā by Devasamkara

[After the Introduction] follow the following verses in which Bājirāv the First of the Peshwa family and his descendants

Mādhavarāv and Raghava or Raghunāthaiāv aie noticed and a curious etymology of the word Peshwa is given —

पेषण रिपुगणस्य महाजौ यश्चकार बहु रोचतखड्ग ।
याति पेषमिति पेशलमर्थं पेषवापदमुपैति वदत्त ॥ ६ ॥
पेषवा इति पद स्पृशन्वशी बाजिराव इति कोपि महीद्र ।
नाकनाथ इव देवसमूहैर्वदितोभवदहो नरदेवै ॥ ७ ॥
तस्य शुद्धतमवशकरीरौ सूदयौ परविभेदसमर्थौ ।
माधवो मधुरिपो समतेजा राघवो रघुपते समकीर्त्ति ॥ ८ ॥
यौ विलोक्य हरिणा इव सिह शत्रवो हि विदिशो विभजते ।
ताविमाविह महीनरदैवौ प्रायश प्रतिपद किल वर्ण्यौ ॥
रम्यमन्यदपि वस्तु तदीय वाजिहस्तिभटवीरशरादि ।
वर्णनीयमिह सभवदुक्त्याभ्यर्हितत्वमनयोस्तु तथापि ॥
उपमानोपमेये द्वे धर्मसादृश्यवाचके etc

This is a work on Alamkāras alone like Appayya Dīksita's Kuvalayānanda The instances are framed by the author and in them he sings of the glories of the Peshwas Mādhavarāv the First and his uncle Raghunātharāv, who is spoken of as Rāghava This is the latest instance of the embodiment of the idea of making the flattery of a royal personage subserve a scientific purpose, the earliest known to us being Halāyudha's Kavirahasya and later ones the Ekavali to be next noticed and the Pratāparudriya

Both Mādhavaiāv and Raghunatharāv are styled kings and in the instances sometimes Mādhavarāv is spoken of and sometimes Raghunātharāv Madhavrāv became Peshwa in 1761 and up to 1768 his uncle was associated with him in the Administration The author therefore had that state of things before his mind's eye and must have composed his treatise during that period Ramsastiin the celebrated Nyāyadhīsa or Chief Justice in Mādhavarāv's time is thus spoken of —

वृथाभिमानोक्षिपदो महामुनेर्वृथैव दर्प कणभुङ्महेशितु ।
श्रीरामशास्त्री भवतीह तादृशो न कि भुवि श्रीनृपमाधवार्चित ॥

Rāmasāstrin is thus placed on a level with Gautama and Kaṇāda

From the following colophon it appears that the author's name was Devasamkara his father's Nāhānabhāyi and his surname Purohita He was a Gujarati Brahman native of Rāner probably the same as Rānder and lived at Uṛahpattana which must be Olpād Both places are near Surat

इति श्रीरानेरनगरजन्मभुवा उर पत्तनकृतनिकेतनेन पुरोहितोप नामकेन भट्टदेवशकरेण पुरोहितनाहानाभायिसुतेन विरचितालकार मजूषा समाप्ता ॥

VIDYĀDHARA'S EKĀVALI WITH MALLINĀTHA'S COMMENTARY

No 535 is Ekāvali with Mallinatha's commentary

This is a transcript caused to be made by me for our Collection of a Manuscript belonging to Govind Śāstri Nirantar of Nāsik In Part I of my List of Sanskrit MSS in Private Libraries etc ' published in 1893 that Manuscript bears No 133 The author's name is Vidyadhara

The Ekāvali is a work on the Alamkārasāstra written on the lines of the Kāvyaprakāsa Like the latter it consists of Kārikās followed by an explanation Sometimes we have the same expressions and passages as in the older work It consists of eight parts called Unmesas the subjects treated in which are the following —

I —Dhvanivyavasthāpana	V —Gunanirūpana
II —Śabdārthanirūpana	VI —Dosanirūpana
III —Dhvanibheda	VII —Śabdālamkāra
IV —Gunibhūtavyangya	VIII —Arthālamkāra

In the first of these we have the subject matter of the first Ullasa of the Kāvyaprakāsa and the latter part of the fifth, in which Vyangya or Dhvani, i e, suggested sense, is established

as something independent of the Abhidheya or conventional and Laksya or figurative and as forming the soul of a Kāvya The second Unmesa corresponds to the second Ullasa the subject matter of the third Ullāsa being despatched with a short notice at the end The third and fourth of the above correspond to the fourth and fifth parts of the Kāvyaprakāsa the fifth to the eighth the sixth to the seventh and the seventh and the eighth to the ninth and tenth There is nothing corresponding to the sixth Ullāsa of the Kāvyaprakāsa for Mammata himself considers that as a separate chapter to be unnecessary as its subject matter is embraced in the ninth and tenth Ullāsas

At fol 8 *b* and 9 *a* and *b* occur the following verses —

एष विद्याधरस्तेषु कातासमितलक्षण ।
करोमि नरसिंहस्य चाटुश्लोकानुदाहरन् ॥
अतरेण नरसिंहभूपति नेतरोस्ति मम वाङ्मयोचित ।
चद्र चूडमपहाय जान्हवीवारि वोदुमपर क ईश्वर ॥
विश्वोल्लघनजाधिकी वितनुते कीर्ति विधत्ते श्रिय
हेलाधिक्कृतप(य)क्षराजविभवा चिताकर हत्यध ।
दुग्धे स्वादुतरान्नरसान्वितरति स्फार क्रियाकौशल
काव्य निवृतिमावहत्यपि परिस्पदापह चेतस ॥
कृत्वा काव्यमपा(वा)प विश्वमहिता कीर्त्ति कविग्रामणी
श्रीहर्ष श्रियमद्भुता हरिहरो लेभेर्जुनक्ष्माभृत ।
मृत्योस्त्रासमपाचकार मलयक्ष्मामडलाखडल-
स्तत्किंचिन्न विलोक्यते न किल यत्काव्यात्समुन्मीलति ॥

What is peculiar to this work is that the instances of the rules have been framed by the author and they are all in praise of a prince of the name of Narasimha It will be seen that Vidyādhara mentions Harihara in the above The prince Arjuna from whom he got amazing wealth, must have been the ruler of Malwa of that name whose earliest and latest known dates are

1211 A D and 1216 A D[1] Harihara a Jaina poet named Madanakirti and Someśvara the author of the Kirttikaumudi and Surathotsava were contemporaries[2] and the last wrote the Surathotsava while Vastupala was alive Vastupāla died in 1298 Vikrama i e 1242 A D[3] So that all these authors flourished during the early decades of the 13th century

In the body of the work certain attributes are applied to Nrsimha or Narasimha of a nature calculated to afford help in determining his identity They are as follows —

F 31 *a* **त्रिलोकीकल्याण जयति तव दोरुत्कलपते।** F 92 *a* **श्रीमन्नुत्कलभूमिपाल,** F 95 *a* **त्वामुत्कलाधीश**

F 33 *b* **धर्मस्यैव महोदयो विजयते वीर कलिंगेश्वर ।** F 66 *a* **यशोराशि कलिंगेश्वर**

F 49 *b* **कलिंगेश्वरे,** 52 *b* **इत्याहवे वीक्ष्य कलिंगनाथ नाथत्यमी प्राजलय सपत्ना ।**

F 61 *a* **केषामेष न वर्णनीयमहिमा वीर कलिंगेश्वर । कलिंग वसुधाधिप**

F 93 *a* **द्यौ पारिजातेन कलिंगनाथ**

F 99 *a* **हम्मीरमानमर्दन भवतस्तेजो विभावसु जयति।**

Narasimha was thus king of Utkala and Kalinga Utkala is the name of modern Orissa and the province bordering on it to the south was called Kalinga They both appear to have constituted one kingdom Narasimha is represented by his magniloquent flatterer to have humbled the pride of Hammira It is more than doubtful whether he actually did so but from the use of the epithet we may safely infer that Narasimha was a contemporary of Hammira but which Hammira is meant must be determined as there were three princes of that name

1 See my Report for 1883 84 p 105 [=Ante p 250 N B U]
2 Ibid, p 57 [=Ante p 158 N B U]
3 Ibid pp 22 and 14 [=Ante p 93 and p 80 respectively N B U]

The first belonged to the Harautı branch of the Chohan family and appears not to have been a person of note He was a dependent of Prthırāja and was killed in 1193 A D As the terminus a quo for Vidyādhara (who must have been a protege of Narasimha as no poet bestows such fulsome praise on a deceased prince) is as shown above the early decades of the 13th century this Hammira cannot have been Narasimha s contemporary Besides Orissa was not ruled over by a king of that name from 1024 to 1237 A D

Another Hammira was the prince who belonged to the Gehlote family and was as stated in the Introduction to the Rasikapriyā[1] an ancestor of Kumbhakarna king of Medapāṭa or Mewar and reigned from 1301 A D to 1365 A D A third was the king of Śākambarı of the race of Chāhuvāna mentioned by Śārngadhara in the beginning of his anthology and represented by him to have been famous for his bravery which equalled that of Arjuna He is the hero of the Hammira Mahākāvya of Nayacandrasūrı and is represented to have begun to reign in 1339 of Vikrama Śamvat i e, 1283 A D[2] It was this Hammira who defended the fortress of Ranthambhor (Ranastambhapura) with bravery against Alla ud din Khilji for more than a year and fell at last when it was taken in the year 1301 A D

Both these princes bearing the name of Hammira were famous But as the Chohan prince is represented by Nayacandra as having attempted the conquest of Southern countries he was probably the Hammira alluded to by Vidyādhara The Mahomedan power must have been firmly established in India at the time of Narasimha for his panegyrist says in the following verse which contains an instance of the figure called Vyājokti that the supreme lord of

1 Ante p 321 [N B U]

2 Kirtane s edition, pp 27 and 66 v 56

the Śakas trembled when he heard a peal of thunder thinking it to be the sound of the drum of the marching army of the lord of the Utkalas and concealed his fear and tremor by pretending that the embrace of his beloved had sent a thrill of joy into his frame

आकर्ण्योत्कलभूपते जलमुचो निर्घोषमाकस्मिक
त्वत्सेनापटहभ्रमेण सहसा सजातकपाकुलै ।
अन्तर्भीतिपराहतोपि दयिताकण्ठग्रहक्रीडया
साद्रानन्दमयी दशामभिनयत्यन्यै शकाधीश्वर ॥

The Mahomedans were for some time after the conquest of the country by them called Śakas by some of the Sanskrit writers and the name Yavana to designate them came into more general use afterwards

All these considerations lead us to about the end of the 13th century as the period when Narasimha and Vidyādhara the author of the Ekāvalī flourished And from the list of the kings of Orissa given by Sir W W Hunter and copied by Mr Sewell in his Sketch of the Dynasties of Southern India ' it appears that there was a Narasimha who ruled over the country from 1282 A D to 1307 A D If the Hammira alluded to was the Mewar prince of that name our Narasimha may have been the one who reigned from 1307 to 1327 There were two more Narasimhas after 1327 but they reigned for only 2 years and 1 year respectively and therefore neither can have been the hero panegyrised by Vidyādhara There was another still who reigned from 1257 to 1282 But he has been excluded by the whole trend of our argument

Thus then the Ekāvalī was written about the end of the 13th or the beginning of the 14th century of the Christian era It is quoted by Mallinātha in his commentaries and also by Appayya Dīkṣita in the Kuvalayānanda In the Ekāvalī I

find quoted the verse Kimasubhir glapitaih etc , which occurs in Śriharsa s Naisadhiya

The commentary called Tarala or central gem of the Ekāvali or one stringed necklace is by Mallinātha the celebrated commentator on the Kāvyas In the sixth of the Introductory verses which has a double sense the commentator says that ' this Ekāvali though a work of merit and an ornament was because it had not a commentary (this Tarala) kept or secreted in treasure houses as a necklace is though it has a string and is an ornament when it has not the central gem Now that the Ekāvali necklace has a bright central gem in the shape of an elucidatory commentary (Tarala) may blessed persons wear it round the neck and on the bosom that is get the work by heart and commit it to memory

It would thus appear that the Ekāvali was not for some time studied and the work was neglected because it had no commentary from which it is to be concluded that Mallinātha wrote the Tarala after a certain period had elapsed since the composition of the original What the duration of the period was it is difficult to determine But it must have been pretty long since the Ekāvali is not a string of unintelligible Kārikās which require a commentary from the very beginning but consists of Kārikās and the author's Vrtti or elucidatory remarks At any rate it would not be unsafe to suppose that Mallinatha did not live before the middle of the 14th century

In the Catalogus Catalogorum Professor Aufrecht mentions apparently three different works of the name of Ekāvali evidently because he had not the means of going beyond the vague statements contained in the catalogues before him The second is by Mahāmahesvara Kavi noticed by Burnell (54 b) This work is the same as the one I have described for its beginning Prāleyācalakanyaka etc is the same as that of my Ekāvali (see the extract in Part I of my Lists referred to above

p 64) and like the latter contains eight Unmesas Where Burnell gets the name Mahamahesvara Kavi from if it is not to be taken as an epithet of Vidyādhara and the curious identification with Abhinavagupta the famous author of the Dhvanyālokalocana which he calls Kāvyālokalocana I do not know

The commentary Tarala noticed by Professor Weber (Berlin Catalogue No 1723) is the same as the Tarala mentioned above as will be seen from the extract It is a commentary on Vidyadhara s work The third noticed by Professor Aufrecht is of course the same as ours since the name of the author is the same and the first must also be the same though no particulars are given Mallinātha cites the Ekāvali which he has commented on So that it follows that we know of one work only of the name and its author was Vidyādhara and commentator Mallinātha

PINGALĀRTHAPRADĪPA

No 545 is Pingalarthapradipa

This work appears from a statement in Dr Kielhorn's Report for 1880–81 (p 71) to have been composed in Samvat 1657 or 1601 A D Burnell s Manuscript of the work was written in Śaka 1554 i e 1632 A D (Tanjore Cat pp 53 and 175) and Kielhorn s in Samvat 1716 or 1660 A D

Among the works and authors quoted are the following —

Hārāvali
Śālivāhana
Vānibhūṣana
Vrttaratnākara
Pingala and Pingalanāga
Chandoratnākara
Vrttamauktikavārtikaduṣkaroddhāra composed by himself
Śrutabodha by Kālidāsa
Udāharanamañjari composed by himself
Dasakumāra
Sarasvatīkanthābharana
Chandomañjari

In the instances of the different metres there are Prakrit verses in praise of several princes of the middle ages They are as follows —

I Candesvara—

19*a* गाहूमुदाहरति । जहा ।

चदो चदण हारो तावअ रूअ पआसति ।
चडेसरवरकित्ती जावअ अप्प न दसेइ ॥

Com यथा चद्रश्चदन हार एते तावदेव रूप स्वात्मन श्वैत्याभिमानेन प्रकाशयति चडेश्वरस्य राज्ञो वरा कीर्तिर्यावदात्मान न दर्शयति ।

II Cedipati—

21*b* उद्गाथामुदाहरति । जहा ।

सोऊण जस्स णाम असू णअणाइ सुमुहि रुद्धति ।
भण वीरचेइपइणो पेछामि मुह कह जहिछ से ॥

Com चेदिपतावनुरक्ता काचिद्दर्शनोत्कलिका कुलवधूका निजसखीमाह । यथा । श्रुत्वा यस्य नामाश्रूणि नयने सुमुखि रुधति भण वीरचेदिपते प्रेक्षिष्यामि(ष्ये)मुख कथ यथेच्छमस्य ।

III Hammira—

(1) 21*b* and 22*a* गाथिनीमुदाहरति । जहा ।

मुचहि सुदरि पाअ अप्पहि हसिऊण सुमुहि खग्ग मे ।
काप्पिअ मेछसरीर पेछइ वअणाइ तुह्म धुअ हम्मीरो ॥

Com सग्रामयात्राया चरणपतिता पत्नी प्रति वीरहम्मीरवचन । यथा । मुच सुदरि पाद सग्रामयात्राविघ्न मा कुर्विति भाव । हे सुमुखि अर्पय हसित्वा मम खड्ग । कल्पयित्वा छेदयित्वा म्लेच्छशरीर प्रेक्षते वदनानि युष्माक धुव हम्मीर ।

(2) 25*b* रोलामुदाहरति । जहा ।

पअभर दरमरु धराणि तराणि रह धुल्लिअ ज्जुपिअ ।
कमठपिट्ठ दर परिअ मेरुमदरसिर कपिअ ।
कोहे चलिअ हम्मीरवीर गअजूहसुजुत्ते
किअउ कट्ठ हाकद मुछि मेछहुके पुत्ते ॥

Com कश्चित्कविर्वीरहम्मीरप्रयाणमनुवर्णयति । यथा । पदभरेण मर्दिता धरणि । तराणि सूर्य स्थितस्तदा धूल्या समाच्छादित । तराणिरथस्तास्मिन्समये धूल्या समाच्छादित इति वा । कमठपृष्ठमध पतितमतिभारादादिकूर्मोप्यधस्ताद्गत इति भाव । किच । मेरुमदर-योरपि शिर कपित । यदा कोपेन चलितो हम्मीरवीरो गजयूथसुयुक्त स्तदा कृतो हाकष्टाक्रद । मूर्छित च म्लेच्छानामपि पुत्रैरिति ।

(3) 36*b* कुडलिकामुदाहरति । जहा ।

ढोल्ला मारिअ ढिल्लिमह मुच्छिअ मेछसरीर ।
पुरजज्जल्लामतिवर चलिअ वीरहम्मीर ॥
चलिअ वीरहम्मीर पाअभर मेइणि कपइ ।
दिगमग णह अधार धूलि सूरजरह ढकइ ।
दिगमग णह अधार आण खुरासाणक ओल्ला ।
दरमरि दमसि विपरक मारु ढिल्लिमह ढोल्ला ।

Com काश्चिद्वदी वीरहम्मीरप्रयाणमनुवर्णयति । यथा । यदैव ढिल्लीमध्ये प्रयाणडिडिम समाहतस्तदानीमेव मूर्छित म्लेच्छशरीरैर नतर पुरस्कृतजाजलमत्रिवरश्चलितो वीहम्मीरस्ततश्चलिते वीरहम्मीरे (पाद) भरेण मेदिनी कपते । दिग्मार्गे नभसि चाधकार । स्फुरित इति शेष । धूलि सूर्यरथमाच्छादयति । एव दिग्मार्गे नभोमार्गे चाध कारावस्तृत आनीत खुरासानस्यातुलो दड । हे राजन् त्व चरण-मर्दनेन (आहत्य ढिल्लीमध्ये डिडिम) दमयसि विपक्षान्किमुत संग्रामेण ।

(4) 37*b* गगनागनमुदाहरति । जहा ।

भजिअ मलअ चोलवइ णिवलिअ गजिअ गुज्जरा ।
मालवराअ मलअगिरि लुक्किअ परिहरि कुजरा ।
खुरसाणा खुहिअ रणमह अहिअ लघिअ साअरा ।
हम्मीर चलिअ हारव पलिअ रिउगणह काअरा ॥

Com यथा । भग्नो मलयराज । चोलपतिर्निवृत्त । गजितो गूर्जर पति । मालवराजो मलयगिरौ लीन । परित्यज्य कुजरान् खुरासाणाधि पती रणमध्ये खुहिअ क्षोभ प्राप्य अहित सागर लघते स्म । यद्वा ।

अधिक यथा स्यात्तथा लघते स्म । ततोपि दूरतर गत इति भाव । एव हम्मीरे चलिते सति हाराव पतितो रिपुगणेषु कातरेषु ॥

(5) 43*b* लीलावतीमुदाहरति । जहा ।

घर लग्गइ अग्गि जलइ वहधह कइ णहपह दिगमग अणलभरे ।
सवदेस पसरि पाइक्क लुट्टइ धणिथण हर जहण दिआवकरे ।
भअलुक्किअ थक्किअ वइरितरुणीगण भेरवभेरिअसद्द पले ।
महि लुट्टइ फिट्टइ रिउ सिर टुट्टइ जरकण वीरहम्मीर चले ॥

Com कश्चिद्वदी वीरहम्मीरप्रयाणमुपवर्णयति । यथा । यस्मिन् क्षणे वीरहम्मीरश्चलित (स्) तस्मिन् क्षणे शत्रुगृहेषु लग्नोऽग्निर्द्धधहेति कृत्वा ज्वलति । नास्ति पथा कुत्रापि दिग्मार्गोऽनलेन भृत । यद्वा । णहपह इति क्वचित्पाठस्तत्र नभोमार्गो दिग्मार्गश्चानलेन भृत पूर्ण । तस्मिन्नेव च क्षणे सर्वदेशे प्रसृत पदातिश्चलति पदातिवर्ग (गौ) धनीना शत्रुवधूना स्तनौ गृह्णन् जघनानि द्विधाकरोति । घणेति पाठे घनस्तनौ गृह्णन् जघनानि द्विधाकरोति । सपदातिश्चलतीति । यस्य हम्मीरस्य भैरवभेरीशब्दे पतिते सति पलायमानवैरितरुणीगणा. श्राता. संतो भयेन क्वचिन्निलीना रिपुरपि मद्या लुठति शिर. पिट्टइ आहती त्यर्थ. । त्रोटयति केशानितिशेष. ॥

IV Sahasānka—

22*a* सिहिणीमुदाहरति ।

वरिसइ कणअह विट्ठि तप्पइ भुअणे दिवानिश जग्गंतो ।
णीसक साहसको णिदइ इद च सूरबिब च ॥

Com विक्रमादित्य दृष्ट्वा कश्चित्कवि स्तौति । यथा । वर्षति कनकस्य वृष्टि तपति भुवनानि दिवानिश जाग्रत् । नि शक साहसाक निंदतीद्रं सूर्यबिब च ।

V Kasisvara—

(1) 23*a* अथाद्यनदाख्य स्कधकमुदाहरति । जहा ।

चदा कुदा कासा हारा हीरा तिलोअणा केलासा ।
जेत्ता जेत्ता सेत्ता तेत्ता कासीस जिणिआ ते कित्ती ॥

Com कश्चित्कवी राजान दिवोदास स्तौति। यथा। चद्र कुद काश हार (रो) हीर त्रिलोचन शिव कैलास इति यावत् श्वेतानि तावत् हे काशीश वाराणसीय ते राजन् दिवोदास ते कीर्त्या जितानि।

(2) 46*a* दुर्मिलामुदाहरति। जहा।

जे किज्जिअ धाला जिण्णु णेबाला भोट्टत्ता पिट्टत चले
भजारिअ चीणा दप्पहि हीणा लोहाबल हाकन्द पले।
उड्डा उड्डाविअ कित्ती पाविअ मोलिअ मालवराउबले
तेलगा भग्गिअ बहुरिणलग्गिअ कासीसर र(रा)ज जखण चले॥

Com कश्चित्कवि काशीश्वरप्रयाणमुपवर्णयति। यथा। तेन काशीश्वरेण धाला व्यूह कृत। अस्मिन्नेवातरे नृपाला प्रत्यर्थिपृथ्वीपाला जिता एव। णेबाला इति क्वचित्पाठस्तत्र नेपालो देशविशेषो जित एवेत्यर्थ। भोटात्ताश्चोत्तरदेशो लक्षणया तद्देशस्थलोक पिट्टयन्नुर शिरश्च ताडयन्निर्गत। भग्नाश्चीनाश्चीनदेशस्था। कीदृशा। दर्पेण हीना। लोहावले हाक्रदो हाहाकार पतित। कि च उत्कल उड्डायित। ततश्च कीर्तिरपि प्राप्ता मोटित च मालवराजस्यावतीपतेर्बल। तैलगास्तु बहुतरऋणग्रस्ता भग्ना पलायिता एव काशीश्वरो राजा यस्मिन्क्षणे चलित।

VI Acala—

24*b* रसिकामुदाहरति। जहा।

विमुह चलिअ रण अचलु परिहरिअ हअगअबलु।
हलहलिअ मलअणिवइ जसु जस तिहुअण पिअइ।
वनरसिणरवइ लुलिअ सअलउवरि जसु फुलिअ।

Com विमुख पराङ्मुख चलितो रणादचलाख्य कश्चिद्राजा। परिहृत्य हयगजबल मलयनृपति हलहलित आकस्मिक संजातसाध्वसोभूत्। यस्य यशस्त्रिभुवन पिबति। अथ च वाराणसी नरपतिरपि लुलित पराङ्मुखो बभूव। सकलस्य लोकस्योपरि यस्य यश पुष्पित विकसितपुष्पसदृशमभूत्।

VII Kaina—

(1) 26*a* गधाणामुदाहरति । जहा ।

कण्ण चलते कुम्म चलइ पुणवि असरणा ।
कुम्म चलते महि चलइ भुअणभयकरणा ।
महि अ चलते महिहरु तह व सुरअणा ।
चक्कवइ चलते चलइ चक्क तह तिहुअणा ।

Com कश्चित्कवि कर्णनरपति स्तौति । यथा । कर्णे राजनि संग्रामार्थं चलति सति कूर्म पुनरशरणस्सन् चलति एव च कूर्मे चलति सति भुवनभयकरा मही धरणी चलति । मह्या चलत्या सत्या महीधरा पर्वता मेर्वादयश्चलति । तथा च सति तदाश्रिता सुरजना चलति । एव चक्रवर्तिनि महासार्वभौमे कर्णे चलति चक्र दिक्चक्र तथा त्रिभुवन च चलति ।

(2) 33*a* पज्झटिकामुदाहरति । जहा ।

जे गजिअ गोलाहिवइ राउ उद्दड उड्डइ सभअ पराउ ।
गुरुविक्कम विक्कम जिणिअ जुज्झता कण्ण परक्कम कोइ बुज्झ ॥

Com कश्चित्कवि कर्णनरपति स्तौति । यथा । हे कर्ण तव पराक्रम कोपि बुध्यते । अपि तु न कोपि । येन त्वया गजितो गौडाधिपति । यस्य तव भयेनोद्दड उद्भतदडोपि उड्डयि स उत्कलदेश पलायित । गुरुविक्रमो यस्यैवविधो विक्रमो येन त्वया युद्धे जित ।

(3) 42*b* सिहावलोकनमुदाहरति । जहा ।

हणुउज्जरगुज्जरराअदल ।
दलदलिअबलिअमरहट्टबल ।
बलमोलिअमालवराअकुला ।
कुलउज्जल करचुलिकण्ण फुला ।

Com काश्चित्कवि कर्णमुपवर्णपति । यथा । हत उज्ज्वलमतिस्फीत गुर्जरराजस्य दल सैन्य येन स । तथा दलेन स्वसेनासमुदायेन दलित चूर्णीकृत महाराष्ट्राणा बल कटक येन । बलेन मोटितमुत्खात मालवराजस्य कुल येन । एवविध कुलोज्ज्वल करचुलि करचुलिवशोद्भव कर्ण फुला स्फुरतीत्यर्थ ।

KINGS MENTIONED IN THE PRECEDING VERSES

I This extract refers to Candesvara The verse contains nothing historical Who this Candesvara was it is difficult to say with certainty But he was not unlikely Candamahāsena or Canda of the Chohan race who ruled over Dholpur and built a temple dedicated to Candasvāmin and consecrated it in the Vikrama year 893 or 842 A D [1]

II Cedipati is lord or king of the Cedi country What particular King is meant cannot be determined but he may be Karna of whom more below

III What is historical in the passages about Hammira is that he was at war with the Mlecchas i e Mahomedans whose king reigned at Delhi His marches are described He had a counsellor or follower of the name of Jājala The kings of Khorasan Malava Malaya and of the Gūrjaras and Colas were defeated This is probably a tall talk always indulged in by sycophants I have shown [2] that there were two Rajput Hammiras one of whom was a Chohan and held the fortress of Ranthambhor and the other a Gehlote who ruled over Mewar It is not distinct which of the two is meant Both fought with the Mahomedans Perhaps the Chohan prince is alluded to here as Nayacandra represents him to have a faithful follower of the name of Jājadeva [3] Jajadeva and the counsellor Jājala alluded to in III (3) are probably one and the same person

IV Sahasānka was a prince who reigned at Kanoj and who is mentioned by Mahesvara in his introduction to the Visvaprakāsa One of his works as also one of the works of the author of the Naişadhīya is called Sāhasānkacarita Govinda IV of the Rāstrakūta dynasty whose latest known date is 933 A D, was

1 Inscription translated by Dr Hultzsch in the Journal of the German Oriental Society Vol XL p 38

2 Ante. pp 330 ff [N B U]

3 See Kirtane s edition of Hammira Mahakavya p 91 v 38, and p 131, v 16

also called Sahasānka and the description given of him in his Sāngali grant, that he rained down gold in showers" closely resembles that given in the above verse The commentator says that by Sāhasānka is meant Vikramāditya which is but a random statement

V and VI Who the lord of Kāsi is whose fame by its fair colour put to shame moonlight etc I do not know nor that other prince or Vārānasi who fled from the field of battle Acala also who turned his back against his enemy is unknown to me

VII Karna was a prince of Cedi belonging to the Karaculi race He is here represented to have humbled the lord of Gauda to have scared away the king of Utkala or Orissa (Odra), vanquished Vikrama defeated the powerful army of the Gūrjara king pulverized the forces of the Mahārāstras, and extirpated the race of the Mālava prince Whether he was able to do all these things is more than questionable but it appears certain that he was constantly engaged in wars with his neighbours, and had succeeded in establishing his sway over some of them He was a contemporary of Bhimadeva of Gujarāt and Āhava malla of Mahārastra Perhaps the Vikrama he is represented to have vanquished was Vikramāditya I of the later Cālukya dynasty who was the uncle of Ahavamalla and the immediate predecessor of his father on the throne About the time of Bhoja's death Karna formed a confederacy with Bhima deva against Mālava and sacked Dhara[1] and it was Udayāditya, the son of Bhoja, that freed the country from his power Some of the Inscriptions also speak of him as having humbled the neighbouring princes

In the Prabodhacandroday a Gopāla who was the commander of the forces of Kirttivarman a Candella prince is represented

1 Early History of the Deccan, 2nd ed, p 82 [=Volume III of this Edition, p 114 N B U]

to have defeated Karna and re established the independent sovereignty of his master by delivering him from Karna's yoke A copperplate grant issued by Karna bears a date which is equivalent to 1042 A D [1] Vikramāditya I came to the throne in 1008 A D Āhavamalla reigned from 1040 to 1069 A D and Bhīmadeva of Gujarāt from 1022 to 1064 1072 or 1074 A D [2] It is quite possible that on some occasion during his long continued wars he may have vanquished Vikramāditya I and pulverized the forces of the Mahārāstras" as represented in the above verse but it appears from Bilhana that he was eventually defeated or deposed by Āhavamalla

THE LANGUAGE OF THE EXTRACTS

The above extracts present vernacular speech in three forms The oldest form, i e, the Mahārāṣṭri Prakrit we have in I, II, III (1) IV, and V (1) It had become classical as Sanskrit itself and could be used for literary purposes at any time

Then we have another form in VI and VII (1) (2), (3) This resembles the Apabhramsa form, as we have it in the instances quoted by Hemacandra in his Prakrit grammar and in the 4th Act of the Vikramorvasīya

A third stage is represented by III, (2) (3), (4) and (5) and V (2) This is what might be called the earliest form of the modern Hindi the forms Dhilhīmaha 'in Delhi" and Jakhana or Jakkhana when being specimens of the new formations which became necessary after the old terminations had gradually faded away up to the Apabhramsa period

The last two forms must represent the vernacular speech of the period when the poets wrote and since they could not have

1 Epigraphia Ind Vol II pp 299 302 3

2 Early History of the Deccan pp 81 82 84 and my Report for 1883 84 p 150 [Former= Volume III of this Edition pp 112 ff N B U]

praised the particular princes if they had died and been forgotten at the time when they lived, the conclusion is not unwarranted that the forms of the language used by them were the forms current about the time when the kings flourished Thus about the time of Karna i e in the first half of the eleventh century the stage of development at which the vernacular tongues had arrived was still that represented by the Apabhramsa the origin of which is to be referred to about the seventh century and they began to assume their modern character about the end of the twelfth century and the beginning of the thirteenth when the poet Canda flourished, and that was the form they had in the time of the Chohan Hammira i e 1283—1301 A D

NYĀYARATNAPRAKĀSA OF VĀCASPATI

No 775 is Nyāyaratnaprakāsa

This is a commentary on the Nyāyaratna of Manikantha by Vācaspati who wrote it at the command of Padmāvati the queen of Pratāpa Pratāpa was the son of Viryabhānu and belonged to the Chohan race He is spoken of as the lord of the Pāñcāla country As this country is to be identified with the north eastern portion of Rajputana nearest to Agra and Gwalior these princes probably belonged to the branch of the Chohan race that ruled over Dholpur and the surrounding districts noticed under No 545 The Manuscript appears to have been written in Samvat 1616 in the month of Kārttika i e in 1559 A D

ADBHUTASĀGARA BY BALLĀLASENA

No 801 of 1884 87 is Adbhutasāgara by Ballālasena, king of Gauda [1]

The Manuscript is incomplete but the second which by oversight has been put into the Dharmasāstra branch, is complete Prof Eggeling has described a Manuscript of the work in his

1 See also No 231 of 1887 91

Catalogue of the India Office Library As however it is incomplete and the introduction which gives the date and is important for historical and chronological purposes is wanting I proceed to describe the Manuscripts in our Collection

In the introduction we have verses about the king and his genealogy Some of them are unintelligible owing to the corruption of the text

Then follow verses in which the authorities used are stated —

ग्रंथेत्र वृद्धगर्ग गर्गपराशरवासिष्ठगार्गीयान् ।
बार्हस्पत्यबृहस्पतिकठश्रुतीर्ब्रह्मसिद्धात ॥
आथर्वणाद्भुतासितषड्विंशब्राह्मणर्षिपुत्रकृती ।
गार्गिमथर्वोशनसे(सौ?) कालावलिसूर्यसिद्धातौ ॥
विध्यवासिबादरायणौशनस । शालिहोत्रविष्णुगुप्तसुश्रुतान् ।
पालकाप्यराजपुत्रदेवलान् । भार्गवीयवैजवाप्यकाश्यपान् ॥
नारदमयूरचित्रे चरक यवनेश्वरस्य मत ।
निखिल वराहमिहिराचार्यग्रथ वसतराजकृति ॥
मार्कंडेयपुराण स्काद भागवतमाद्यमाग्नेय ।
पाद्म मत्स्यपुराण रामायणभारताख्याने ॥
हरिवशविष्णुधर्मोत्तरे निबंधिष्यति क्षितिप ।
एभिर्गृहीतसारान्बहुशोन्यान्वीक्ष्य सोत्याक्षीत् ॥
विषमपदवाक्यभगो विरुद्धवचनार्थभेदपरिशुद्धि. ।
पुनरुक्तलिखनतोस्मिन्बहुशो बहुसमातिर्ग्राह्या ॥

After this we have a short statement of the contents, but the contents are given more fully in a Sūcipatra attached to No 231 of 1887 91 to which reference may be made

Then occur the following verses giving the dates of the commencement of the work by Ballālasena and its continuation by his son and successor Lakṣmanasena —

शाके खनवखेद्रद्वे आरेभेद्भुतसागर ।
गौडेंद्रकुजरालानस्तभबाहुर्महीपति ।

ग्रथेस्मिन्नसमाप्त एव तनय साम्राज्यरक्षामहा
दीक्षापर्वणि दीक्षणान्निजकृतेर्निष्पत्तिमभ्यर्थ्य स ।
नानादानचिताबुसचलनत सूर्यात्मजासगम
गगाया विरचय्य निर्जरपुर भार्यानुयातो गत ॥
श्रीमल्लक्ष्मणसेनभूपतिरतिश्लाघ्यो यदुद्योगतो
निष्पन्नोद्भुतसागर कृतिरसौ बल्लालभूमीभुज ।
रयात केवलमल्गुव (?) सगरजस्तोमस्य तत्पूरण
प्रावीण्येन भगीरथस्तु भुवनेष्वद्यापि विद्योतते ॥

No 801 of 1884 87 comes down to the end of Pravarsanād bhutavaıta which ends on fol 199 *a* of No 231 of 1887 91 the total number of leaves of the lattei being 390 At the end of each Āvarta we have the following colophon *mutatis mutandis* —

इति श्रीमहाराजाधिराजनि शकशकरश्रीमद्बल्लालसेनदेवविरचिते श्रीअद्भुतसागरे काकाद्भुतावर्त ।

At the end of the whole after ०विरचिते we have श्री-अद्भुतसा[ग]र समाप्तिमगमन् ॥

From the statements in the Manuscripts it appears that the Sena kings of Bengal traced their descent to the lunai race of Ksatriyas while the popular belief in Bengal is that they belonged to the Vaidya caste The first prince mentioned is Vijayasena He was followed by Ballālasena and after him his son Laksmanasena ruled over the country The woik it is stated, was begun in 1090 Śaka by Ballalasena and before it was finished he raised his son to the throne and exacted a promise from him to finish it Then he gave many gifts and 'went to the city of the gods with his wife' The work was afterwards brought to a completion by the labours of Lakṣmanasena

At the end of a Manuscript of the Dānasāgara another work by Ballālasena existing in the India Office Collec

tion the date of its completion is given as Śaka 1091[1] Dr Rajendralal Mitra in his Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts[2] gives 1019 Śaka as the date Prof Aufrecht has recently justified this last by correcting the Śasinavadasa i e 1091 occurring in the India Office Manuscripts to Navasasidasa i e 1019[3] But there is nothing to show that the former expression is wrong beyond Dr Mitra's second hand statement of the date And the date of the commencement of the Adbhutasāgara as to the correctness of which there can be no question and which will not admit of such a correction as is applied in the other case is Khanavakhendu i e 1090 Śaka with which Dr Mitra s date of the Dānasagara, 1019 Śaka can in no way harmonize That date therefore must have been arrived at by somebody mis reading the correct expression Śasinavadasa as Navasasidasa So that Ballālasena died after 1091 i e 1169 A D and Laksmana sena succeeded him

But Dr Rajendralal Mitra in another place gives 1106 A D as the date of Laksmanasena's accession on the evidence of an era called after Laksmanasena which is current in Mithilā and is used also in some Inscriptions and Manuscripts[4] General Cunningham mentions a copper plate Inscription in which Śaka 1321 and Samvat 1455 are given as corresponding to Laksmana Samvat 293 from which 1106 A D comes out as the initial date of the last era and considers that era to begin with the death instead of the accession of Lakṣmansena as he takes another more famous era to begin with the extinction of a dynasty instead of its foundation[5] Now, the date arrived at in this manner is inconsistent with the statements we find in both the works of Ballālasena which represent him to be living

1 Eggeling s Catalogue p 545

2 Vol I p 151

3 Z D M. G Vol LI p 329

4 Jour Asiatic Society of Bengal Vol XLVII, p 397 99

5 Archæol Reports Vol. XV p 160 ff

in 1168 and 1169 A D and Laksmanasena to have been raised by him to the throne some time after 1168 A D

From the introduction to the Danasāgara it would appear that Hemantasena the father of Vijayasena first raised the family to importance and probably wrested the province of Bengal from the preceding dynasty of the Pāla kings Assigning about sixty years which I consider the smallest possible period for the reigns of the three predecessors of Laksmanasena we are brought to about 1046 A D as the date of the foundation of the Sena dynasty of Bengal on the supposition that Lakṣmanasena began to reign in 1106 A D But that is not possible as an Inscription of Mahipāla one of the most powerful princes of the Pala dynasty is dated Samvat 1083 corresponding to 1027 A D[1] and as his reign lasted for 52 years it may have extended even to 1050 A D He had a good many successors the names of four of whom occur in some of the Inscriptions In the colophon of a work entitled Saduktikarnāmrta by Śridharadāsa the author gives 1127 Śaka i e 1205 A D as the date of its compilation though the metre of the verse in which it is given is faulty and speakes probably of the year of Laksmanasena also But as the text is corrupt the sense cannot be clearly made out[2] Śridharadāsa speaks of himself as the son of Vatudāsa a feudatory and close friend of Laksmanasena

If then Lakṣmanasena came to the throne in 1106 A D about a hundred years would have to be assigned to two generations i e to Śridharadāsa and his father which is not reasonable These two collateral circumstances therefore, are inconsistent with the supposition that Laksmanasena's reign began in 1106, while as we have seen there is a direct opposition between that date and those contained in the two works of Ballālasena The only way

1 Ibid, p 153

2 Rajendralal s Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts Vol III p 141

to reconcile these latter dates with the initial date of the era is to suppose that the era is not Laksmanasena s but that of the foundation of the Sena dynasty by Hemantasena Ballalasena, who was living in 1091 Śaka or 1169 A D must have died from the statement in the work under notice a short time after Supposing he died in 1172 A D the reigns of the first three princes would occupy about 64 years which is the interval between the date of the foundation of the dynasty and that of Ballālasena's death This interval is not too small nor too large, and consequently has an appearance of probability It was probably usual in accordance with the prevailing custom to date events in the years of Laksmanasena s reign also and when after the lapse of time he became the only prince of the Sena dynasty that was remembered and his own regnal years ceased to be used the era of the dynasty came to be identified with him and thus the Sena era became the Laksmanasena era The chronology of the Pala and Sena dynasties will have to be re adjusted in view of the date of Mahipala (1027 A D) and the dates of Ballālasena (1168 and 1169 A D) contained in the Adbhuta sāgara and the Dānasāgara

EXTRACTS FROM THE REPORT ON THE SEARCH FOR SANSKRIT MANUSCRIPTS DURING THE YEARS 1887-88, 1888-89, 1889-90, 1890-91 [1]

I publish with this Report another selection from the materials collected by me calculated to throw light on some points in the literary and political history and chronology of the country

This is my sixth and last Report The Manuscripts collected from May 1891 to the date of the delivery of charge have been made over to my successor

During these four years the number of Manuscripts purchased for Government is as will be seen from the catalogue 1 500 besides a set of Copper plates with an Inscription of a grant of land and an astronomical instrument made of brass Of these 1 267 were collected in Gujarat and Rajputana and 233 in the Maratha Country These have been divided into 19 classes as usual according to the subjects

A NOTE ON JAHLANA'S SUBHĀSITAMUKTĀVALI

Manuscripts of this work are noticed by Burnell in his Catalogue of the Tanjore Library under the names of Sūktimālikā and Sūktimuktāvali There is another copy among the Manuscripts purchased by Dr Peterson for the Government of Bombay during 1884–1886 and is marked No 370 in the list published in his Report for those years (P) Dr Peterson

1 Originally published in 1897, at the Government Central Press Bombay

2 Most of these Materials dealt with the Manuscripts belonging to the Collection of 1884 87, the notices of which were originally included in this Report after the note on Jalhana s Subhasitamuktavali As the notices of the MSS of the 1884 87 Collection have been now embodied in the Report of that Collection (ante pp 292 348), the elaborate and exhaustive Note on Jalhana, which follows is therefore what here makes up the Report for 1887 91 [N B U]

published an article on the work in the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society Vol XVII His Manu script had no beginning or end and therefore in that article he notices those verses in the anthology only which refer to particular poets Some years ago our common agent brought me the first fourteen and the 30th leaves of another Manuscript (B) These contain the Prasasti in which the history of Jahlana and his family is given As it gave a comparatively high antiquity among compilers of Anthologies to Jahlana I asked my agent to procure another copy and he brought me a Manuscript which was in the possession of the late Durgāprasāda (D) It has 199 leaves from the beginning but on examination and comparison I find that the matter on the last seven leaves which is intro duced with the word मैथिलानाम does not belong to the present work

Manuscripts B and D agree with each other except in un important matters but P or Dr Peterson s Manuscript appears to belong to an entirely different recension B and D contain a great many verses more than P Thus P the first leaf of which is the 3rd the first two being lost has at the top the second half of the 9th stanza of the first topic mentioned in the Anukramanikā This topic or section contains according to B 47 stanzas and according to D 48 but one stanza has been wrongly copied into it and has been erased so that these two Manuscripts agree in the number of the stanzas and in the stanzas themselves But P has only 12 stanzas in this section and the 9th is the same as the 31st of B and D the 10th is the 41st in these 11th 42nd and the last 35th Thus 8 stanzas between the 31st and 41st do not occur in P at all, and one the 35th is put at the end Similarly in the next section or Āsir vādapaddhati P has 32 stanzas but D 110 B keeps pace with D till the 26th up to its 14th leaf and then ends but it has one stanza not occurring in D Thus throughout a great many verses occurring in D are not found in P, so that this is a much

shoiter editıon of the Sūktımuktāvalı contaınıng perhaps half the matter whıch we have ın the other D comes down to the sectıon Munyādeı vaı nana and breaks off wıth the ınıtıal words of a stanza ın praıse of Agastya whıle P goes on up to the sectıon of Dāna of whıch ıt has about 4 stanzas

It ıs dıfficult to determıne whıch of these two ıesensıons ıs genuıne The shorteı may be a subsequent abrıdgment by anotheı person of the longer or the longer a later enlargement of the shoıter and ıt ıs also possıble that both were ıssued by the oıgınal compıler hımself But for hıstorıcal purposes one should be guıded by what ıs common to both to be on the safe sıde The Manuscript P does not seem to have contaıned the ıntroductıon whıch we find ın B and D as ıts two lost leaves could not afford sufficıent space for ıt and the Anukramanıkā At the end of the ıntroductoıy Prasastı ın B and D we have the name of Vaıdya Bhanupandıta as the author But whether he ıs meant to be the author of the last two or three stanzas or of the whole Praasastı ıt ıs dıfficult to say It would I thınk not be unreasonable to take hım as the author of the whole and thus the fulsome praıse of the author and hıs ancestors ın whıch the prınces themselves whom they served are assıgned a lower posıtıon, becomes ıntelligıble

The followıng ıs the Introductıon —

यत्पादाम्भोजसेवारुचिशुचिमनसा प्रातिभ तत्तिरश्चा
चक्रागानामपि द्राग्विलसति मिलितक्षीरनीरप्रभेदे ।
उद्दामाज्ञानरूपप्रबलतमतम स्तोमसोमस्वभावा
देवीमानदकदा विधुमणिविशदा शारदा ता नमामि ॥ १ ॥

जनयतु नतिभाजामेष सतोषपोष
कुवलयदलकान्ति कालिकाया. कटाक्ष ।
प्रकटयति पुरारे. केनकीगर्भपत्र-
त्विषि वपुषि लिपि य पचबाणप्रशस्ते. ॥ २ ॥

लसन्मृणालाकुरकोमलानि
स्फुरत्सुधाधामकलामलानि ।
पीयूषसारैकनिकेतनानि
जयति सूक्तानि महाकवीना ॥ ३ ॥

गीर्वाणासुरमौलिरत्ननिकरप्रेखन्मयूखाभस
ससेकादिव पादमूलकलितै स्निग्धै प्रभापल्लवै ।
आश्वास कृपयेव शश्वदकरोन्मुग्धैणसार्थस्य य
सोभूद्वत्समुनि पवित्रचरणन्यासेन पूतावनि ॥ ४ ॥

तस्यान्वयेभूत्करिवृन्दनाथो
दादा सदादाननिदानभूतं[3] ।
यस्येक्षणाद्विज्जणभूपसैन्य
दैन्य गत सयति विक्रमेण ॥ ५ ॥

चत्वारस्तस्य सजाता तनया नयशालिन ।
भुजा इव हरे शश्वद्विक्रमश्रीविभूषिता ॥ ६ ॥

चतुर्मुखमुखोद्गीर्णनिगमा इव ते बभु ।
ख्यातो महीधरो जल्ह साबंगगाधरावपि[3] ॥ ७ ॥

उपायैरिव तै काले चतुर्भि सुप्रयोजितै ।
मेलुगिक्षोणिभूपालराज्य जात सदोन्नतं[4]म् ॥ ८ ॥

विज्जणबलजलराशि विमथ्य भुजमदंरेण[6] य कृतवान् ।
वीरश्रियमकस्था स न कस्य महीधर स्तुत्य ॥ ९ ॥

किं चित्र यदि भोगीद्रोनतस्तत्तनयो बहून् ।
आनीय बलिसद्मस्थान्नागान् स्वस्वामिने ददौ ॥ १० ॥

विजित्य विज्जण याते सुरलोक महीधरे ।
निनाय भिल्लम जल्हो राजता क्षयवर्जिताम् ॥ ११ ॥

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१ ब्रह्म for वत्स D २ भूप for भूत B ३ साबो गगाधरस्तथा D
४ मैलुगि B ५ सदाहित D ६ पजरेण for मदरेण B

गूर्ज्जरभूभृत्कटके कटकविषमेतिदुर्गमे येन ।
भगदत्तकीर्तिभाजा दुष्टगज स्वेच्छया नीत ॥ १२ ॥

मल्ल पल्लवितोरुभीतिरभितस्त्रस्यद्बलो मैलुगि
र्भुज पुजितविक्रमस्त्रिभुवनब्रह्मा किल ब्राह्मण ।
अन्नो नुन्नपराक्रमो विधुतभूर्भभ्रूरणप्रागणे
येनाकारि मुरारिविक्रमभृता कि कि न तस्योर्ज्जित ॥ १३ ॥

हारहार नृपाणा समिति गजघटाभिल्लमायादितासा
वाशामाशागजानामपि हरणविधौ साप्रत ही विधत्ते ।
स्मारस्मार सुराणामधिपतिरिति यद्विक्रमाणा स्म भीत
शके सकेतभूमौ नियमयति निज कुजरं कुजरध्रे ॥ १४ ॥

यदासिनिहतदन्तिव्रातरक्ताक्तमुक्ता
फलविहितविभूषा मत्तवेतालयोषा ।
रिपुनृपतिकबधान्नृत्यतोद्यापि दृष्ट्वा
करकलितकपालास्तालमुद्घाटयति ॥ १५ ॥

आसीद्गगाधरस्तस्य भ्राता गगाधरोपम ।
एकान्बबध यो व्यालान्मुमोचैकान् यदृच्छया ॥ १६ ॥

सग द्विजिव्हैर्न चकार दुष्टैरुवाह मूर्ध्ना न जड कदाचित् ।
ददाह काम न जनस्य रुष्टस्तथापि गगाधर एव सोभूत् ॥ १७ ॥

तस्याभवत्सूनुरनूनसत्त्वो जनार्दनाव्ह· करिवाहिनीश ।
समुद्रवद्यो भुवन बभार सह श्रिया चित्रमशेषमेतत् ॥ १८ ॥

उत्पन्न सुधिया कुले यदखिलैस्त्यक्त बुधैर्न क्षण
यन्नो विस्मृतमेकदापि सुजनैर्यद्यन्न युक्त खलै ।
दौर्गत्यस्य तथाविधस्य महतस्तस्यापि केनापि नो
यद्दानाम्बुसरित्प्रवाहपतितस्याकारि हस्तार्पणम् ॥ १९ ॥
सिंहोप्यध्यापितस्तेन गजशिक्षा तदद्भुत ।
ययार्जुन लसत्पैत्र समूलमुदमूलयत् ॥ २० ॥

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१ सो B २ चेव for चित्र B ३ पुत्र for पत्र B

विश्वत्राणपरायण स्फुरदुरुस्वर्णार्चितार्थिव्रज
स्तस्मादद्भुतविक्रम समभवच्छ्रीलक्ष्मिदेव सुधी ।
मत्रैर्निर्जितदेवमात्रिधिषणैर्जाग्रन्नयप्रक्रमै
राज्य कृष्णमहीपतेरविकल दत्वा स्थिर यो व्यधात् ॥ २१ ॥

अगस्त्य इव यस्यासिर्न्यचितक्षितिभृद्बभौ ।
चित्र सोप्यकरोन्नृत्यत्कबध समरार्णव ॥ २२ ॥

यद्रचितोद्यानश्री परिपाकस्फुटितदाडिमव्याजात् ।
विहसत्यनेकरभाप्रकटितदशनेव नदन विपिन ॥ २३ ॥

जटोत्कट लसत्कुल्य नीलकठोपशोभित ।
भाति यद्रचितोद्यानमुत्तमागमिवैश्वर ॥ २४ ॥

तत्क्षारत्व परिहृतमहो दूरमूरीकृता द्राक्
पीयूषस्य प्रकृतिसुभगा माधुरी सा धुरीणा ।
इत्थ यात सरिदधिपतिर्लुप्तवेषोन्यदेश
भीत्यागस्त्यादिति जनपदैस्तर्क्यते यत्तडाग ॥ २५ ॥

तस्यास्ते तनयो नयोदधिविधुर्बधुर्बुधाना सुधी
सारासारविचारणासु चतुर श्रीजल्हणाख्य क्षितौ ।
यद्दानोदकवाहिनीभवनवाभोधैर्यशश्चद्रमा
जातोन्य सततोदितो धवलयत्युच्चैर्जगत्युल्बण ॥ २६ ॥

मत्पित्रा दत्तमस्मै प्रतिहतबलवद्द्वेषिवर्गोपसर्ग
राज्य प्राज्यप्रभावप्रथितगुणभृता कृष्णराजाय भक्त्या ।
तन्निर्वाह्य मयेति द्विगुणितधिषणाशक्तिभक्तिर्विधत्ते
सर्व य स्वामिकार्यं हितमनयहृता भावुकेनानुजेन ॥ २७ ॥

ध्रुव यस्यास्ति हस्ताब्जे मदाधा करिवाहिनी ।
दानोदकप्रवाहोत्र दृश्यते कथमन्यथा ॥ २८ ॥

यद्गुणैर्ग्रथित शुद्धैरमितैर्ब्रह्मगोलक ।
विधत्ते कीर्तिकन्याया क्रीडाकदुकविभ्रमम् ॥ २९ ॥

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१ कृष्णपतेरविह्वलकल D २ सर्गो for वर्गो D ३ स्वाधिकार्यं D

ब्रूमहे किमगाधत्व यत्कृपाणपयोनिधे ।
मग्ना यत्रारिवाहिन्यो न लक्ष्यन्ते पर शता ॥ ३० ॥
निर्दलितराजमाषैरार्द्रकखडै ससैधवक्षोदै ।
यदसिगुणो रसवत्या सयति[1] भिक्षा करोति कालस्य ॥ ३१ ॥
न्यचद्भूवलय चलत्क्षितिधर क्षुभ्यत्समस्तार्णव
त्रस्यद्वैरिवधूविलोचनजलप्रारब्धवर्षोद्गम ।
प्रोदचत्तुरगावलीखुरपुटव्याधूतधूलीपट
छन्नादित्यपथ कथ न विदित यज्जैत्रयात्रादिन ॥ ३२ ॥
यद्वैरिवीरैररसिखडितागै समुत्सुकाभि सुरसुन्दरीभि ।
वशक्रियाचूर्णमिव प्रकीर्णमाभाति धूलिपटल समीके ॥ ३३ ॥
क्षण कातारागप्रकटितमनोवैकृतयुत
क्षण शालोत्सगे द्विजकुलरवाकृष्टहृदय ।
क्षण पत्रध्वानश्रुतिपुलकितो यद्भयभरात्
वसन् प्राप्तोरण्ये रिपुरवनिपालस्थितिमिव ॥ ३४ ॥
याश्चादैन्यलघूकृतास्तृणमिव क्षिप्र निरालंबना
नीयते प्रतिसद्म मार्गणगणा दौर्गत्यवातेन ये ।
तेषा येन तथा कृतोतिगरिमा स्वर्णोच्चपुजार्पणै
र्यस्मात्सप्रति तेपि चित्रकटकैर्भूभृत्तुला बिभ्रति ॥ ३५ ॥
कोप्यन्य कल्पवृक्षोय चकास्ति वसुधातले ।
यत्पाणिपल्लवोप्येक कुरुतेध सुरद्रुम ॥ ३६ ॥
कीर्त्या यस्य जगत्त्रये धवलिते सह्याचले मन्दरे
विध्ये हेमगिरौ हरक्षितिधरे नो भाति रूपान्तर ।
नो चेदर्थिजनाय तेन ददता स्वण जगत्पूर्ज्जित
विख्यात कनकाचल कथमिव स्वैर न[3] विश्राणित ॥ ३७ ॥
तेनेय[4] क्रियते वीक्ष्य सत्सुभाषितसग्रहान् ।
सूक्तिमुक्तावली कठकदली[5]भूषण सता ॥ ३८ ॥

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१ आजौ for सयति D भक्षा for भिक्षा B २ पुत्र for पत्र D
३ च for न B ४ तेन यत् D ५ कदला B

विबुधै सनिवेशज्ञै सगृहीतान्यनेकश ।
सुधारससनार्थानि सति सूक्तानि[1] यद्यपि ॥ ३९ ॥
तथापि खर्वता नीत्वा विबुधैर्गर्वपर्वत ।
शश्वदालोकनीयेय मत्सर कि गुणेष्वपि ॥ ४० ॥
साहित्यविद्याहृदय ज्ञातुमिच्छसि चेत्सुखम् ।
तत्पश्य जल्हणकृता सूक्तिमुक्तावलीमिमाम् ॥ ४१ ॥
नागुलीयैर्न केयूरैर्न ग्रैवेयैर्न ककणै ।
तथा भाति यथा विद्वान् कठसगतयानया ॥ ४२ ॥
श्रीवैद्यभानुपडितस्यैते

There was a person of the name of Dādā who belonged to the Vatsa Gotra and appears to have been in the service of the Yādava king Mailugi called in other places Mallugi Vijjana of the Kalacuri race who had usurped the throne at Kalyāna in 1157 A D was not allowed to enjoy it peacefully Besides internal disturbances he had to face the attacks of the surrounding Chiefs Mallugi appears from the above to have been one of those who were hostile to him and Dādā who commanded his troops of elephants fought a battle with Vijjana

Dādā had four sons named Mahidhara Jahla Samba and Gangādhara who contributed to raise the importance of Mallugi s kingdom Mahidhara succeeded his father in the command of the elephants and had to conduct the war with Vijjana His son Ananta appears to have assisted his father and captured many elephants from his master's powerful enemies

After Mahidhara s death his brother Jahla succeeded to his office and is said to have rendered Bhillama s kingly power firm Bhillama, we know was the son of Mallugi and acquired finally the paramount sovereignty of the Deccan for his family about the year 1187 A D Jahla led a maddened elephant into the army of

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१ मुक्तानि

the Gūrjara prince and obtained fame as Bhagadatta —Bhagadatta is a prince mentioned in the Mahābhārata who fought with Arjuna with great bravery —Jahla spread terror into the heart of Malla frightened the forces of Mallugi who must have been an enemy of Bhillama and vanquished Muñja and Anna Who these chiefs were we do not know and a great many of them had to be vanquished before Bhillama could acquire supreme power The Muñja mentioned here was not the celebrated prince of Dhāra of that name Jahla captured many elephants and gave them to his master Bhillama

Janārdana was the son of his brother Gangādhara and he appears to have succeeded as commander of the troops of elephants He taught Simha or Singhana the art of managing elephants and thus enabled him to conquer Arjuna Singhana called Simha also was the son of Jaitrapāla and grandson of Bhillama If he was taught the art of managing elephants by Janārdana it must have been so when he was a young man and during his father s reign Singhana himself came to the throne in 1210 A D

Janārdana's son Laksmideva succeeded to the office and contributed by his courage and bravery to consolidate the power of king Kṛṣna Krsna was the grandson of Singhana and ascended the throne after him in the year 1247 A D Lakṣmideva constructed a large tank and had an extensive and beautiful garden His son was Jahlana, who with his brother assisted king Krṣna by his counsel and commanded the troops of his elephants He compiled this collection of elegant sayings

The following gives the contents of the anthology —

आदौ नमस्कृति पश्चादाशसावचनानि च ।
सुभाषितप्रशसात कविकाव्यस्तुतिस्तत ॥ ४३ ॥

कुकवीना ततो निंदा सन्मनस्विखलास्तत ।
कदर्यपद्धतिरथो द्विविधान्योक्तिपद्धति. ॥ ४४ ॥

कृता खेचरभूचारिभेदा ते(स्ते)ष्वादितो रवि ।
खेचरेषु ततश्चद्र (द्रो)वातमेघास्तत खगा ॥ ४५ ॥
तेषु प्राक्कोकिलो हस शिखिध्वाक्षबकालय ।
खद्योतचातकौ पश्चादित्युक्ता खेचरास्तत ॥ ४६ ॥
भूचरास्तेषु सिह प्राक् तत कुजरपद्धति ।
दासेरकबलीवर्दमृगपद्धतय पृथक् ॥ ४७ ॥
जलधिमणिशंखतटिनीसरसीपद्मद्रुमाश्च शिखिमरव ।
सकीर्णवस्तुवर्णनमित्यन्योक्तिर्द्विधाथ शृगार ॥ ४८ ॥
प्रथमोत्र विप्रलभस्तदनु च सभोगशृगार ।
तत्र वियोगे प्रथम प्रियगमन स्त्रीषु मदनजावस्था ॥ ४९ ॥
प्रश्न सखीना विविधा प्रलापा वियोगिनीनामथ दूतिकाया ।
सप्रेषण मन्मथजाप्यवस्था सह प्रलापेन वियोगिनश्च ॥ ५० ॥
दूतीवच प्रिय प्रति सदेशो विरहिण प्रियतमाया ।
तस्या विरहावस्थाकथन दूत्या प्रियाप्रश्न ॥ ५१ ॥
दूत्युपहासस्तदनु प्रियस्य कातावलोकने वाच ।
बाल्य वयस सधियौवनमखिलागवर्णन क्रमश ॥ ५२ ॥
माने मानिन्यवस्थातो नाधिकातिथ्यपूर्विका ।
सख्याश्चानुनय पश्चादुक्तिप्रत्युक्तयस्तत ॥ ५३ ॥
प्रसादोथ च सभोगो (ग) ऋतव कुसुमोच्चय ।
कदुकोदकयो क्रीडा रवेश्चास्तमयस्तत ॥ ५४ ॥
प्रलापा कामिनामादावभिसारेभिसारिका ।
चद्रोदय पानगोष्ठी प्रियाचाटुरत पर ॥ ५५ ॥
सुरतेषु तत्प्रशसा नवयोषित्संगमे सखीवाक्यम् ।
निधुवनमथ नववध्वा रतिकेली रतिविपर्यास ॥ ५६ ॥
निवृत्ति सुरतस्यादौ कलह प्रणयस्य च ।
नायिकानुनय पश्चात्प्रभात तत्समीरण ॥ ५७ ॥
कलहान्तरिताप्रलपनमत पर नायकस्य शिक्षयन ।
सभोगाविष्करण कुलटासकीर्णमिति च शृगार ॥ ५८ ॥

रसा हास्यादयो जातिस्ततो भूपतिवर्णन ।
क्रियागुप्तादिचित्राणि तथा वक्रोक्तिपद्धति ॥ ५९ ॥

रथकरिहरिगिरिवारिधिनदीसरोनगरवर्णन क्रमश ।
कूर्मादीना स्तवन उद्यानाश्रमनगरमुन्यादे ॥ ६० ॥

नीतिर्विद्या दैव सपुरुषकार च साहस लक्ष्मी ।
दान कुलनारी तद्वृत्तमपत्य च मित्रगुणौ ॥ ६१ ॥

कला सेवाथ धर्मार्थौ तृप्तिदारिद्र्यपद्धती ।
सतोष क्षातिकरुणे वैराग्य तदनु स्तुती ॥ ६२ ॥

श्रीमता भगदत्तेन जल्हणेन विरच्यते ।
हरीशयोस्त्रयस्त्रिशत्पद्धतीनामिद शतम् ॥ ६३ ॥

इति श्रीमहारोहकभगदत्तजल्हणदेवविरचिताया सूक्तिमुक्तावल्याम नुक्रमणिकापद्धति ॥

THE SECTION ON SPECIFIC POETS

Leaf 30 of B contains the section on specific poets It begins with the last words of a verse marked 4 which number probably is a mistake for 3 for the next verse has the same number The leaf ends with the third Pāda of verse 19 In D there is evidently a mistake in transcription for after the first eleven verses of the preceding section which contains quotations about poets and poetry in general we have another which is probably the 12th of the section but it ends with the letters ति र्दंडिनि which are the last letters of the 38th verse of the section on specific poets which verse corresponds with the 26th of the same section in P There is again another similar mistake at the end After the 61st verse we have one half of the next but it is followed by the 11th verse of the section on Sajjanapaddhati the opening words of which however are lost

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१ सर्वपदार्थस्तुवि (ति) विहित B

The first 38 verses therefore, of the section and one or two at the end do not exist in D The following extracts give all the verses belonging to the section in the three Manuscripts —

III B f 30

भास्वद्वशवतंसकीर्तिरमणीरगप्रसगस्तन
द्वादित्रप्रथमध्वनिर्विजयते वल्मीकजन्मा कवि ।
पीत्वा यद्वदनेन्दुमडलगलत्काव्यामृताब्धे किम
प्याकल्पं कविनूतनाबुदमयी कादंबिनी वर्षति ॥ ४ ॥

जयदेवस्य

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III B f 30

यदाननेन्दोरमृतप्रवाहिनी विनि सृता पचमवेदचद्रिका ।
तमस्व(श्र)ताप च निहति देहिना नुतिश्रुतीना व्यसिताननेकश (?)॥५॥

सूक्तिसहस्रात्

स्वस्ति पाणिनये तस्मै यस्य रुद्रप्रसादत ।
आदौ व्याकरण काव्यमनु जाबवतीजय ॥ ६ ॥
यथार्थता कथ नाम न स्याद्वररुचेरिह ।
व्यधत्त कठाभरण य सदारोहणप्रिय ॥ ७ ॥

राजशेखरस्यैतौ

सूत्रधारकृतारभैर्नाटकैर्बहुभूमिकै ।
सपताकैर्यशो लेभे भासो देवकुलैरिव ॥ ८ ॥

भट्टबाणस्य

भासनाटकचक्रेपि छेकै क्षिप्ते परीक्षितुं ।
स्वप्नवासवदत्तस्य दाहकोभून्न पावक ॥ ९ ॥
तौ शूद्रिककथाकारौ रम्यौ रामिलसोमिलौ ।
काव्य ययोर्द्वयोरासीदर्द्धनारीश्वरोपम ॥ ११ ॥

राजशेखरस्यैते

सम्यग्बाणद्वितीयेन नमदाकारधारिणा ।
धनुषेव गुणाढ्येन नि शेषो राजितो जन ॥ १२ ॥

त्रिविक्रमभट्टस्य

मन्ये बृहत्कथाभोधेर्बिंदुमादाय निर्मिता ।
तेनेतरकथाकथा न विभाति यदग्रत ॥ १३ ॥

धनपालस्य.

हुता शिखिनि गौणाढ्या स्तोकशेषापि सा कथा
सुरलीढेन्दुलेखेव लोके पूज्यतमाभवत् ॥ १४ ॥
जगत्या ग्रथिता गाथा शातवाहनभूभुजा ।
व्यधुर्धृतेस्तु विस्तारमहो चित्रपरपरा ॥ १५ ॥

राजशेखरस्यैतौ

कवीनामगलद्दर्पो नून वासवदत्तया ।
शक्त्येव पाडुपुत्राणा गतया कर्णगोचर ॥ १६ ॥

बाणस्य

श्रोत्रेतराणि करणे भवनान्यसख्यै
श्चत्वारि तृप्तिमहता विषयैर्लभन्ते ।
श्रोत्राय पक्वसुकृतस्य जनस्य पुण्या
श्रीकालिदासगिरि (र) एव दिशति तृप्ति ॥ १७ ॥

अन्तर कियदाख्याति सतो रघुकिरातयो ।
अतर यावदाख्याति

III D (f 22*b*—f 24*a*)

जानकीहरणं कर्तु रघुवशे स्थिते सति ।
कवि कुमारदासश्च रावणश्च यदि क्षम ॥ ३९ ॥

मा स्म सति हि चत्वार प्रायो रत्नाकरा इमे ।
इतीव सत्कृ(कृ)तो धात्रा कवि (वी) रत्नाकरोपर. ॥ ४० ॥

ध्वनिनातिगभीरेण काव्यतत्त्वनिवेशिना ।
आनन्दवर्द्धन कस्य नासीदानदवर्द्धन ॥ ४१ ॥

राजशेखरस्यैते

रत्नावलीपूर्वकमन्यदास्तामसीमभोगस्य वचोमयस्य ।
पयोधरस्येव हिमाद्रिजाया पर विभूषा भवभूतिरेव ॥ ४२ ॥

वाक्य च द्विपरीशतान्यथ महाकाव्यानि सप्त क्रमा-
त्त्र्यक्षप्रत्यहनिर्मितस्तुतिकथालक्षाणि चैकादश ।
सूत्वा नाटकनाटिकाप्रकरणप्रायान्प्रबधान् बहून्
विश्राम्यत्यधुनापि नातिशयिता वाणी शिवस्वामिन ॥ ४३ ॥

कयोरप्येतौ

कालजरपतिश्चक्रे भीमट पचनाटकीं ।
प्राप प्रबधराजत्व तेषु स्वप्नदशानन ॥ ४४ ॥

मायूराजसमो जज्ञे नान्यकालचर कवि[1] ।
उदन्व(न्व)त समुत्तस्थु कति वा तुहिनाशव ॥ ४५ ॥

अकालजलदेंदो सा हृद्या वचनचद्रिका ।
नित्य कविचकोरैर्या पीयते न च हीयते ॥ ४६ ॥

अकालजलदश्लोकैश्चित्रमात्मकृतैरिव ।
जात कादबरीरामो नाटके प्रवर कवि· ॥ ४७ ॥

अनुप्रासिनि सदर्भे गोनदनसम कुत ।
यथार्थनामतैवास्य यद्वाग्वदति चारुता ॥ ४८ ॥

दूरादपि सता चित्ते लिखित्वाश्चर्यमंजरीं ।
कुलशेखरवर्माभ्या चकोराश्चर्यमजरी ॥ ४९ ॥

द्वि[ ] सधाने निपुणता स ता चक्रे धनजय ।
यया जात फल तस्य सता चक्रे धन जय ॥ ५० ॥

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१ नान्य कुलचुरि कवि

नदीना मेकलसुता नृपाणा रणविग्रह ।
कवीना च सुरानन्दश्चेदिमडलमडन ॥ ५१ ॥

यायावरकुलश्रेणे सुक्तायश्चेष्ट (मुक्तायष्टेश्च) मडन ।
सुवर्णबधुरुचिरस्तरलस्तरलो यथा ॥ ५२ ॥

स्थिता माध्वीकपाकत्वान्निसर्गमधुरापि हि ।
किमपि स्वदते वाणी केषा चित्तदि शाकरी ॥ ५३ ॥

शब्दार्थयो समो गुफ पाचाली रीतिरुच्यते ।
शीलाभट्टारिकावाचि बाणोक्तिषु च सा यदि ॥ ५४ ॥

के वैकटनितबेन गिरा गुफेन रजिता ।
निदति निजकाताना न मौग्ध्यमधुर वच ॥ ५५ ॥

सरस्वतीव कर्णाटी विजयाका जयत्यसौ ।
या वैदर्भगिरा वास कालिदासादनतर ॥ ५६ ॥

सूक्तीना स्मरकेलीना कलाना च विलासभू ।
प्रभुर्देवी कविर्लाटीगतापि हृदि तिष्ठति ॥ ५७ ॥

पार्थस्य मनसि स्थान लेभे लघु सुभद्रया ।
कवीना च वचोवृत्तिचातुर्येण सुभद्रया ॥ ५८ ॥

राजशेखरस्यैते

नीलोत्पलदलश्यामा विज्जाका तामजानता ।
वृथैव दंडिनाप्युक्त सर्वशुक्ला सरस्वती ॥ ५९ ॥

कविरमर कविरचल कविरभिनन्दश्च कालिदासश्च ।
अन्ये कवय. कपयश्चापलमात्र पर दधति ॥ ६० ॥

यद्योग परविग्रहे निज इव स्वच्छप्रवेशावधि
र्यद्धधान व्यपनिद्रचिन्मयरसज्योति प्रबोधावधिः (धि) ।

यद्वाग्बधघनोदयो रसवतीकल्लोललीलावधि-
स्तस्यास्मिन्यदि देवबोधयमिन केषा गुणा सावधि ॥ ६१ ॥

III P (f 13*a*— f 18*a*)

अथविशेषकविप्रशंसा

यस्मादिय प्रथमत परमामृतौघनिर्घोषि (ष) णा सरससूक्तितरग
भगि ।
गगेव धूर्जटिजटाचलत प्रवृत्ता वृत्तेन वाक्कमहमादिकवि प्रपद्ये॥ १॥

वामननागस्य

स्वस्ति पाणिनते(ये) तस्मै यस्य रुद्रप्रमादिन (प्रसादत ?)
आदौ व्याकरण काव्यमनु जाबवतीजय ॥ २॥

यथार्थता कथ नास्मि मा भूद्वररुचेरिह ।
व्यधत्त कठाभरण य सदारोहणप्रिय ॥ ३॥

भासनाटकचक्रेपि छेकै क्षिप्ते परीक्षितु ।
स्वप्नवासवदत्तस्य दाहकोभून्न पावक ॥ ४॥

तौ शूद्रिककथाकारौ वद्यो रामिलसोमिलौ ।
ययोर्द्वयो काव्यमासीदग्रेनारीश्वरोपम ॥ ५॥

हुताशिषिणी (खिनि) गौणाढ्या स्तोकशेषापि सा कथा ।
सुराढीले(लीढे)दुलेषे(खे)व लोके पूज्यतमा भवेत् ॥ ६॥

जगत्या ग्रथिता गाथा[ ] सा(शा)तवाहनभूभुजा ।
व्यधु(र्धृ)तेस्तु विस्तार (र)महो चित्रपरपरा ॥ ७॥

अतर कियदाख्याति सतो रघुकिरातयो ।
अतर तावदाख्याति सतो रघुकिरातयो ॥ ८॥

एकोपि जीयते हन्त कालिदासो न केनचित् ।
शृगारे ललितोद्गारे कालिदासो न केनचित्॥ ९॥

(कालिदासत्रयी किमु) राजशेखरस्यैते

सूत्रधारकृतारंभैर्नाटकैर्बहुभूमिकै· ।
सपताकैर्यशो लेभे भासो देवकुलैरिव ॥ १०॥

कवीनामगलद्दपो नूनं वासवदत्तया ।
शक्त्यैव पाडुपुत्राणा गतया कर्णगोचर ॥ ११ ॥

भट्टबाणस्यैतौ

वक्रोक्त्या भर्तृमेठस्य वहंत्या सृणिरूपता ।
आविद्धा इव धुन्वति मूर्धान कविकुजरा ॥ १२ ॥

कस्यापि

कृत्स्नप्रबोधकृद्वाणी भा रवेरिव भारवे ।
माघेनेव च माघेन कप कस्य न जायते ॥ १३ ॥
शश्वद्वाणद्वितीयेन नमदाकारधारिणा ।
धनुषेव गुणाढ्येन नि शेषो रजितो जन ॥ १४ ॥

त्रिविक्रमभट्टस्य

माघेन विघ्नितोत्साहा न सहते पदक्रम ।
स्मरंति भारवेरेव कवय कपयो यथा ॥ १५ ॥

धनपालस्य

कीर्ति प्रवरसेनस्य प्रयाता कुमुदोज्व(ज्ज्व)ला ।
सागरस्य पर पार कपिसेनेव सेतुना ॥ १६ ॥

भट्टबाणस्य

सहर्षचरिता शश्वद्भूतकादवरीस्थदा (?) ।
बाणस्य वाण्यनार्येव स्वच्छदा भ्रमति क्षितौ ॥ १७ ॥

राजशेखरस्य

केवलोपि स्फुरन्बाण करोति विमदान् कवीन् ।
किं पुन क्लृप्तसधान पुलिदकृतसन्निधि ॥ १८ ॥

धनपालस्य

बाणेन हृदि लग्नेन यन्मदोपि पदक्रम ।
प्राय कवितु(कु)रंगाणा चापल तत्र कारण ॥ १९ ॥

दर्प्पे कविभुजगाना गता श्रवणगोचर ।
विषविद्येव मायूरी मयूरी वाग्निकृतति ॥ २० ॥

सरस्वतीपवित्राणा जातिस्तत्र न देहिना ।
व्यासस्पर्द्धा(र्द्धी) कुलालोभूद्यक्रोणो भारते कवि ॥ २१ ॥

अहो प्रभावो वाग्देव्या यच्चडालदिवाकर ।
श्रीहर्षस्याभवत्सभ्य समो बाणमयूरयो ॥ २२ ॥

कत्रा(तुं?) त्रिलोचनादन्यो न पार्थविजय क्षम ।
तदर्थ शक्यते द्रष्टु लोचनद्वयिभि कथ ॥ २३ ॥

अथो गणपतिं वदे महामोदविधायिन ।
विद्याधरगणैर्यस्य पूज्यते कठगर्जित ॥ २४ ॥

प्रद्युम्नान्नापरस्येह नाटके पटवो गिर ।
प्रद्युम्नान्नापरस्येह पौष्पा अपि शरा खरा ॥ २५ ॥

राजशेखरस्यैते

जाते जगति वाल्मिकौ शब्द कविरिति स्थित ।
व्यासे जाते कवी चेति कवयश्चेति दडिनि ॥ २६ ॥

कालिदासस्य

जानकीहरण कर्तु रघुवशे स्थिते सति ।
कवि कुमारदासश्च रावणश्च यदि क्षम ॥ २७ ॥

मा स्म सति हि चत्वार प्रायो रत्नाकरा इमे ।
इतीव स कृतो धात्रा कवि(वी) रत्नाकरोपर ॥ २८ ॥

ध्वनिनातिगभीरेण काव्यकृ(त)त्त्वनिवोशिना ।
आनदवर्द्धन कस्य नासीदानदवर्द्धन ॥ २९ ॥

राजशेखरस्यैते

रत्नावलीपूर्वकमन्यदास्तामसीमभोगस्य वचोमयस्य ।
पयोधरस्येव हिमाद्रिजाया पर विभूषा भवभूतिरेव ॥ ३० ॥

कस्यापि

अकालजलदेंदो सा हृद्या वदनचंद्रिका ।
नित्य कविचकोरैर्या पीयते न च हीयते ॥ ३१ ॥

द्वि संधाने निपुणता स ता चक्रे धनजय ।
यया जातं फल तस्य सता चक्रे धन जय ॥ ३२ ॥

शब्दार्थयो· समो गुफ पाचाली रीतिरिष्यते ।
शीलाभट्टारिकावाचि बाणोक्तिषु च सा यदि ॥ ३३ ॥

के वैकटनितबेन गिरा गुफेन राजिता ।
निदति निजकाताना न मौग्ध्यमधुर वच ॥ ३४ ॥

पार्थस्य मनसि स्थान लेभे लघु सुभद्रया ।
कवीना च वचोवृत्तिचातुर्येण सुभद्रया ॥ ३५ ॥

राजशेखरस्यैते

नीलोत्पलदलश्यामा विजुका तामजानता ।
वृथैव दडिनाप्युक्तं सर्वशुक्ला सरस्वती ॥ ३६ ॥

भवभूतिमनादृत्य निर्व्वाणमतिना मया ।
मुरारे पदचिंतायामिदमाधीयते मन ॥ ३७ ॥

कयोरप्येतौ

अमरुककवित्वडमरुकनादेन विनिन्हुता न सचरति ।
शृगारभणितिरन्या धन्याना श्रवणविवरेषु ॥ ३८ ॥

अर्जुनदेवस्य

वास शुभ्रमृतुर्वसतसमय· पुष्पं शरन्मल्लिका
धानुष्क कुसुमायुध· परिमल कास्तूरिकोऽस्त्र धनु ॥
वाच (च) स्तर्क्करसोज्ज्वला प्रियतमा शा(श्या)मा· वपुर्नूतन
मार्गो वैष्णव एव पंचमलया गीति कविर्बिल्हण ॥ ३९ ॥

कस्यापि

प्रकृत्यैवातिवक्रेण गुणदैर्घ्यं वितन्वता ।
मायाशरासनेनैव बाणो दूर निरस्यते ॥ ४० ॥

केचिद्गर्वगलग्रहेण विषमद्वेषज्वरेणापरे
केचिन्मौर्ख्यमलेन-˘˘ वमीमीलति शातोत्तरा ।
तद्भो मदिराभित्तयो भवत न सूक्तीषु सभ्या पुन-
स्तत्पाठे वरमस्ति वो घुमुघुमुप्राय किमप्युत्तर ॥ ४१ ॥

लोठ्यसर्वज्ञस्यैतौ

नव्या न व्याकरणसरणिर्यस्य माधुर्यधुर्य
नो सौदर्य न च नवरसस्रोतसो न प्रवाह ॥
यादृक्प्रीत्या कथयति गिरा देवता देव तादृक्
काव्य श्रान्य कवयति भिषग्भानुनामा स एष ॥ ४२ ॥
इत्थ कविकुटुबस्य वचासि विचिनोति य ।
अनिद्धवचनस्यापि तस्य वश्या सरस्वती ॥ ४३ ॥
यस्याश्चौरश्चिकुरनिकर कर्णपूरो मयूरो
भासो हास कविकुलगुरु कालिदासो विलास ।
हर्षो हर्षो हृदयवसति पचबाणस्तु बाण
केषा न स्यात्कविषु कवितामामिनी कौतुकाय ॥ ४४ ॥

इतिविशेषकविप्रशसापद्धति ॥

POETS AND WORKS MENTIONED IN THESE EXTRACTS

The poets and works mentioned in these extracts are as follows —

1 Valmiki in a verse by Jayadeva and another from the Sūktisahasra (B) in a verse by Vāmananaga (P)

2 Pānini author of the Grammar and Jāmbavatijaya, by Rājasekhara (B P)

3 Vararuci author of Kanthābharana by Rajasekhara (B P)

4 Bhāsa in a verse by Bāna (B P)
Bhāsa in a verse by Rājasekhara (B P)

5 Rāmila and Somila in a verse by Rājasekhara (B P) mentioned as the authors of a Śūdrikakathā

6 (*a*) Gunādhya the remnant of the story composed by whom after he had burned a large part is highly esteemed in the world (B P) by Rajasekhara

(*b*) Gunādhya also in a verse by Trivikramabhatta (B P)

(*c*) Brhatkathā in a verse by Dhanapāla (B)

7 Śātavāhana compiler of Gāthās in a verse by Rājasekhara (B P)

8 Vāsavadatta (of Subandhu) in a verse by Bāna (B P)

9 Kālidāsa in a verse by Rājasekhara (P) and in another probably by the same author (B) Raghu by Rājasekhara (B P) Raghuvamsa also (D P)

10 Bhartrmentha in an anonymous verse (P)

11 Bhāravi } mentioned in a verse by Trivikramabhatta
12 Magha } (P) Kirāta mentioned by Rājasekhara (B P)

13 Bāna in the same verse of Trivikramabhatta in which Gunādhya is mentioned also as the author of Harṣacarita and Kādambari by Rājasekhara (P)

14 Pravarasena author of Setu by Bāna (P)

15 Pulinda contemporary of Bāna by Dhanapāla (P) He was probably the same as Divakara the Candāla mentioned by Rājasekharạ (P)

16 Mayūra by Rājasekhara (P)

17 Dhrona or Hroṇa by Rājasekhara (P)

18 Trilocana author of Pārthavijaya, by Rājasekhara (P)

19 Ganapati by Rājasekhara (P)

20 Pradyumna author of Nātakas by Rājasekhara (P)

21 Vālmiki }
22 Vyāsa } by Kālidāsa (P)
23 Dandin }

24 Kumāradāsa, author of Jānakiharana by Rājasekhara (D P)

25 Ratnākara by Rājasekhara (D P)

26 Ānandavardhana author of Dhvani as the essence of Poetry' by Rājasekhara (D P)

27 Bhavabhūti by an anonymous author Ratnāvalī also mentioned (D P)

28 Śivasvāmin author of many hymns to Śiva and of Nātakas Nātikās and Prakaranas (D) Anonymous

29 Bhimata lord of Kālañjara author of five dramas the best of which was Svapnadasānana by Rājasekhara (D)

30 Māyuraja (of the Kalacuri royal race ?) by Rājasekhara (D)

31 Akalajalada by Rājasekhara (D P)

32 Kādambari Rāma author of dramas by Rājasekhara (D)

33 Gonandana skilled in alliteration by Rājasekhara (D)

34 Kulasekhara author of Āscharyamañjari, by Rajasekhara (D)

35 Dhanamjaya, author of Dvihsamdhāna by Rājasekhara (D P)

36 Surānanda "among poets the ornament of the Cedi country as among princes was Ranavigraha and among rivers the Narmadā' by Rājasekhara (D) Ranavigraha was a Cedi prince and brother in law of Krsna II of the Rastrakuta dynasty of the Deccan whose dates range from 875 A D to 911 A D and maternal grandfather of Indra III or Nityavarsa whose dates are 914 A D and 916 A D Probably the poet Surānanda was a contemporary of the prince

37 Tarala the ornament of the Yāyāvaras a work by whom was probably called Suvarnabandha by Rājasekhara (D)

38 Samkara by Rajasekhara (D)

39 Silābhattārikā wrote in the Pāñcāli style like Bana, by Rājasekhara (D P)

40 Vikatanitambā by Rājasekhara (D P)

41 Vijayankā a Karnāti lady wrote in the Vaidarbhi style like Kālidāsa by Rājasekhara (D)

42 Prabhudevi wrote in the Lāti style by Rājasekhara (D)

43 Subhadrā by Rajasekhara (D P)

44 Vijjakā a dark complexioned lady Anonymous (D P)

45 Amara
46 Acala
47 Abhinanda
} (D)

48 Devabodhi a Yogin of great powers (D)

49 Murāri Anonymous (P)

50 Amaruka by Arjunadeva (P)

51 Bilhana Anonymous (P)

52 Mayāsarasana by Lostyasarvajña (P)

53 Bhisagbhānu (P) the same as Vaidyabhānu which is the name occurring at the end of verses quoted from his work in this anthology and the Padyavenī

54 Caura (P)

55 Harṣa (P)

INDEX OF POETS WHOSE VERSES ARE GIVEN IN JAHLANA S SŪKTIMUKTĀVALI

The following is an index of the poets whose names are given at the end of the verses quoted in D together with the first lines or initial words of these verses The numbers refer to the leaves of D The references to P are indicated by that letter being prefixed

In folio 29*b* there is an omission of the nature of the two already noticed consequent on the scribe s not having one leaf of his original before him Similar omissions of short or long passages there are in folios 45*b* 144*b*, 150*b* 162*b* 164*a* and 190*a* In these cases and also in the sections at the end which

are wanting in D I have taken the poets and verses occurring in the shorter recension of the anthology as represented by P

Wherever after the name of the poet the word **एतौ** or **एते** occurs, I have taken the two or more preceding verses to belong to him But in many cases there are two or more verses at the end of which a poet's name occurs without **एतौ** or **एते** Prima facie this omission indicates that the last verse only belongs to the poet named and the omission of the usual subscription of the author s name or of **कस्यापि** when the name is unknown under the preceding verses is due to the corruption of MSS And from a comparison of D and P and from my knowledge of some of the works quoted from I find this as a general rule actually to be the case But it is possible that the **एतौ** or **एते** itself is omitted through a mistake and this too I have found to be true in a case or two The safest course under the circumstances is to take the last verse only as belonging to the author named and this I have followed

Acala

32 *a* **अमु कालक्षेप त्यज जलद**, *b* **परभृतशिशो मौनं तावद्विधेहि**, 107 *a* **यदा त्व चंद्रोभूर्हिमकरकला ।**

Adbhutapunya

101 *a* **आयाते दयिते मरुस्थलभुवामु०**, P 117 *b* **आयाते दयिते मनोरथशतैर्नीत्वा कथंचिद्दिनं ।**

Anangabhima

190 *a* **एतस्मिन्मृगया गतेपि धनुषश्चापे ।**

Andhanātha

39 *b* **खरनखरशिखरदारित ।**

Abhinandana

141 *a* **एककैव निजवृंदमध्यगा, लोचनैर्न कुमुद स्म पीयते ।**

Abhinavagupta

55 *a* भोभो कि किमकाड एव पतित, 56 *a* कातार परितो ज्वलत्यतिनले, 76 *a* शीताशोरमृतच्छटा यदि करा ।

Amarūka

61 *a* लग्नाना शुकपल्लवे भुजलता, *b* दृष्ट कातरनेत्रया चिरतरं, काते कथचिद्वदितप्रयाणे । 63 *a* प्रस्थान वलयै कृत प्रियसखै, 65 *a* तन्वग्या गुरुसनिधौ नयनयोर्यद्वारि, 62 *a* लोलैर्लोचनवारिभि सशपथ, 66 *b* अलसवलितै प्रेमार्द्रार्द्रै, 70 *a* पत्र न श्रवणे न बाष्पगुरुणोर्नो नेत्रयो कज्जल । 73 *a* तैस्तैश्चाटुभिराज्ञया किल तदा, 73 *b* पादागुष्ठेन भूमि किसलयरुचिना, याता कि न मिलति सुदरि पुन, 80 *a* अच्छिन्न नयनाश्रु बधुषु कृत ताप सखीष्वाहितो । 101 *b* दीर्घा वदनमालिका विरचिता, 102 *a* स्फुटतु हृदय काम कामं करोतु तनु तनुं । *b* चलतु तरला दृष्टिर्भ्रष्टा खला सखि मेखला । दूरादुत्सुकमागते तरलित संभाषिणि स्फारित भ्रूभेदो गणितश्चिर नयनयोरभ्यस्तमामीलन । तद्वक्त्राभिमुख मुख विनमित, एकत्रासन सस्थिति परिहृता । 104 *a* लिखन्नास्ते भूमि बहिरवनत प्राणदयितो । attributed to Amarūka elsewhere, सत्येवात्र गृहे गृहे युवतयस्ता पृच्छ गत्वाधुना । अगुल्यग्रनखेन बाष्पसलिल विक्षिप्य, these two attributed to Amarūka in P, पादासक्ते सुचिरमिह ते, 105 *b* तथाभूदस्माक प्रथममविभक्ता, 107 *b* कठिनहृदये मुच भ्राति, 108 *b* यद्गम्य गुरुगौरवस्य सुहृदो, सुतनु जहिहि कोप पश्य पादानत मा । परिम्लाने माने मुखशशिनि तस्या करधृते । 109 *a* पृष्टे लोचनवन्मनाङ्मुकुलित, 119 *a* मद मुद्रितपाशव, 121 *b* रात्रौ वारिमरालसाबुदरवो, 126 *a* नीचोच्चैर्निक्षिपत, 132 *a* लीला-तामरसाहतोन्यवनितानि शकदष्टाधर । *b* ललितमुरसा तरंती, 137 *b* प्रणयाविशदा वक्त्रे दृष्टि ददाति न शकिता, 146 *a* सदष्टाधरपल्लवा सचकित हस्ताग्रमाधुन्वती । 147 *b* गाढाश्लेषविशीर्णचंदनरज, 148 *b* करकिसलय धृत्वा धृत्वा, सुरतविरतौ व्रीडावेशश्रमस्खल हस्तया । 149 *b* एकस्मिन्शयने विपक्षरमणीनामग्रहे मुग्धया । 150 *a*

एकस्मिन्शयने पराङ्मुखतया, P 118 संदष्टाधरपल्लवा सचकितं, P 123 *a* इद कृष्ण कृष्ण प्रियतम ननु श्वेतमथ कि । *b* कोपात्कोमल लोल बाहुलतिका, P 124 *b* अह तेनाहूता किमपि कथयामीति विजने । P 125 *b* सुप्तोय सखि सुप्यतामिति गता ।

Amrtadatta

30 *b* कोय भ्रातिप्रकारस्तव पवन पद, 16 *b* भकिप्रव्हविलोकन प्रणयिनी ।

Arasıthakura

7 *b* अतिविपुल कुचयुगुल, 96 *b* मध्येन तस्या विजित कृशाग्या , P 122 *b* नक्क निरकुशतया, 164 *b* दधिमथनविलोलल्लोलदृग्वेणि दभात् । 171 *a* कान्तास्मदैवगत्या कथमपि गलिता ।

Argata or Argatha

P 11 *b* विपुलहृदयाभियोग्ये, P 160 *a* रिक्ता कर्मणि पटव ।

Arjunadeva

P 17 *a* अभरुककवित्वडमरुक ।

Avantıvarman

135 *a* अविज्ञातविशेषस्य सर्वतेजोपहारिण ।, poet's name ın P, not ın D

Asvıkumāra (two)

P 159 अशीतेनाभसा स्नान

Ākāsapolı

75 *a* पचत्व तनुरेतु । 84*a* प्रियादर्शनमेवास्तु । अस्या नेत्रपथ मन्ये । यन्निष्पीड्य विरिचेन । तापकाठिन्यचलता । कै सुरै केन शैलेन । न त्वरा श्रेयसे पुसा । हतमोहादिमामल्प । क्षीरसागरकल्लोललोल लोचनयानया । 89 *b* पाचाली मिथुनेषु नातिरसिका । 137*b* आयाताासि विमुचवेपथुभरं ।

Ādityabhatta

169 *b* यद्यात्रासु प्रचुरतुरगश्रेणि ।

[Bhadanta—Ārogya]

103 *a* भ्रूभगे रचितेपि दृष्टिरधिक सोत्कठमुद्वीक्षते ।

Icchata

153 *b* अभ्यस्य पवनविजय, 154 *b* पितरि मृतेपि हि वेश्या रोदिति हा तात तातेति ।

[Bhatta] Induraja

21 *b* कुभद्वय यदमरद्विरदस्य वोव्यात् P 39 *b* किचुबितेन रजशा विक (?), 55 *b* उदस्योच्चै पुच्छ शिरसि निहितं, 109 *b* सा यावति पदान्यलीकवचनैरालीजनै पाठिता । P 117 दृढनिबिडित व्याजै काची, 183 *a* उद्देशोय कनकसिकताकोमलैकातकाता । *b* उपपरिसरं गोदावर्या. परित्यजताध्वगा ।

Indrakavi

5 *b* चूडोत्तसितचारुचद्रकलिका, 8 *b* दैत्यानामधिपे नखाकुरकुटी, सेयं स्थली नवतृणाकुरजालमेतत्, 44 *a* यच्चद्रार्धविभूषण पशुपति, स्वस्त्यस्तु विद्रुमवनाय, 47 *a* स्तोकाभ परिवर्तितागशफरग्रासार्थिन सर्वतो । 160 *a* राम कि कुरुते न किंचिदपि च ।

Uddiyakavi

P 115 *b* गाढालिंगनपूर्वमेकमनया द्यूते जितं चुंबन ।

Utpreksāvallabha

11 *a* कल्याणमावहतु व शिवयो शरीर । P 12 *a* सत्येव सूकिरसिका बहवो मनुष्या । 64 *b* अस्त्र विमुच्य सकल प्रथमप्रयोगे । 66 *b* बाले प्रियेण विरहात्तव कर्शिताया [ ] । 68 *a* काल पुरा गरलमबुनिधेरुदस्थात् । 86 *a* कृच्छ्रेण कापि गुरुणैव जनानुरोधात् । काचिन्निवारितबहिर्गमना जनन्या । काचिद्विहृत्य किल, 9 *b* पकोद्भव-

त्वपरिवादभयान्मृगाक्ष्या [ ]। 98 *b* मुक्तेरपि प्रियतमा, 101 *b* येनैव सूचितनवाभ्युदयप्रसगा। 129 *a* कर्णोत्पलान्नयनमाप, पूर्व द्विरेफ परिभूयभयात्। P 124 *b* यानि द्रवति विरहे विदलति यानि। न्यस्तानि शखवलयानि करे कयाचित्।

[Bhatta] Upamanyu

135 *a* साध्यरागरुचिरारुणमारात्।

Umāpatidhara

9 *b* हिमगिरितनयामयार्द्धमूर्ति, P 18 *b* स्वाधीनो रसनाचल, 41 *b* करभदयिते, 42 *a* करभ रभसा क्रोष्टु वाछस्य०, यस्या सभृत सालवालवलय, 50 *a* अर्का केचन केचिदक्षतरव, 54 दिक्चक्र तृणभस्मना, 55 *b* त्व चेत्सचरसे वृषेण लघुता का नाम दिग्दन्तिना। 73 प्रियाया प्रत्यूषे, 75 *b* मृणालीहारोयं न भुजगपति, 160 *b* नियतव्या केन स्ववशरसनावल्लिसुभगा। 184 *b* तेनाखानि जलावगाहनरसव्यासक्तपौरागना।

Kat(tu)kāditya

113 *b* अमी हेलोन्मेषव्यसनिषु पलाशेषु।

Kamalākara

179 *a* अवासैर्द्राघिम्ना, करिकवलनशिष्टै।

Kamalāyudha

125 *b* लघुनि तृणकुटीरे क्षेत्रकोणे यवाना।

Karpūrakavi

41 *a* तुभ्य दासेर दासीय बदरी यदि रोचते।

Kalasa

74 *a* निद्रार्द्धमीलितदृशो मदमन्थराणि। 132 *a* आत्तमात्तमधिकातमुक्षि।

Kalinga

126 *a* हूणीसीमंतमुद्रा सपदि तरलयन्, 159 *b* शत्रो श्रोत्रपथेन न कति कति प्राच॰, 183 *b* वैतडश्रवणाप्रचडपवन।

Kavikeli

15 *a* उद्धूय धूलीर्धवली रसातलात्।

Kaviratna

21 *a* स्फटिकमरकतश्रीहारिणो प्रीतियोगात्। (the name of the poet from P) 45 *b* शखा सति सहस्रशो जलनिधे ।

Kavisvara

161 *b* शुडादंडप्रहारप्रपदविघटिता, रक्त नक्तचरौघ पिबति च वमति।

Kāmandaka

84 *a* नामापि स्त्रीति सवादि विकरोत्येव मानस।

Kālidāsa

P 15 *b* जाते जगति वाल्मीकौ। 71 *a* प्रत्यादिष्टविशेषमडनविधि, रम्य द्वेष्टि यथा पुरा प्रकृतिभि, 72 *a* अभिमुख मयि सहृतमीक्षित, स्निग्ध वीक्षितमन्यतोपि नयने, 74 *b* क्वाकार्य शशलक्ष्मण क्व च कुल, 82 *a* साक्षिप्यते क्षणमिव कथ दीर्घयामास्त्रियामा । एतस्मान्मा कुशलिनमभिज्ञानदानाद्विदित्वा। 86 *a* चित्रे निवेश्य परिकल्पितसत्त्व योगा। 91 *b* स्नानार्द्रमुकेष्वनुधूपवास। 97 *a* मध्येन सा वेदिविलग्न मध्या। 110 *a* अग्रे स्त्रीनखपाटल कुरवक, 125 *a* द्वित्रि (त्र) मुचुकुदमुकुलस्त्रिचतुर, 128 *b* चलापागा दृष्टि स्पृशसि बहुशो, आश्लिष्टबालतरुपल्लवलोभनीय। 129 *a* यतो यत षट्चरणो विवर्तते। लोला दृष्टिमितस्ततो विभजते, 131 *a* पयोधराकारधरो हि कदुक । 133 *a* एता गुरुश्रोणिपयोधरत्वात्। 135 *a* शुद्धमाविलमवस्थित, 137 *b* शिरसा प्रणिपत्य याचितानि। रजनीतिमिरावगुठिते पुरमार्गे 150 *b* नद्या इव प्रवाहो विषमशिला, 151 *b* तन्वी श्यामा शिखर

दशना, अपि तुरगसमीपादुत्पतत मयूर । 175 *b* यदालोके सूक्ष्म व्रजति, मुक्तेषु रश्मिषु निरायतपूर्वकाया । अयमरविवरेभ्य , 176 *b* तीव्राघातप्रतिमुखतरुस्कधभग्नैकदत । 189 *b* व्याघ्रानभीरभिमुखो त्पतितान्गुहाभ्य । लक्षीकृतस्य हरिणस्य हरिप्रभाव । अपि तुरग समीपादुत्पतत मयूर । परिचय चलरुक्षनिपातने । मेदछेदकृशोदर, 191 *a* नीवारा शुकगर्भकोटरमुखभ्रष्टास्तरूणामध । *a* वल्मीकाग्र निमग्नमूर्तिरुरग, प्राणानामनिलेन वृत्तिरुचिता ।

Kuntalapati (v l Sihalapati)

79 *a* चित्राय त्वयि चितिते ततभुवा चक्रे नतज्य धनु ।

Kumbhaka

90 *b* तरतीवागानि स्खलदमललावण्यजलधौ ।

Kumāradāsa

95 *a* कातिप्रकर्ष[ ] दशनच्छदेन सध्याघने बद्धपद हरत्या । *b* नाथ शशी तत्प्रतिरूपमन्यत् । 96 *b* वपु प्रकर्षादुपचीयमान । 98 *b* पश्य-न्हतो मन्मथबाणपातै । 105 *a* बाले नाथ विमुच मानिनि रुष, (poet's name given as Śrikumāra in P) 132 *a* अतर्जला वारितमूर्त्तिघाता । P 114 *a* नियतमिह पतति दतधार । 184 *b* प्रचडवातोपरमेन निश्चल । 191 तेजसा तपसो दीप्त । 192 *a* शिर प्रदेशलविन्या ।

Kumuda

16 *a* हृदय कौस्तुभोद्भासि ।

Krsnapilla

113 *b* कावेरीवारिवेल्लल्लहरि, P 122 *b* अंगैरनगश्रममुद्वहद्भि· ।

Krsnamisra

15 *a* मुक्ताभा नृकपाल, 59 *a* इदमपटु कपाट ।

Kokkoka

P 156 *a* विलसदमलदीपे पुष्पदामावकीर्णे ।

Ksemendra

7 *b* जयति स नाभिसरोरुहमधुकरपटलै , 14 *a* सुवर्णगिरिकर्णिके तरलतारकाकेसरे । 16 *b* आदिमत्स्य स जयतात् । 24 *b* दानोन्नता श्री श्रुतमप्रमाद । 28 *a* वीणेव श्रोत्रहीनस्य । *b* यत्करोत्यरुचिं क्लेश । उक्त परस्यामिषता । व्यर्थ श्रुतमलसस्य । यदर्ज्यते परिक्लेशै । 61 *a* अनगेनाबलासगाज्जिता, 69 *b* अवधिदिवस प्राप्तश्चाय, poet here called Ksemesvara in P —77 *a* अगेनगज्वरहुतवहश्चक्षुषि ध्यानमुद्रा । 92 *b* पुडरीकमिवाभाति नासावशगमौक्तिक । author's name in P —115 *a* निजा कायच्छाया श्रयति महिष , 116 *b* आध्मातोद्धतदाववन्हिसुहृद , P 114 *a* दृश्यते पानकेलीषु । 145 *a* वामस्कधनिषण्णशार्गकुटिल, 147 *a* अकृत्रिमविलासाक । 154 *a* काकाल्लौल्य यमात्क्रौर्य । *b* कलशाद्विनिर्गत, इतिवेधी सिद्धो मे । प्रथम स्वचित्तमखिल । उत्तिष्ठति नमति वणिक्, 155 *a* भगदत्तप्रभावाढया । P 161 *b* दलत्युदिततेजसा, हृदोदलननिश्चलै ।

Ganapatikavi

14 *a* यायाद्वजेंद्रवदन ।

Gadhikabhalluka

118 *a* पचेषोर्जयघोषणा गुणनिधे ।

Gelpandita

166 *a* सख्यातु यदि दानमस्य नृपते , लूतस्तत्र पिनद्ध ।

Goidhoi kaviraja

132 *b* निजनयनप्रतिबिबैरबुनि ।

Gotrananda

7 *a* क्रीडासरोषगिरिजाचरणारविंद । 75 *a* हे यामिनीश जडिमा कतमस्तवैष । *b* स सताप क्रूर कुसुमसुभगा सागलतिका । 77 *a* श्वासेषु प्रथिमा मुख करतल, 94 *a* बिभ्राणो मृगसख्यमेव किमपि, 100 *b* तद्वक्त्रस्य कलक एष तुलना, 105 *a* येन श्रोत्ररसायन, 134 *b*

आपृष्टोसि व्यथयति मनो दुर्बला वासरश्री । मित्रे क्वापि गते सरोरुह वने बद्धानने ताम्यति । उद्गाढप्रणये रुचा परिवृढे, 137 *a* चेत कातरता जहीहि, 141 *a* जाते यौवनपीनधाम्नि शशिनि ।

(Bhadanta-?) Gopadatta

192 *b* शार्दूली स्नेहगर्भं मुकुलितनयना लेढि शाव हरिण्या ।

Gobhata

24 *a* अनुहरत खलसुजनावग्रिमपाश्चात्यभागयो सूच्या । (the first Pāda from P) 26 *b* उपकारमसप्राप्य तुष्येत्साधु , सवर्षा शनिराकाशा (श)। वदितोप्येष दोषाय । अपूर्वः कोपि कोपाग्नि । (author called Gobhatta here)

Govardhanācārya

P 127 *b* अन्यमुखे दुर्वादो य प्रियवचने स एव परिहास ।

[Bhatta] Govindarāja

36 *a* निजकुलोचितचेष्टितमात्मनो ।

Caturmukhamahadeva

55 *b* विष्णो त्वया द्विजपति ।

Candraka

21 *a* येन ध्वस्तमनोभवेन, 107 *b* प्रसादे वर्तस्व प्रकटय मुदं, 134 *b* एकेनाक्ष्णा प्रविततरुषा ।

Candrakavi

31 *a* जलधर जलभरनिकरै ।

Cadhesvara

100 *b* यतो यतोंगादपयाति कचुक ।

Ciyāka

71 *b* अहो अहं नमो मह्य । 74 *b* प्रथमविरहखेदव्यापिनी यत्र बाला ।

Chittappa

P 3 *b* भूत्यै वोस्तु कपालदाम जगता, D (10 *b*) gives the latter half only विश्व स्रक्ष्यति etc 11*b* कल्पाते शमितत्रिविक्रम महाकंकाल, 37 *b* निरानद कौदे मधुनि विधुरो, 165 *a* अभ्युद्धृता वसुमती दलित रिपूर । 168 *a* यस्याधो गगन रसातलमुपर्यंभोधयो-भ्यतरे ।

Jaghanasthalıbatuka

98 *a* वपुरनुपद नाभेरूर्ध्व विधाय मृगीदृशो ।

Jayagupta

123 *b* द्वयमिदमत्यंततम ।

Jayatungodaya or Jayatunga

9 *a* सूक्ष्माय शुचये तस्मै । 68 *b* किं ते न सति गिरय । 88 *a* समं विलासोंकुरित स्तनाभ्या ।

Jayadeva

11 *b* गिरितनयैकपयोधरनिहिततनु , P 12 *b* अपि मुदमुपयातो वाग्विलासै ।

Jayamādhava

128 *a* उच्चित्य प्रथममवस्थित मृगाक्षी पुष्पौघ ।

Jayavardhana

P 160 *b* नालस्यप्रसरो जडेष्वपि कृता ।

Jaladeva

84 *b* विनैवाभोवाह बहलरुचि ।

Jalamānusırudra

181 *a* एतस्माज्जलधेर्जलस्य कणिका ।

Jāıka

164 *b* अगुष्ठाग्रिमवक्रितागुलिरध ।

Jitamanyu

168 *b* दिग्वारणे सुरवधूपरिगीयमान ।

Jivanāga

41 *b* कुमुदशबलै फुल्लाभोजै सरोभिरलकृता ।

Jhalajjhalavāsudeva

61 *b* प्रहरविरतौ मध्ये वान्ह ।

Dimboka

74 *b* पुरस्तन्व्या गोत्रस्खलनचकितो, 83 *b* नायातो यदि तादृशं स शपथ कृत्वा ।

Tarunabāna

64 *a* मदकलकलकंठकठनाद ।

Trilocana

24 *b* कृष्यंति चारुरितै सुजनस्य संत ।

Trivikramabhatta

P 14 *b* शश्वद्वाणद्वितीयेन, 15 *b* सिदूरस्पृहया स्पृशंति करिणी कुंभस्थमाधोरणा । 71*a* हृद्योद्यानमरुत्तरगितसरस्तीरे, कर्पूरावुनिषेकभाजि, 77*a* त्वद्देशागतमारुतेन मृदुना सजातरोमाचया । 86 *b* अमदामदनिष्यद । सर्गव्यापारशीलस्य । दग्धो विधिर्विधत्ते । लावण्य पण्यपरमाणुदल, 87 *b* भजन्नासीन्निद्रापरिचयमुपेंद्र , 88 *a* परिहरति वयो यथा यथास्या , 89 *b* कुरगीवागानि स्तिमितयति गीतध्वनिषु यत् । 93*a* आबध्नन्परिवेषमंडलमल, 97 *a* मध्ये त्रिवलीत्रिपथं पीवरकुचचत्वरे च धवलदृशा । 99 *b* आकार स मनोहर , 101 *b* किंचित्कपितपाणिककणरवै पृष्ट ननु स्वागतं । 132 *b* अविरतमिदमभ स्वेच्छयोच्छालयत्या । 133 *b* पूर्वाह विदितोदया, 134 *a* विश्लेषाकुलचक्रवाकामिथुनै , 136 *b* किमु कुवल्यनेत्रा सति नो नाकनार्य । 137 *a* विकलयति कलाकुशल । न गम्यो मत्राणा न च भवति भैषज्यविषयो । पौष्पा पच शरा

शरासनमपि, 140 *b* कैलासायितमद्रिभिर्विटपिभि , 182 *b* एषा सा विध्यमध्यस्थलविपुलशिलो, 186 *a* जननीतिमुदितमनसा । 189 *a* कि स्यादजनपर्वत स्फटिकयो , किमश्व पार्श्वेषु, 190 *a* क्वचिच्च टुलकोकिलाकलितनूतच्चूताकुर । पटलमलिकुलाना, स्कधशाखातरालेषु । P 155 *b* प्रियविरहविषादस्यौषध ।

Dandın

131 *a* वनिताकरतामरसाभिहत पतित पतित पुनरुत्पतति । 173 *a* न मया गोरसाभिज्ञ ।

Darpanaraghava

P 122 *a* निजाशुकावृता प्राची चुबत्यर्केनुरागिणि ।

Dāmodaragupta

154 *b* अविदग्ध श्रमकठिनो । शृणु सखि कौतुकमेक ।

Dīpaka

9 *a* युवासि (क्व यासि) खलु चौरि मत्प्रमुषितं स्फुट दृश्यते । 31 *b* हृद्या नद्य कमलसरसी राजहसावतसा । 153 *b* कोश कुशेशयति काशय । 154 *a* सक्राण लोलनेत्र कुलयुवतिमुख ।

Durlabharāja

P 158 *b* अतिकृष्णेष्वतिगौरेष्वति, यद्दतुरोपि मूर्खो रोमचितो । बुद्धियुतो यद्दीर्घो, वक्रानुगत रूप ।

Devagupta

64 *a* विवृद्धतापोपशमार्थमगे ।

Devabodhı

19 *a* चद्राकौं यावदह्नीभवदमरसरित्, 85 *a* तमस्तोम पूर्व तदनु सकल शीतलरुचि ।

Devarāja

P 125 *b* अये को जानीते निजपुरुषसगोपि न तथा ।

Dhanamjaya

174 *a* सर्वस्वापहरो न दस्युकुलज ।

Dhanapāla

11 *a* ऋक्षाणा भूरिधाम्ना श्रितमधिपतिना, 12 *a* अस्थीन्यस्थीन्य-जिनमाजन, P 14 *b* माघेन विघ्नितोत्साहा । P 15 *a* केवलोपि स्फुरन्बाण ।

Dharma

182 *b* हेलोन्मूलितनर्तितप्रतिहतव्यावर्तितप्रेरित ।

Dharmakırtı

87 *a* लावण्यद्रविणव्ययो न गणित क्लेशो महान्स्वीकृत । 105 *b* भवतु विदित व्यर्थालापैरल प्रिय गम्यता ।

Dharmadāsa

172 *b* शीकरासारसवाही । पूतिपंकमयेत्यर्थ। अभोरुहमये स्नात्वा। शिलीमुखैस्त्वया वीर ।

Dharmadeva

170 *b* हारानाहर देवचंद्र धवलान् ।

Dharmāsoka

P 13 *a* अनुद्घुष्ट शब्दैरथ च घटनात. स्फुटतरा । 168 *b* नि सृत्याह (पर?) सागरात्, 171 *a* देव स्वस्तुति ?

Dhārımala

P 142 *a* आत्ते सीमतरत्ने मरकतिनि हृते हेमताडंकपत्रे। (anonymous ın Śārngadhara , not ın D)

Dhūtımādhava

129 *b* अत्रास्मिन् सुतनु लतागृहे ।

Nandana

77 *b* चंद्रं चंदनकर्दमेव लिखितं ।

Naradevavaiman

155 *b* आदाय मासमखिल स्तनवर्जित मे ।

Narasimha

54 *b* इत काकानील प्रतिभयमित , 55 *a* गतमतिजवाद्भ्रात सर्व, किमसि विमना किचोन्मादी क्षणादपि लक्ष्यते ।

Nāgappayya

46 *b* विपन्न पद्मिन्या स्मृतमनिमिषै ।

Nacinaja

95 *b* अस्या स्मित प्रणयिपूर्णमुखेदुबिब । 111 *a* निर्वाणागार-सधैरिव, P 121*b* उत्पाल (?) हेलयैव द्रुतमभिपतत (poet named Nivirāja)

Nathakumāra

110 *b* बाणानकुरयति पुष्पधनुषो वीरस्य, 130 *a* चलत्कुचतटा शुकश्रवण, प्रत्यासन्नसखीकराबुजयुग, P 126 *b* नखपदकलेषु कामिनीना ! 155 *a* दुर्दशैं कृपणै फणे (?) यदि भवेत्, 186 *a* यत्सौधभृगारसरोजराग ।

Nidrādaridra

74 *a* जाने कोपपराङ्मुखी प्रियतमा स्वप्नेद्य दृष्टा मया ।

Nisanārāyana*

107 *b* कृतककृतकैर्मायाशाठ्यैस्त्वया, कि कठे शिथिलीकृतो भुजलतापाश 157 *a* अक्षत्रारिकृताभिमन्युनिधन, *b* कृतमनुकृत दृष्ट वा यैरिद गुरुपातक । यत्सत्यव्रतभगभीरुमनसा ।

Naimeya or Naimayya

24 *b* यदमी दशति दशना रसना तत्स्वादु फलमवाप्नोति । 53 *a* शाखा सततिसंनिरुद्धनभसो ।

* Perhaps the same as the author of the Venisamhāra, the 2nd 4th and 5th of the following verses occur in that play

Pāṇini

119 *b* क्षपा क्षामीकृत्य, 139 *b* उपोढरागेण विलोलतारक।

Punaruktapandita

27 *a* पश्चादन्यत्पुरश्चान्यत्पुनरुक्तभयादिव (the name of the author from P)

Puspadanta

P 156 *a* अध्री प्रेमनिबधनैकनिपुणा लाटी विदग्धप्रिया।

Pithvidhara

60 *a* उच्चैर्दैवादिह पशुपतौ भूषणीभूय तिष्ठन्। 63 *b* सा तोरणातिकमुपेत्य दिशो विलोक्य। 183 *a* पातु गौतमि वारि तावकमिद पीयूखनिर्दूषण। मातर्गौतमि कीर्तिकल्पलतिके।

Prakāsavarsa

31 *b* अयि जलद यदि न दास्यसि। यद्भूभृता लघुतृणैरपि बद्धमूल। एतदत्र पथिकैकजीवित। 55 *b* आम्रा किं फलभारनम्र शिरसो, P 159 *b* स्तब्धप्रकृतिर्लोके।

Prajñānanda

151 *a* यत्रावकाशलेशोस्ति। 177 *a* अनूनवेगादयमद्वितीय।

Pradipavasumdhara

80 *a* विलासिन्नासीने प्रतिवसति।

Prabodhacandrodaya

19 *a* येन त्रि सप्तकृत्व ।

Prahlāda

31 *a* एकस्य तस्य मन्ये। जलद समुद्रसेवामाचरति, 49 *b* गाता कोकिल एव ज्ञाता च, वहसि बालभुजा कुलानि मौलौ। उत्तसकौतुक रसेन विलासिनीना। यो दृष्ट स्फुटदस्थिसपुटमिषात्, 50 *a* मूर्तिर्नेत्ररसायन यदि कुत, 53 *b* महेशस्त्वा धत्ते शिरसि।

Prahladana

30 *a* रविरविकल श्लाघापात्र, 31 *b* स क्षारो जलधि, 49 *b* पारेवर शता संति महातो, 56 *b* रोहणाचलशैलेषु कस्तुला, P 25 *b* आलोकवत सत्येव। P 18 *b* जडात्मापि भवत्युच्चैराश्रय न्महता पद। P 163 *b* प्रिय प्रजाना दातैव।

Banabhatta

5 *a* नमस्तुगशिरश्चुवि। 7 *a* हरकण्ठग्रहानद्। 14 *a* वाच क्रौचरिपो शिशुत्वविकला श्रेयासि पुष्णतु व। (last line the first and probably some other verses being on leaf 13, which is lost) स्वेच्छारम्य लुठित्वा पितुरुरसि, P 14 *a* सूत्रधारकृतारभ, कवीनामगलद्दर्पो, P 14 *b* कीर्ति प्रवरसेनस्य, 64 *a* दु खानि सदिशत्या। 2 *a* नूनमाज्ञाकरस्तस्या सुभ्रुवो मकरध्वज। यथा यथास्या स्तनयो समुन्नति। सन्मार्गे तावदास्ते प्रभवति पुरुषस्ताव देवेद्रियाणा। (P has the first two only of these and they are anonymous) 116 *b* कारजी कूल (ज) यतो निजजठररव, सर्वौशारुधि दग्धवीरुधि, 117 *a* ग्रीष्मोष्मप्लोषशुष्यत्पयसि, भ्राम्य-च्चीत्कारचक्रभ्रमभरितघटीयत्रचक्रप्रमुक्त। 118 *b* गंभीरोद्गर्जितेन त्रिभुवनविवर व्याप्य, 121 *b* नृत्यद्बर्हिणि दर्दुरारवपुषि, 126 *b* अन्योन्याहतदतनादमुखर प्रव्ह मुख, 127 *b* पुण्याह्नौ पूर्णवाछ, 147 *b* पततु तवोरसि सतत। 177 *a* पश्चादङ्घ्रि प्रसार्य त्रिकनति-वितत, 180 *a* नाधन्याना निवास विदधति गिरय।

Bilhana

6 *a* देहार्द्धं कुरु पार्वति स्थिरपद, 15 *a* देहप्रविष्टाद्रिसुतामुखेंदु। P 12 *a* कर्णामृत, सूक्तिरस विमुच्य, 21 *a* गृहीतखड शशि-शेखरेण। *b* वचासि वाचस्पतिमत्सरेण। P 18 *a* धिक्त्वा रे कलिकाल याहि विलय। 22 *a* लकापते सकुचित यशो यत्, *b* असौ रसौचित्यगुणोज्ज्वलोपि, 39 *b* मातगै किमु वल्गितै, सेरा सतु सभासद (attributed to Bhimapandita in P) 40 *a* येनानर्गलकालकेलिदलित (attributed to Bheribhānkāra in

P) ग्रामाणामुपशल्यसीमनि, (no name after this in P) 49 *a* सोढप्रौढहिमक्रमातिशनकै , 65 *b* शीघ्र भूमिगृहे गृहाण वसति, 66 *a* यत्सभाषणलालसैव कुरुषे, 67 *b* शल्यानि मर्माण्यपि कीलितानि, 68 *a* मुग्धस्य ते वद विधुतुद, चद्रो न चेद्दहति ते सखि, ज्योत्स्ना पिबेयु कियती चकोरा । 69 *b* विरक्तमन्यप्रमदानुरक्तं । अपूजितै-वास्तु गिरीद्रकन्या । 70 *a* तस्य त्वया कर्कशवादिनोपि । स दूति धत्ते यदि रोषणत्व । वृथा गाथाश्लोकै , 76 *a* घर्माशुर्भगवानसूत यमुना, प्रालेयाद्रिस्त्वरितमुरसि, 78 *a* उन्मीलति नखैर्लुनीहि, वाचस्तावद् पेक्षते पिकयुवा, *b* दत्ते दृष्टिमधीतविभ्रमलवा, नीरागामृतलाछने मुखमपि, स्पृशत्या क्षामत्व मदनकर, गृहीत ताबूल परिजन, तीव्र कोपि विजृभते 79 *a* गलत्येका मूर्च्छा, 84 *b* अये केय लीलाधवल गृह, पुर स्थित्वा किंचिद्गलित, 85 *b* मन्ये पार्वणचद्रमण्यशकलेना०, 86 *b* वक्त्र निर्मलमुन्नता कुचतटी, 89 *a* गडे मडनमात्मनैव कुरुते, लास्याभ्यासमिषेण चित्रमनया, *b* दोलाया जघनस्थलेन चलता, 92 *a* भ्रूलेखायुगुल भाति । *b* पुराणवाणत्यागाय । 93 *b* भाति दतच्छदेनास्या । 95 *a* अय त्रयाणा ग्रामाणा । सरले अपि दोर्लेखे । *b* अगुलीभि कुरगाक्ष्या । मुखेदुचद्रिकापूरप्लाव्य मानौ पुन पुन । तत्कुचौ चरत किचिन्नून मनसिज व्रत ॥ 96 *b* दरिद्रमुदर दृष्ट्वा । 97 *a* भाति रोमाली तस्या । *b* मन्ये समाप्तलावण्ये । 98 *a* तन्नितबस्य निदति । *b* मन्ये तदूरू सभाव्य । हेममञ्जीरमालाभ्या । 99 *a* अमूल्यस्य मम स्वर्णतुलाकोटि, जाग्रत कमलालुक्ष्मी । तस्या पादनखश्रेणि । 111 *a* स्थाने स्थाने मलयमरुत , मानग्रथिकदर्थनाय कथिता , *b* श्रोत्रस्यामृतनिर्भरैकवसति, 112 *b* कृतप्रकोपा पवनाशनाना । मलयगिरिसमीरा सिहल, पानीय नालिकेरीफलकुहर, 113 *a* तन्वान शीतलत्व, 117 *b* विद्युत्पकज खडपकपटली, 122 *a* अथोपगूढे शरदा शशाके, 123 *a* नीलनीर दनिचोल, 124 *b* शरत्कालातपक्रान्त । 125 *a* जडात्मापि स्वकालस्थ । समक्षमपि सूर्यस्य । मद्वैरिण कठोराशो । *b* अभवन्नद्भुतोष्माण । 127 *a* अगारहासिषु विलासगृहोदरेषु । *b* पृ (स्पृ) ष्टा स्तोक

वितस्तास्त (त) टतुहिनकणै, 128 *b* अताडयत्पल्लवपाणिनैका। असरयपुष्पोपि मनोभवस्य । 130 *a* सौंदर्यमिंदीवरलोचनाना। *b* प्रसार्य पादौ विहितस्थितीना। उन्नम्य दूर मुहुरानमत्य । 133 *b* शुचिरिति परित प्रसिद्धभाजि। 136 *b* मधुर्मासो रम्यो विपिनमजन त्व च तरुणी। 138 *a* कृत्वा नूपुरमूकता चरणयो, (The poet here called Kāsmıra Bılhına) *b* अभिसरणरस कृशागयष्टे 141 *b* यथा ताराचक्र चरति परित, (attributed apparently to Murāri, but to Bılhana in P) 144 *b* लीलामीलनतो विलोचनयुगे गच्छति, काकुत्स्थेन शिरासि यानि शतश, पश्यतु कौतुकमिद सकला कपीद्रा । P 121 ये कुठीकृतवल्लभप्रणतय, 150 *a* य सैन्यै स्मरपार्थिवस्य, P 124 *a* नाडीदल काचनकर्ण [पा]शे । 156 *a* हा वत्स क्व गतोसि देहि वचन, 157 *a* अत्राकठ विलुठ सलिले निर्जला भू पुरस्तात्। 160 *a* सधानक्षण एव राघवशरै, 168 *b* सिद्धागनास्तव यशासि रतातरेषु। उग्रग्राह मुदन्वतो जलमतिक्रामत्यनालबिनि। 186 *b* उष्मायमाणनवयौवन मुग्धभावा । मन्ये विशालायतवेषवीथी । प्रत्यष्टमि प्रतिचतुर्दशि तीर्थयात्रा। यस्मिन्पुरे निवसतामयमेव लाभो। 187 *a* मुखरमुरज पौरस्त्रीभि, 190 *a* स्वेछाविहाररसिकस्य वनस्थलीषु।

[Bhaṭṭa]Bıjaka

110 *a* असौ मरुच्चुबितचारुकेसर । 125 *a* हिमधवलदतकेशी।

Bhartı mentha

P 127 *a* मधु च विकसितोत्पलावतस ।

Bhartrharı

25 *b* ब्रह्माडमडलीमात्र कि लोभाय मनस्विन । कुसुमस्तवकस्येव द्वयी वृत्ति 26 *a* क्वचित्कथामाली क्वचिदपि च दिव्याबरधर । 28 *a* ते तावत्कृतिन परार्थनिरता स्वार्थस्य बाधेन ये मध्यास्तेपि परोपकारनिरता स्वार्थाविरोधेन ये। तेमी मानुषराक्षसा परहितं यै स्वार्थतो हन्यते ये तु &c, जाड्य ह्रीमति गण्यते व्रतरुचौ दभ,

121 *a* उपरि घन घनपटल तिर्यग्गिरयो, 174 *b* यावत्स्वस्थमिद शरीरमरुज।

Bharvu

126 *b* गौरीविभ्रमधूपधूमपटलश्यामायमानोदरा ।

[Bhatta]Bhallata

P 25 *a* गते तस्मिन्भानौ त्रिभुवन, 30 *b* ये जात्या लघव सदैव गणना प्राप्ता न ये कुत्रचित् (attributed to Bhallata in P) 35 *b* पथि निपतता शून्ये दृष्टा, 36 *b* तद्वैदग्ध्य समुदितपयस्तोयतत्त्व विवेकु। 37 *a* मा गा विषादमलिपोतक, *b* सोपूर्वो रसनाविपर्यय विधि, 47 *b* अतश्छिद्राणि भूयासि कटका बहवो बहि । 53 *a* चदने विषधरान्सहामहे।

Bhavabhuti

62 *b* त्व जीवित त्वमसि मे हृदय द्वितीय। 64 *a* परिमृदितमृणा लीम्लानमग प्रवृत्ति । 70 *b* गमनमलस शून्या दृष्टि, यदिदावानद प्रणयिनि जने, 71 *a* धत्ते चक्षुर्मुकुलिनि, 72 *b* प्रेमार्द्रा प्रणयस्पृश परिचयात्, सभूयैव सुखानि चेतसि पर, 73 *a* यदैवारभ्यात पदमुपहित पक्ष्मलदृशा । 75 *a* भ्रमय जलदानभोगभान्, 75 *b* दलयतु हृद गाढोद्वेद द्विधा तु न भिद्यते। 76 *a* परिच्छेदातीत सकलवचनानामविषय । 105 पुरश्चक्षूरागस्तदनु मनसोनन्यपरता। 108 *a* विनिश्चेतु शक्यो न सुखमिति वा दु खमिति वा। 133 *a* जलनिबिडितवस्त्रव्यक्तनिम्नोन्नताभि । 147 *a* किमपि किमपि मद मदमासत्तियोगात्। P 134 *b* उत्कृत्योत्कृत्य कृत्ति, 162 *b* °भयत सधिनिर्मुकमादौ, (3rd line of the verse beginning with निष्ठा पस्विद्यदस्न) अत्रै कल्पितमगलप्रतिसरा, 163 *b* दोर्दडाचितचद्र शेखरधनु, 179 *a* गुजत्कुजकुटीरकौशिकघटा, 184 *a* इह समद शकुताक्रातवानीर, 188 *b* कठोरपारावतकठमेचक। दृष्टिस्तृणीकृत जगत्त्रयसत्त्वसारा । 189 *a* त्रातुं लोकानिव परिणत, 192 *b* उत्पत्तिर्जमदग्निन सभगवान् देव, ज्योतिर्ज्वालाप्रलयजटिल।

Bhāgavata Jayavardhana

143 *b* लावण्यपूरपरिपूरितदिङ्मुखेस्मिन्।

Bhāravi

26 *a* अभिमानवतो मनस्विन प्रियमुच्चै , अभिमानधनस्य गत्वरै । *b* अपवादादभीतस्य । 131 *a* एकोपि त्रय इव भाति कदुकोसौ, P 159 *b* अभिद्रोहेण भूतानामर्जयन्।

Bhāsa

141 *a* कपाले मार्जार पय इति करान्लेढि शशिन । 91 *b* अस्या ललाटे रचिता सखीभि ।

Bhaskara

122 *a* कदा नु कन्यागमनप्रवाद ।

Bhāskaravarman

191 *b* बद्धासन्नासनानि स्थिरतरतनव ।

Bhima

58 *b* गभीरस्य महाशयस्य, 115 *b* कानि स्थानानि दग्धान्यतिशयगहना ।

Bhīmabhatta or Bhimata (P)

78 *a* अस्मिश्चद्रमसि प्रसन्नमहसि ।

Bhimasimhapandita

150 *b* ससार प्रतिभाति येन सरस ।

Bhūtimādhava

6 *a* करस्पर्शारभात्पुलकितपृथूरोजकलशे ।

Bheribhānkāra

6 *b* उच्चैरुत्तालखेलद्भुजवन 11 *b* स्पृष्टव्याकृष्टदंष्ट्राविकटमुख, कञ्चातक्रोधनस्य त्रिपुरविजयिन , 33 *a* येनानदमये वसंतसमये, 169 *b* सन्नानामयुगातसगतिरिह स्यादर्णवाना न किं । 181 *b*

अजाघ्रिनिधौतरजश्चयापि। कियद्दूरे तीरद्रुमकुसुम, मात शैलसुतास पत्नि, 182 *a* देवि त्वत्सैकतेषु त्रिषवणविशद, अमुष्मिन्संसारे परि कलितसारेतरतया । काकैर्निष्कुषित श्वभि कवलित । त्वत्तीरे तरुकोटरानरगतो*, 187 *b* आयुर्वायुव्यथितनलिनीपत्रमित्र किमन्यत्।

Bhoja or Bhojadeva

5 *b* आदाय चापमचल कृत्वा हीन, 29 *a* उत्पाद्य यत्स्वयमपि प्रबलानुराग। 30 *a* खेद ये जनयति ये विदधति क्षिप्र जगन्नीरस। 33 *b* य सतापमपाकरोति जगता, 36 *a* हहो बकोट यदि, आदाय द्रुतमाकृतेरुपशमाद्रि, 37 *a* जाति यथानुसरासि त्वमिह द्विरेफ, 38 *a* तेजो दर्शयसि त्वमीदृशमपि, 41 *b* रूक्ष वपुर्न च विलोचनहारि रूप। 44 *a* पाथोनाथ जगत्यहकृतिभृतो, 46 *a* यद्वल्गस्यभितो वृथातटभुवो, 50 *b* भ्रातश्चदन कि ब्रवीमि, 51 *a* कि ते नम्रतया किमुन्नततया, *b* आपुष्पप्रसरान्मनोहरतया, 56 *b* रत्नाना न किमालयो जलनिधि, ये सतोषसुखप्रबुद्धमनस, 57 *a* एकस्यायमुदेति मूर्द्धनि गिरे, श्लाघ्य महत्वमेकस्य। यत्पीयूषसहोदरै स्नपयति, *b* सद्वृत्तस्य च वशजस्य च, शुभ्रत्व यदिद य एष गरिमा, 58 *a* वन्हि विशाभसि निमज्ज, ते सति हत बहवो भुवि ये परेषा । स्नेह यत्त्वमिहावसज्य निबिड, यत्सद्गुणोपि सरलोपि, सद्वशस्य प्रवितत्गुण, *b* अस्पृश्यसगति मिह प्रविहाय, गभीरस्य महाशयस्य सहजस्वच्छस्य, भीमस्यास्य प्रतनुवदन, साद्रज्योति पटलदलित, 94 *a* यदपि विबुधै सिधोरत कथचिदुपार्जित (attributed to Bhāsa in P) 110 *b* माकदेषु न यद्यपि प्रतिदिन, 115 *a* अगारै खचितेव भू, 119 *a* स्फुरद्धीमा भोग, 126 *b* शीतार्तिप्रसरश्रथाकुलपदन्यासै, P 126 *a* शुभे कार्य वृद्धौ, 188 *a* किं ब्रूमो जलधेरनतमाहिमस्थानस्य, ब्रूम. कि नभसो निसर्गमहत ।

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* There is no एते after the seven verses in fols 181 182 but the 1st and the 4th occur in P and there we have एतौ after the name wherefore probably all these belong to the same author

Makaranda

175 *b* नगच्छाया हि रम्येय ।

Mankhana

10 *b* पायात्कृतानगपतगदाह । 60 *a* किनाम दर्दुर दुरध्यवसाय ।

Mangalarjuna

25 *a* कथमपि हि भवति क्षेत्रसद्बीजयोगात् ।

Madana

7 *b* देवी रतिर्विजयते मृगनाभिचित्रपत्रावली, P 11 *b* पादविकलता क्वापि । 19 *a* यामिन्या परिवत्तिभाजि, 37 *a* यद्यपि वदनसरोरुह-सौरभलोभेन, 123 *a* इतश्चद्र साद्र स्मरमयवय साधिमधुर• । मयूखैरेकाद्रे कलभदशनच्छेदविशदै । P 98 *a* सम पाथै कातैर्घनसमयसकेतघटितै (the latter part of this verse only in D) 124 *a* गतो यो वर्षासु क्रकचनिशिता केतकवनी । 134 *b* दिनभर्तुरस्तमयत , 135 *b* नीता क्वाप्यभिसारिका इव दिशो, 140 *a* अमुष्मिन्पचेषोस्त्रिभुवनजिगीषो , शुचीना हसाना हरति मलिनाना, समुन्मीलत्पूर्वाचलशिखरिदूर्वावणमृगी । 145 *b* नयनपथि निरोधक्रो धनिर्द्धूतभार, 153 *b* वदे पद्मिनि धर्मलाभ, P 121 *b* अपयातीना मधुना सकेतनिकेतनान्मृगाक्षीणा । 156 *b* भयान्मद यस्य क्रमवति कपोले, 159 *b* येहपूर्विकया प्रहारमभजन्खड्गस्य मा छिद्धि मा । ये लकाधिपतिप्रतापदहनै , 179 *a* विध्यक्षोणीधरपरिसरोत्संग, 180 *a* मौलौ जलददानेन । 184 *a* इह शिखरकराल, उत्सगे सैकताना, स्कधासक्तैरिह हि विपिने, 184 *b* अयमुपगततृष्णाकृष्णसाराक्षिपातै ।

Madālasākuvalayanāṭikā

72 *a* किं पक्व सुकृत किमह इति मे नाद्यापि संवित्पुन ।

Mayūrabhatta

72 *a* साभिप्राय प्रणयसरस प्रौढमारूढराग ।

From the Mahānātaka

8 *b* कूर्म पादासयष्टिर्भुजगपतिरसौ, 12 *b* देवा दिक्पतय प्रयात परत, 14 *b* विघ्नेशो व स पायात्, 145 *a* अके कृत्वोत्तमाग प्लवगबलपते, 156 *a* सौमित्रे ननु सेव्यता तरुतल, हे गोदावरि रम्यवारि सुभगे, 158 *a* श्वेडा (क्षुद्रा ?) सत्रासमेन विजहत, *b* कपोले जानक्या करिकलभदतद्युतिमुषि । निस्त्रिंशप्रतिबिंबितेन यदुर । किंचित्कोपकलाकलापकलना, P 134 *a* एता शार्दूलहेला दलित, P 136 *b* अके कृत्वोत्तमाग ।

Mahāmanusya

125 *a* अव्युत्पन्नस्वभावाना नारीणामिव साप्रत । 127 *a* कारणो त्पन्नकोपेपि साप्रत प्रमदाजन ।

Māgha

124 *b* विगतसस्यजिघत्सुमघट्टयत् । 127 *a* शिशिरमासमपास्य, 129 *b* अवचितकुसुमा विहाय वल्ली । मुहुरुपहसितामिवालिनादै । 133 *b* अनुरागवतमपि लोचनयो । 135 *a* प्रतिकूलतामुपगते हि विधौ । 142 *b* हावहारि हसित वचनाना । दत्तमिष्टतमया मधु पत्युर्गाढमाप, अन्ययान्यवनितागतचित्त । 146 *a* दीपितस्मरमुरस्यु पपीड । यद्यदेव रुरुचे रुचितेभ्य । 147 *b* आहत कुचतटेन रमण्या । P 124 *a* अधिरजनि जगाम धाम तस्या । 162 *a* कश्चित्मूर्छामेत्य गाढप्रहार । नृत्त युद्ध शूरमाश्लिष्य काश्चित् । 176 *b* क्षिप्त पुरो निजगृहे मुहुरिक्षुकाड । स्तभ महातमुचित सहसा मुमोट । 177 *a* आवर्तिन शुभफलप्रदशुक्तियुक्ता । 186 *a* स्फुरत्तुषाराशुमयूखजालै । चिक्रसया कृत्रिम ।

Mādhavamāgadha

52 *a* विद्धि तै सेविते कि तै ।

Mādhavasila

19 *a* गीतीर्वैणवमद्रनादमधुरा ।

Māyurāja

156 *a* गङ्गूषाशोषिताब्धिप्रकटजलधरोत्फालजातस्मिताना । 158 *b* अप्राप्तप्रथमावकर्तनरुषा ।

Marulā

67 *b* गोपायंती विरहजनित दु खमग्रे गुरूणा ।

Mālatımadhava

P 11 *b* व्याकरणादधिगतमपि कविवदने शब्दवृंदमन्यादृक् । P 12 *b* निरवद्यानि पद्यानि यद्यनार्यस्य का क्षति । 40 *b* भद्रा जाति वहतो मदकरिणश्चेन्न, 56 *a* दामोदरमुदराहितभुवन यो वहति, 96 *a* निखिलैर्निरस्तमगै । *b* अशुकेन जघन तिरोदधे कचुकेन च कुचौ, 181 *a* उत्कलिकाबाहुल्य ।

Mahıla

145 *b* पुण्यान्यादाय वेगाच्चटुलतरकरै ।

Muktakaṇa

121 *b* यथा रध्र व्योम्नश्चलजलदधूम स्थगयति । 175 *b* केका (षा) त्वच्चरितैर्निसर्गशुचिभि ।

Muñja or Srı Muñja

P 25 यत्पादा शिरसा द (न?) केन विधृता पृथ्वीभृता मध्य-[तो] । 106 *a* दासे कृतागसि भवेदुचित प्रभूणा ।

Murārı

5 *b* वाणीभूतपुराणपूरुष, नमस्तुभ्य देवासुर, 6 *b* नीललोहितल लाटलाछने । 7 *a* श्रीकठस्य कपर्दबधन, *b* गौरीविभज्यमानार्द्ध, 8 *a* विरमति महाकल्पे नाभीपथैकनिकेतन । 10 *a* सहस्राक्षैरगै , 11 *a* स्वच्छदैकस्तनश्री , 12 *b* उद्दामभ्रमिवेगविस्तृत, यन्नाट्यभ्रमिघूर्णमान वसुधा, 25 *b* अभेदेनोपास्ते कुमुदमुदरे, 57 *b* कष्टा वेधव्यथा कष्टो, 65 *a* वक्रे या मृगनाभिपकरचना, 88 *a* अनाकूतैरेष प्रियसहचरीणा, 93 *b* आरब्धे दयितामुखप्रतिसमे । 96 *a* तदात्वप्रोन्मीलन्म्रदि-मरमणीयात्कठिनता । 116 *a* उद्दामद्युमणिद्युतिव्यतिकर, P 121 *a*

तमोभि पीयते गतवयसि, P 134 *a* निर्म्मज्जच्चक्षुरतर्भ्रमदतिकपिश, 135 *a* चूडारत्नै स्फुरद्भि, *b* उन्मुक्ताभिर्दिवसमधुना, 140 *a* इदुर्यद्युदयाद्रिमूर्ध्नि, उन्मीलति मृणालकोमलरुचो, *b* यत्पीयूषमयूख मालिनि । 141 *b* यथा ताराचक्र चरति, कि नु ध्वातपयोधिरेव कमितुरभिसृत्वरीणा, एतस्य कलामेकाममृतमयूखस्य, इदोरेककलाया रुद्रेणोद्भृत्य, पीयूषाग्रयण जगत्त्रयदृशा, 143 *b* न तावद्विबोष्ठ स्फुरति न च रागोयमधरे । अनेन रभोर तवाननेन । गोत्रे साक्षादजनि भगवान् 146 *a* स्वेदजलपिच्छिलाभिस्तनुभिर्यूना च शिथिलमाश्लेष । 156 *b* भूयिष्ठानि मुखानि चुबति भुजै 158 *a* येन स्वा विनिहत्य मातरमपि, त्रैलोक्यत्राणशौड सरसिजवसते, न्यचन्न्यचद्धरित्रीधृत चरणभर, 159 *a* सतुष्टे तिसृणा पुरामपि रिपौ, स्वेषूत्कृत्य हतेषु, 160 *b* अस्त्राणि ध्रुवगाधिपेन विहिता, यद्यत्कृत्त दशमुखशिर, प्रागुच्चै शिरस क्षुरप्रनखरै, आजन्मब्रह्मचारी पृथुलभुजशिला, 165 *b* उन्मीलन्मणिरश्मिजाल, 177 *b* मेरोर्मदयति समदमध, 178 *a* भूमे स्वर्णतया फलोत्तरतरुस्मेरस्य, सोय कैलासशैल, *b* गिरि कैलासोय, पुरा प्रालेयशैलोय (Murāri's name in P) 179 *b* रमयति मलयाचलोयमस्मान् । 180 *b* आकठदष्टशिरसाथ विभान्य पार्श्वे । 181 *a* लक्ष्मीरस्य हि पाद । यथादूरापाति त्रिदिवयुवतीनेत्र सुलभा । *b* देवस्याबुजसभवस्य भवनात्, बलिद्विषत्पादनखाशुरा जिभि । 182 *a* यूपाकुरप्रकरदतुरतीरलेखा । *d* देव्या भूमेर्मृगमदमय मडन, 184 *a* जडस्वच्छस्वादुप्रकृतिरुपहूते०, 187 *a* ध्रुवमानैरपारोय । *b* प्रयाग' सर्वतीर्थेभ्य, 189 *a* भयभ्रष्टप्रेयोविरह, 190 *a* दृश्यते मधुमत्तकोकिलवधू, *b* प्रियगुश्यामागो य इह विहरत्यबुजवने । 191 *a* बालेयतडुलविलोपकदर्थिताभि । तैर्मेधाजननव्रतप्रणयिभि 192 *a* पूरयित्वेव सर्वाग । अविद्याबीजविध्वसात् ।

Morika

63 *b* लिखति न गणयति, 76 *b* मा गच्छ प्रमदाप्रिय ।

Yasovarman

75 *a* आक्रदास्तानितैर्विलोचनजलान्यश्रात, 81 *b* यत्त्वन्नेत्रसमान

कातिसलिले मग्न, 106 *b* कामस्यापि शराहतिर्न गणिता, (The author has the epithet राजपुत्र here)

Yogesvara

120 *b* पते केतकसूचिसौरभजुष ।

Ratnaghosa

174 *a* बहुक्लेशेलपफलदे कार्ये भाव्य न सादरै । *b* पूर्वमेव परीक्ष्य स्यात् ।

Ratnacandra

77 *a* श्वासैस्त्रुट्यति वेगिभिर्नयनयो ।

Ratnakara

24 *b* ते साधवो भुवनमडन(ल?)मौलिभूता , 134 *a* अस्तावलबिर विबिबतयोदयाद्रि ।

Ralhana

40 *b* कर्णे चामरचारुकबुकलिका, (name of the author from P) 49 *a* स्वर्णै स्कधपरिग्रहो मरकतै , 139 *b* शेतेचापि न पद्मिनि कुमुदिनी ।

Ravigupta

24 *a* सुजनो न याति विकृति । अप्वपि गुणाय महता । 27 *a* अप्यात्मनो विनाश न गणयति, *b* स्वगुणानिव परदोषान्, 29 *a* प्राप्तानपि न लभते भोगान्भोक्तु, 145 *a* मातर्धर्मपरे दया कुरु मयि ।

Rajasekhara

5 *a* सुप्तद्रुहिणगोविद । 7 *b* कुलगुरुरबलाना, 9 *a* त वदे पद्मसद्मान । 16 *a* भागिरथीहारलता 18 *b* हरिपाद् स व पायात् । कवीना मानस नौमि । 22*b* and P 11 *a* कर्त्तव्या चार्थसारेपि । P 13 *b* स्वस्ति पाणिनये तस्मै । यथार्थता कथ नाम्नि । भासनाटकचक्रेपि । तौ शूद्रिककथाकारौ । P 14 *a* हुता शिखिनि गौणाढ्या । जगत्या ग्रथिता गाथा । एकोपि जीयते, P 15 *a* सहर्षैश्चरिता शश्वत् । बाणेन हृदि

लग्नेन । दर्प कविभुजगाना । सरस्वतीपवित्राणा । अहो प्रभावो वाग्देव्या । कर्ता त्रिलोचनादन्यो । अथो गणपति वदे । प्रद्युम्नान्नापर स्येह । 22 *b* जानकीहरण कर्तु । मा स्म सति हि चत्वार । ध्वनि नातिगभीरेण । 23 *a* & *b* कालजरपतिश्चक्रे । मायुराजसमो जज्ञे । अकालजलदेदो सा । अकालजलदश्लोकै । अनुप्रासिनि सदर्भै । दूरादपि सता चित्ते । *b* द्विसधाने निपुणता । नदीना मेकलसुता । यायावरकलश्रेणे । स्थिता माध्वीकपाकत्वात् । शब्दार्थयो समो गुफ । के वैकटनितबेन । सरस्वतीव कर्णाटी । सूक्तीना स्मरकेलीना । पार्थस्य मनसि स्थान P 18 *b* नून दुग्धाब्धिमथोत्थाविमौ सुजन दुर्जनौ । 61 *a* दृशा दग्ध मनासिज । 65 *a* एतस्या विरहज्वर, 66 *a* आहारे विरति समग्रविषयग्रामे निवृत्ति, 73 *b* बाणान्सहर मुञ्च कार्मुकलता, 75 *b* त्र्यौत्सी श्यामालिमानमानयत भो, 76 *b* विलीयेदु साक्षादमृतमयवापी यदि भवेत् । 77 *b* विलिपत्येतस्मिन्म लयजरसद्रोणसहसा । 84 *b* उपप्राकाराग्र प्रहिणु नयने, 87 *b* निर्माल्य नयनश्रिय कुवलय, 90 *a* दृशो सीमावाद श्रवणयुगुलेन प्रतिकल । पर्याप्तस्तनभारपीडितमुर, मुख विकसितस्मित, पद्भ्या मुक्तास्तरल गतय, सारिचूतकलाकुतूहलमना । There is राजशेखरस्यैते at the end of these, but the 1st and 3rd only occur in P and there they are anonymous, wherefore his authorship of them is more than doubtful —100 *a* तद्वक्त्र यदि मुद्रिता शशिकथा, 102 *a* केयूरीकृतककणावलिरसौ, 110 *a* गर्भग्रथिषु वीरुधा सुमनसो, 113 *a* ये दोलाकेलिकारा किमपि मृगदृशा, सुरतभरखिन्नपन्नग । 116 *a* धत्ते पकजिनीदलेच्छुरुपरि, 124 *a* कुर्वाणा कैरवाणा मधुकणहरण, 126 *b* वन्हे शक्तिर्जलमिव गता, 130 *b* प्रेखत्कुतल भारशीर्णकुसुमोद्भ्रात, चचच्चेलाचलानि, 131 *b* चेलाचलेन चलहार लताप्रकाडै । 132 *a* विशतीना स्रातु जघनपरिणाहो मृगदृशा । 133 *b* सैरभ्रीकरकृष्टपत्रकसरत्तारध्वनि, 144 *a* तरगय दृशोगणे भवतु भिन्नमिदीवर । 150 *a* द्वित्रैर्व्योम्नि पुराणमौक्तिकमणिच्छायै[ ] स्थितं तारकै । 151 *a* स्वादूना प्रथमाय रूपविभव, P 121 *b* व्रजत्य

परवारिधि रजतपिंडपाडु शशी। P 134 *b* रक्ताभ्यक्कोरुसृक्कागुरु कवलवलज्जागल, 160 *a* एकस्मिन्नपि पातितेपि शिरसि, 162 प्रेयान्मे दृतिदृतप्रवसदसुरय, (No remark here in P as to author ship) 163 *a* विध्वस्तहस्तयुगुल, 178 *a* स्वस्तिमानस्ति कैलास । यो धरित्रीभरश्रात । भूगोलप्रतिबिबस्य। मन्ये हिमाशु प्रातेपि। *b* श्रीकठश्वशुर स एष भगवान्, 179 *b* अभोधौ विहरतमतरहितै, 180 *a* चटुचटुलकरेणुस्पर्शलीलानिमीलन्। 180 *b* धत्ते यत्किल किचितैकगुरुता, 182 *b* सेय सुभ्रु पुर कलिदतनया, 183 *b* कावेरी कबरीव भामिनि भुवो, रत्नप्रसूरिति समस्ततरगिणीषु। रोधोरेखा चदनारण्यहृद्या। 186 *b* एतच्छातविचित्रचत्वरपथ, 192 *a* एते व्योमनि शोषयति।

Rānaka

54 *a* उत्तुगैस्तरभि किमेभिरफलै।

Rāma

97 *b* अमुष्मिल्लावण्यामृतसरसि।

Ramila and Somila

113 *b* सव्याधे कृशता क्षतस्य रुधिर।

Rissu Rissuka or Risuka

26 *b* नौश्च दुर्जनजिव्हा च, 28 *b* शरण कि प्रपन्नानि। 44 *a* आदाय वारि परित सरिता मुखेभ्य । 167 *a* शत्रूणामयशो यशश्च भवत ।

Rudati brahman

67 *a* विश्रातो दिवसस्तटीमयमटत्यस्ताचलस्याशुमान्।

Rudra

10 *a* पाणौ ककणमुत्फण फणिपति, 65 *a* मुग्धा स्वप्नसमागते प्रियतमे, 68 *b* निश्वासै सखि साप्रत खलु गता, 73 *a* यत्सारैरिव पकजस्य घटित, 90 *b* गत कर्णाभ्यर्णे प्रसरति तथाप्यक्षियुगल। 91 *a* ऊरुद्वद्वमानिदित प्रथयता, तरत्तार चक्षु क्षिपयति मुनीनामपि दृश ।

103 *b* यत्पादप्रणत प्रिय परुषया। 104 *a* विमुचामु मान सफलय दृश, 105 *b* यद्वाच प्रचुरोपचारचतुरा यत्, 106 *a* कृत मिथ्या वादैर्विरम, 107 *a* सार्ध मनोरथशतैस्तव धूर्त काता। 108 *a* यत्रार्कायितमिदुना सरसिजैरगारपुजायित। 109 *a* सत्य वल्लभ एष दुर्लभतमो, सत्य भामिनि दुर्जनोस्मि, वाचो वाङ्मिनि कि तवाद्य परुषा, 121 *a* वाता वातु जलस्पृशो, P 116 *b* विरम नाथ विमुच ममाचल 148 *b* स्वामिन्सवरयालक सतिलक भाल, P 126 *a* एकाकिनी यदबला तरुणी, *b* अबा शेतेत्र वृद्धा, 169 *b* तव दिग्विजयारभे। 175 *b* कि गौरिमा प्रति रुषा ननु गौरह कि।

Rukmata ?

45 *a* विस्तारो यदि नेदृशो यदि न तद्वाभीर्यमभोनिधे ।

Laksmana

93 *a* द्विजसगतिमासाद्य।

Lakṣmidhara

57 *b* लक्ष्मीकौस्तुभचद्रम प्रभृतिभि, 97 *b* गभीरनाभिह्रदसनिवेशै। 125 *b* कपते कपयो भृश, 180 *b* आकठदष्टशिरसा। P 159 *b* मा स्म सधि विजानतु।

Laghuvallabha Vāsudeva

143 *a* यथा बहि कटकित वपुस्तव नितबिनि।

Loṣta(tya)sarvajña

P 17 *a* प्रकृत्यैवातिवक्रेण। केचिद्गर्वगलग्रहेण, 143 *a* उद्भिन्ना कलकंठकंठकुहरात्, P 155 *a* आविद्धोरगमडलीकवलनाकाक्षा।

Vankalāvarta

127 *a* केशानाकुलयन्दृशो मुकुलयन्, *b* चुबतो गडभित्तीरल कवति मुखे।

Vatsarāja

P 12 *a* सत्काव्यपीयूषसमुद्रमध्ये।

Vararuci

45 *a* अय वारामेको निलय इति। (Name of the poet in P) 60 *b* वामनफलमत्युच्चात्तरुतो, 83 *b* बहुनात्र किमुक्तेन, 164 *a* न्यचच्चचलचचुचुबन।

Varāhamihira

17 *b* लीने श्रोत्रैकदेशे नभसि नयनयोस्तेजसि, 161 स्वर्गस्य मार्गा बहव प्रदिष्टा। जीवि व[?])तोपि निहि (ह[?]) तस्य वा रणे। एकतश्च सुरसुदरीजन। हा तात तातेति स वेदनार्त। लोक शुभ स्तिष्ठतु तावदन्य। समूर्छित सप्रति सप्रहारै। उर कृत्वा वेद्या मणिफलकगाढस्थितकुच। 188 *a* पृथ्या स्थूलतरा दध्रा तत, P 156 *b* समा षष्टिर्द्विघ्ना मनुजकरीणा, 158 *a* कर्पासौषधकृष्ण धान्यलवण, P 158 *b* आत (आर्त[?]) स्य यानमशन च बुभुक्षितस्य। P 159 *a* युक्तेन चूर्णेन करोति राग।

Vardhamana

28 *a* समर्पितास्तेन न कस्य दोषा।

Vardhuka

103 *b* यावन्नो साखि गोचर नयनयो।

Vallabhadeva

P 11 *b* सुकविश्रमानभिज्ञे, 21 *b* क्लातमपोद्वतखेदं तत्र निर्वाति, कथमिह मनुष्यजन्मा, ससदि तदेव भूषणमुपकारक, नृपसभसरसी परित पूर्णापि जडै, 22 *a* तेभ्यो नम कविभ्यो येषा, *b* श्रुतसपद कवीनामुक्तिभिरेव, वक्तार एव कवय सूक्तानि महघता नयत्यन्ये। अनवहित किमशक्तो, 24 *a* सैव पर न विनश्यति। निवसन्नपि सममितरै। *b* जगदुपकृतिषु सता रति। निभृत यदुपक्रियते। 27 *a* अन्यस्मालुब्धोष्मा क्षुद्र प्रायेण दु सहो भवति। दुर्वचनमन भिजाता। *b* उज्ज्वलगुणमप्युदित क्षुद्रो द्रष्टु। 29 *a* धनमर्थिनाम-भोग्य। न पर धनानि दारा। नदनरेद्रद्रविणै। अभ्युपयुक्ता सद्भि। 29 *b* किमत्रेनो पुत्र किमु न हरच्चूडामणिरसौ। 30 *a* क पश्यति

खरमहस समुखमपि, 32 *a* सद्य क्षिप्त व्रजति सलिलं यत्र मुक्तामयत्व। 35 *b* श्रुतराजहसवचसो युक्ता तूष्णीकतैव ककस्य। 39 *b* कथमप्यधिगतरध्रैरध्युषिता, 40 *a* कौपे पयसि लघीयसि। *b* यदि मत्तोसि मतगज, 46 *b* अयमवसर सरस्ते सलिलैरुपकर्तु, 49 *b* परिमलसुरभितनभसो बहव , 51 *b* अगुरुरिति वदति लोको। 52 *a* फलभरविततसमुन्नत। 53 *b* भूर्ज परोपकृतये निजकवचविकर्तना सहते। 54 *a* जातस्य सिधुतटमनु । P 39 *a* अमृताशो किरणेभ्यो जन्मविवृद्धि महोदधेरुदरे । 56 *b* रतिरसवर्द्धननदन। अहिरहिरिति सभ्रमपद। यद्यपि विलसति वासुकि । There is no एते at the end here , but the sameness of the metre affords a presumption in favour of the sameness of authorship

Vasunāga

75 *b* रक्ताशोक कृशोदरी क्व नु गता।

Vasumdhara

19 *b* रामो नाम बभूव ह्रु तदबला सीतेति, 35 *a* एतस्मिन्मलयाचले।

Vastupāla

31 *a* संप्रति न कस्य तरवो न सिद्धयो, 42 *a* अध्वा न यदि नि शकपक , 186 *b* यत्रोन्मुख चातकवृदमभ्र ।

Vāgbhata

104 *b* अनालोच्य प्रेम्ण परिणतिमनादृत्य सुहृद ।

Vātsyāyana

P 156 *a* शास्त्राणा विषयस्तावद्यावन्मंदरसा नरा ।

Vādisvarakāñcana

17 *a* हरेर्लीला वराहस्य। 175 *b* आलिगते वसुधा निजखुरदलिता।

Vāmana

106 *a* कोपो यत्र भृकुटिरचना।

[Bhaṭṭa] Vāmana

74 *a* आस्थानी जनसकटे मयि मनाक्, निकारकणिका कृता।

Vāmanānāga

P 13 *a* यस्मादिय प्रथमत परमामृतौघ, 147 *b* लीलाचामर डबरो रतिपते , P 155 *b* सारगीसन्नताग्या जगदपि विजित।

Vālmıkı

98 *a* तस्या पद्मपलाशाक्ष्या , 118 *a* कशाभिरिव हैमीभि । मेघकृष्णाजिनधरा।

Vāsıṣtha Rāmāyaṇa

P 161 *a* वर शरावहस्तस्य।

Vasudeva

83 *a* अलमलमघृणस्य तस्य नाम्ना।

Vıkatanıtambā

112 *a* कि द्वारि दैवहतिके सहकारकेण। P 116 *a* बाला तन्वी कृशतनुरिति त्यज्यतामत्रशंका।

Vıkramādıtya

85 *a* लावण्यसिंधुरपरैव हि केयमत्र। 135 *b* लिपतीव तमोगानि वर्षतीवाजन नभ ।

Vıjayasarman

96 *a* धृतघनरुचिरद्युतिना।

Vıjjakā

47 *a* माद्यद्दिग्गजदानदिग्धकरट, 51 *a* केनात्र चपकतरो बत रोपितोसि। 111 *a* किशुककलिकातर्गतमिदुकलास्पर्द्धि, 120 *a* सोत्साहा नववारिभारगुरवो मुचतु नाद घना । 124 *b* विलासम सृणोल्लसत्कलमगोपदो ।

Vidyāpati

P 13 *a* या केवलं सन (र?)लता न [तद्?] पडितत्व, 59 *b* जन्मस्थान न खलु विमल।

Vidyesāna

P 25 *b* न्याय्य यत्तमस समूहदलन भास्वस्त्वया तन्यते। 173 *b* का लक्ष्मी पदमुन्नत किमु पद।

Vibhakaravarman

142 *b* कातानवाधररसामृततृष्णयेव।

Vimalasarasvati

P 39 *a* लाक्षाभि कुरु ककण।

Visalva

83 *b* अधरेणोन्नतिभाजा।

Visākhadeva

16 *a* प्रत्यग्रोन्मेषजिह्मा, 96 *b* तत्त्रिविष्टपमारयात तन्वग्या यद्वलित्रय। 122 *a* अपामुद्वृत्ताना निजमुपदिशत्या, 174 *b* धन्या केय स्थिता ते, 191 *a*, विपर्यस्त सौध कुलमिव, क्षतागीना तीक्ष्णै, P 160 *a* मुहुर्लक्ष्योद्भेदा मुहुरधिगत P 163 *a* तीष्णादुद्विजते मृदौ परिभवं।

Visvesvara

7 *a* उच्चैर्ब्रह्माडपिडद्वितयसहचर, 14 *a* दानस्रोत सहस्रैर्दशनरु चिचयै *b* कुभोपात त्यजद्भिर्मदजलनिवहै, ते दूरोद्दडशुडाकुहर कवलिता, 185 *b* ते चडीशपुरारिचडमहसा, 161 *b* शुडादडप्रहार, रक्त नक्तचरौघ।

Viryamitra

72 *b* तरत्तारं तावत्प्रथममथ चित्रार्पितमिव।

[Bhaṭṭa] Vrddhi

63 *b* तापापनोद्दक्षाणि मृणालानि नतभ्रुव.।

Vaidyanāthaprasasti

168 *b* सिदूर सीमतात्। 169 *b* यद्येतत्क्षयवन्हिधूमपटल।

Vaidyanāthapandita

46 *b* सौवर्ण कमलाकर शशिकला, 51 *a* कुदे कुठय कौतुक त्यज, P 114 *b* सुधामयोपि क्षयरोगशात्यै।

Vaidyabhanupandita

32 *a* चूते समीपवर्तिनि। 39 *a* सति कूपा स्फुरद्रूपा सरित परितस्तथा। त्यक्त्वा तापनिवारिवारिनिकरान्, 48 *a* शाखाशत चितवियत। 63 *b* खडिता मा भवत्वेता कदापीत्यनुकपया। 78 *a* तस्या स्मरत्या सुभग त्वदीय। 93 *b* तस्या वदनचद्रस्य, 95 *a* मातगकुभसस्पर्श। 110 *a* विस्फूर्जद्भालनेत्रानलबहलशिखा, 114 *a* वर्षत्यग्निकणानिव, 118 *a* व्याप्त भिन्नेद्रनीलद्युतिभिरिव घनै, 121 *b* शुभ्राभ्रव्योमसोम स्फुरदमलकल, 123 *b* चचत्कादबपक्षप्रचलित कुमुद, 124 *b* पासुप्रालेयपूर प्रसरति गगने, 146 *b* दृशा सपदि मीलित दशनरोचिषा निर्गत। (Attributed to Śivasvāmin in P) 151 *a* तारुण्यातिशय स कोपि, 168 *a* कृत्वा कीर्ति तडागमद्भुततर, 185 *a* नो लावण्यविभूषितो, *b* कनककलशश्रेणीयत्र।

Vairada

अर्द्धागनापुवपुष पुरारे।

Vvasa

28 *a* असभोगेन सामान्य। *b* मृत्यु शरीरगोत्तार। साधुना दीनमनसा। 100 *a* स्वभ्यस्तरूपाणि नवैव नित्य।

[Bhagavad-]Vyāsa

42 *a* गुणानामेव दौर्जन्याद्धुरि धुर्यो नियुज्यते। (Author's name in P) 162 *a* परस्पर सायकविक्षतागास्ते क्षत्रिया कुडलिनो युवान। भूरेणुदिग्धा नवपारिजात। सशोणितै क्रव्यभुजा स्फुरद्भि। विमानपर्यकतले निषण्णा। 174 *b* महता पीडनोभूर्या। निजामशकि जानानो।

[Veda]Vyāsa

15 *a* जबालस्फूर्जदूर्जस्वलकरिमकर, 136 *a* नाकाश न दिशो न भूधरकुल।

Śamkaravarman

145 *b* पार्श्वोत्फालविलेपाच्चटुलितचरणो।

Śakavrddhı

63 *b* दह्यमानेपि हृदये मृगाक्ष्या मन्मथाग्निना। 94 *b* कठस्य विदधे कार्तिं। 95 *a* दयिता बाहुपाशस्य। शब्दवद्भिरलकारै। *b* सुदीर्घा रागशालिन्यो। 100 *a* मुखेन चद्रकातेन। गतिर्वेणी च नागेन।

Śankuka [son of Bhaṭṭa Mayūra]

69 *a* दुर्वारा स्मरसायका प्रियतमे दूरे मनोत्युत्सुक।

Śarva

106 *b* वधूना सर्वासा चरणहरणैर्दूषितमिद।

Śarvadasa

115 *a* विशुष्यत्तालात, तापावसन्नशयित। 118 *a* अथ मनसि जदिग्जयाभिशसी। शीतलादिव सत्रस्तं। अर्द्धेन जलदश्याम। 125 *b* न प्रस्तावस्तपनमहसा, अन्ये हि दु खमृतव प्रथयत्यहोभि। 176 *a* भूयस्त्रिभगिकुटिलोन्नमितेन।

Śāndıla

161 *b* भर्तृपिडानृणकरो।

Śārvavarman (called ın MS Sārvvagana)

P 39 *a* केनासीन सुखम[क] रुणेनाकरादुद्धृतस्त्व।

Śıvasvāmın

9 *b* स धूर्जटिजटाजूटो। 69 *a* गतोस्त घर्माशुर्व्रज सहचरीनीड-मधुना। P 118 *a* दशा सपदि मीलित, 146 *b* नैषा वेग मृदुतरतनु। (Attrıbuted to Mūrta or Mūrkha ın other Anthologies)

Śılabhattarıkā

70 *b* दूति त्व तरुणी युवा स चपल , 83*b* श्वास किं त्वरितागता P 126 *a* य कौमारहर स एव हि रह (वर)।

Śucıgobhata

27 *b* ऋजुरेष पक्षवानिति। एते स्निग्धतमा इति मा मा श्रुद्रेषु यात विश्वास। 28 *b* गाढतरबद्धमुष्टे कोशनिषण्णस्य।

Śıngaıakımnaranataka

80 *b* जीमूतप्रथमाबुशीकरवह , वेणीबध[वि?]शेषितैर्विलुलितै , 81 *a* द्वेष्टय (उद्वेष्टय?) स्वयमेव लेखमुदितप्रस्वेदकपाणुलि । बाष्पस्तस्य न जायते किमु न कि लेखे कर कपते। मार्गे मे निरपायता परिणति।

[Bhatta]Śyāmala

165 *b* आलान जयकुंजरस्य द्विषता सेतुर्विपद्वारिधे ।

Srıthakkuraıya

137 *b* तडिद्वा पंको वा विमिरमथवा।

Śrıpālakavıraja

110 *b* मदोय मलयानिल किसलय चूतद्रुमाणा नव। 111 *b* स्तोत्र जैत्रगुणोदयस्य, 114 *b* पच्यते स्थलचारिण क्षितिरजस्यगार, 115 *b* अपि तरूवनान्यूष्मायते।

Śrıbhogavarman

123 *b* पूर्व वारिधरप्रसगसमयेनापूरितै कुक्षिभि ।

Śrısamkaraganaka

85 *a* अमृतममृत चंद्रश्चद्र । कमलमनभासि कमले कुवलयमेतानि।

Śrıharsa

20 *a* †ध्यानव्याजमुपेत्य चिंतयसि का, 64 *a* परिच्युतस्तत्कुच-भारमध्यात्, *b* स्थितमुरसि विशाल पद्मिनीपत्रमेतत्। परिम्लान

पीनस्तनजघन, 69 *b* दुर्वारा कुसुमशरव्यथा वहत्या, 71 *b* बाणा पंच मनोभवस्य नियता, 74 *b* सतापो हृदये (य) स्मरानलकृत, 84 *b* लीलावधूतपद्मा, 85 *b* कृष्णेणोरुयुग निलिप्य सुचिर, 92 *b** नासादसीया तिलपुष्पतूण। 95 *b* विधायापूर्वपूर्णेदु, 103 *a* भ्रूभगे सहसोद्भतेपि, 106 *b* आताम्रतामपनयामि विलक्ष एव। 107 *a* शीताशुर्मुखमुत्पले तव दृशौ, 111 *a* उद्यद्विद्रुमकातिभि किसलयै स्ताम्रा, 129 *b* मुग्ध त्वन्मुखपकजेन शशिन, प्रत्यग्रमज्जनविशेष विविक्तकाति। 130 *a* कुसुमसुकुमारमूर्ति 133 *b* यातोस्मि पद्मनयने समयो ममैष। 134 *a** पचेलिम दाडिममर्कबिब। *दिनावसाने तरणेरकस्मात्, 137 *b* समारूढप्रीति प्रणयबहुमानाद नुदिन। 139 *b* उदयतटातरितमिय प्राची सूचयति, 142 *b* स्रस्तस्रग्दामशोभा त्यजति विरचिता, 143 *a*† स्मितपुष्पोद्गमोय ते। आरुह्य शैलशिखर त्वद्वदनापहृतकातिसर्वस्व। कि पद्मस्य रुचि न हति नयनानद विधत्ते न कि। 179 *b*† माद्यद्दिग्गजगडभित्तिकषणै, P 161 *a* द्वीपादन्यस्मादपि, 169 *a** तादृक्दीर्घविरचिवासरविधौ। *अस्यासिर्भुजग स्वकोश। (Author's name is here given as Śriharsapandita in P) 184 *b* वृद्धो बार्द्धिरय तरगवलिभ, 191 *b*† वासोर्थ दययेव नातिपृथव।

Śriharsa author of Khandana

166 *b* सुतल चरणद्वद्व। अध्याहार[ ]स्मरहरशिर, आस्ते दामोद रीयामियमुदर, अग (त) सतोषबाष्पै स्थगयति, भूशक्रस्य यशासि विक्रमभरेण।

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* The verses marked with an asterisk under this heading and all under the next two headings with the exception of 166 *b* and 10 *a* which I have not been able to trace and of 180 *b* which occurs in the Nagananda are from the Naisadhiya The verses unmarked under the first heading are from the Ratnavali and those marked † are from the Nagananda So that though by the expression खण्डनकारिन् or पण्डित the author meant to distinguish the later Sriharsa from the earlier author of the dramas the scribes have as usual made mistakes omitting the expression in some cases and adding it where not wanted in one case at least

Śriharsapandita

10 *a* चूडाभस्मकणाकितावि‍व जटा, 165 *a* प्रागेतद्वपुरामुखेगु (खेंदु)सृजतो, P 159 *a* त्वया विधातर्यदकारि चामृत। 170 *b* श(रा)ज्ञामन्य(स्य)शतेन किं कलयते। अस्यारिप्रकर शरश्च, य पृष्ट युधि, ऋजुत्वमौनश्रुतिपारगामिता। P 114 *b* यत्पद्ममादित्सु तवाननीया। 176 *b* सिंदूरद्युतिमुग्धमूर्द्धनि धृत, 177 *a* द्विषद्धि रेवास्य विलघिता दिशो। चलाचलप्राप्य (प्रोथ) तया महीपते। हरेर्यदक्क(क्रा)मि पदै[क]केन ख प्रयातुमस्माकमिय कियत्पद। अजस्र भूमीतटकुट्टनोद्भटै। धूलीभिर्दिवमधयन्। (The author called Harsapandita here) 180 *b* † उद्गच्छज्जलकुजरेद्ररभसा, 185 *b* विललास जलाशयोदरे। अश्रातश्रुतिपाठपूतरसना। सममेणप (म) दैर्यदापणे।

Srutadhara

48 *a* कामं भवतु मधुलपटषट्पदौघ।

Śrutadharārāma

27 *a* पीडन बहुधान्यस्य विधातु लब्धजन्मन। ये वर्द्धयति पापर्द्धिकौतुक पृथिवीपते। (Name of the author from P)

Sarvadāsa

173 *a* महानपि सुवीरोपि। *b* सत्यशीलदयोपेतो।

Sarvajñavāsudeva

135 *b* इद नभसि भीषणभ्रमदुकूलकोलाहलै। 136 *b* सद्य साद्रमषीविलुप्तककुभ, 149 *a* व्याधूतहारमणय, 154 *a* यस्मिन्नास्ति कचग्रहव्यतिकरो, ससभ्रमकचग्रहव्यतिकराकुला, *b* तल्पे नितबतल मात्रनिरस्तवस्त्रा।

Siddhacakravartijayasimhadeva

122 *b* दूर तोयधराधकारकरिणा यूथेषु नष्टेष्वितो। (Name of the author from P)

Sitkararatna

P 117 *b* समादिष्ट शिष्टै परममिह यन्निर्वृतिपर । (Not in D) (4th line स सीत्कारष्पायादमृतविजयी सुदरदृशा ।)

Subandhu

6 *b* स जयति हिमकरलेखा चकास्ति, 9 *a* खिन्नोसि मुच शैल । (Attributed by mistake to Harihara, but to Subandhu in B and P) P 11 *a* अविदितगुणापि सुकवे । 27 *b* विध्वस्त परगुणाना भवति खलाना, विषधरतोप्यतिविषम । हस्त इव भूतिमलिनो । 171 *a* चाप तेन निपीडित रणरस सद्योगलद्विद्विषा ।

Suktisahasra

6 *b* जयति हरजटाभरो यदत । प्रणमत नयने हरस्य, 8 *b* लक्ष्मी पाणिद्वयपरिचित, 9 *b* ज्योतिस्तमोहरमलोचनगोचर तत् । P 11 *b* जुगुप्सितमिद धात्रा । 18 *a* केद गर्जितमेष किनु दलति स्तभो, 61 *a* गतु विवस्वदुदये हृदयेश्वरस्य । शक्नोमि नासितुमह, 62 *a* एतत्सर्व शृणुत वचन, *b* अस्याख्राणमहो वियोगदुरितात्, किं भद्र पथि गच्छतस्तव वय ब्रूम, 63 *a* निक्षिप्य कापि शयने विवश शरीरं । श्रुत्वा बहि क्वचन कचन कापि शद्व । 65 *b* विश्रातो दिवस प्रपचितरुतै, 66 *a* अभ्यर्थ्य सप्रणति मदिर मभ्युपेता । 82 *b* ब्रूम कि परमत्यगात्तव पति । शृणु परमिदमत्ये, 100 *b* कमलशरधिरभा, 101 *a* श्रुत्वा गर्जितमथैरे जलमुच सद्यो, 110 *a* यत्प्रारभविजृभितो रतिपति शृगारसजीवनी । 114 *b* तत प्रादुरभूद्ग्रीष्म । तपन बिभ्रदाकाशो । क्वापि क्वापि दिगते । प्रतिगत मर्थिजनाना । रवे समस्तक्षितिमध्यग रस । भ्रमत्य परितश्छाया । तप्ता मही विरहिणामिव चित्तवृत्ति । (The last only in P and anonymous) 118 *b* वज्रेण त्रिजगत्पतेर्बलरिपो, 122 *a* जीमूतेषु महत्सु लोकमपर, *b* चेत कर्षति सप्तच्छदकुसुमरसा, यशसो वर्द्धमानस्य । शौणै परिवृत पद्मै । व्योम्नि विश्रातजीमूते । 125 *a* आसत्यलोकादाभूमे । *b* अहो कथमसीमेद । गिरति ननु कल्पाते । 128 *a* आस्कदितो भुजलताचलिता । सतु द्रुमा किसलयो

त्तरपुष्पभारा । एषा जिगीषति पृथुस्तबका लता त्वा । *b* आरादसौ तरुवर, 130 *b* सश्लेषे कुचयोर्मुखोपगमने, 131 *a* कि वात्या चलिता लता मणिमयी, *b* प्रथममनुसरंतीष्वभासि प्राणनाथ । अथ कृतकविहगै पार्थिवोद्धूलयद्भै । प्रणयिनि सति सिचत्यबुभि काचिदन्या । 132 *a* ललितमभिहतैका तेन राजीवपत्रै । 136 *a* यच्चेदबुधिमानमतिकवयस्तद्विदुता बिभ्रते । भवति हरिरगूढ । 139 *a* अग्रे धनु शरकर स्वयमस्ति काम । (Work called here Sūktı ratnākara) 140 ततुभ्रमेण रसनामणिगुफनाय । 153 *a* स्नान सिधुजले विधाय जनतासन्ने, 154 *a* आपूर्यमाणपुलक सुभगत्वकाम । 164 *a* हन्ति स्थ(स्थू?)णाश्चरणहननै, भरालोके भूमौ पतति, *b* पुरो नुन्न पश्चाद्व्रजति, 176 *a* महीचर इवाभोद । राज्ञस्तथा भुजकृपाण शरासनेषु । *b* मेरो पोतमुदन्वत प्रतिनिधिं, 178 *a* उपर्यशुमत सिद्धाश्चरते, भर्तृचितापरा यत्र । यद्दरीषु सुरस्त्रीणा । *b* सद्य स्यदन-चक्रभगचकित, 180 *b* उत्तसीकृतचद्रमा ।

Suravarman

11 *b* आश्लेषाधरबिबचुबनसुखालाप ।

Somakavı

6 *a* वदे तदेक शिवयो शरीर । 101 *b* आगच्छन्सूचितो येन । 186 *a* नक्त शशाकोपलकुट्टिमेषु ।

Somanathaprasastı

12 *b* सध्याताडवडबरप्रणयिनो ।

Somaprabhācārya

P 163 *a* लक्ष्मी पश्यति नीचमर्णवपय ।

[Bhaṭṭa] Somesvara

6 *a* कण इव पुरो वन्हे, 98 *a* अमृतमधुरै काचीनादै, 183 *a* एते पल्लिपुरन्ध्रिनिर्भरजलक्रीडा ।

[Bhatta] Svamin

148 *a* हृतोष्ठरागाणि हृताजनानि ।

Hanūmat

8 *a* जीयासु शकुलाकृतेर्भगवत, न पकैरालेप कलयति धरित्री, 17 *a* पृष्ठभ्राम्यदमदमदरगिरि, *b* पातु त्रीणि जगंति सततमकूपारात्, चद्रार्धायितनि पिधानदशनो, 18 *b* आकृष्ट शिखया नखैर्वि लिखित, कस्त्व ब्रह्मन्नपूर्व, कि छत्र कि नु रत्न तिलकमुत तथा, 66 *b* भगिनि मदन श्रीमानेष त्वया यदि लिख्यते। 165 *b* अत्युच्चा परित स्फुरति गिरय, 166 *a* आबाल्याधिगमान्मयैव गमित, 167 *a* भ्रात्वा दिग्वलय क्षितिश्वर दिव, 168 *a* मातु खेदमय ततान पृथुक, 188 *a* अस्ति श्रीस्तनपत्रभगमकरीनिद्राचितोर स्थलो।

Hanagana

152 *a* ऋज्वी दृष्टिरनुल्वण विहसित।

Haribhatta

35 *b* काक त्व फलनम्रमाम्रविपिन।

Harihara

P 12 *b* पदव्यक्तिव्यक्तीकृत, 29 *b* आशा पूरयति श्रिय वितरति त्रैलोक्यताप, 33 *a* उद्याने सहकारकोरकरसप्रत्याशया कोकिल। उत्कूजंतु वटे वटे बत बका, 77 *a* गतु प्रागणतो ददाति न मुहुस्तस्या कुरगीदृश। 80 *b* तन्वी सकेतवेश्मन्यतनुतरुतले, चित्रोत्कीर्णादपि विषधराद्भीतिभाजो निशाया। 138 *b* मद निधेहि चरणौ परिधेहि वासो। 144 *a* यल्लोकोतिशयोक्तिमेव वदतु स्तोत्र पुनर्मन्यता। 148 *a* नेपथ्यादपि राजते किमपि सा व्यालुप्तभूषा तनु। 150 *b* तमोभि पीयते गतवयसि, कोप सवृणु कोपनेश्रुसलिलैर्धोताजने कि दृशौ।

Halāyudha

P 160 *b* अष्टागुलपरीणाह।

EXTRACTS FROM THE PREFACES TO THE FIRST BOOK OF SANSKRIT

FROM THE PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION (1864)

The study of Sanskrit has but recently risen in the estimation of the educated natives of this Presidency and of our educational authorities The old Sanskrit College of Poona owed its existence and continuance rather to a spirit of conciliation and toleration in our rulers than to their conviction of the utility of Sanskrit as a branch of general education The modern critical and progressive spirit was not brought to bear upon it The old Śāstris were allowed to carry all things in their own way After about thirty years since its establishment the authorities began to exercise active interference until at length the College was abolished and a new system inaugurated which to be complete and effective requires in my humble opinion a partial restoration of the old institution

This newly awakened and more enlightened zeal in favour of Sanskrit cannot last or produce extensive results unless books are prepared to facilitate the general study of the language I have heard students complain that they find Sanskrit more difficult than Latin and many have actually left the study of their own classical tongue for that of its foreign rival I do not know if this complaint has a foundation in the structure of the two languages but this at least I am sure of that Sanskrit would be considerably more easy than it is, if there were men educated in our English Colleges to teach it and if books specially adapted for beginners were available It was with the view of supplying in some measure this latter desideratum that this little book was prepared about a year and a half ago Its plan was originally sketched out by Dr Haug though in a few places I found it necessary to deviate from it * * * * *

FROM THE PREFACE TO THE FIFTH EDITION (1871)

It has come to my knowledge that in some of the schools in which this book is taught the teachers consider it to be their only duty to get their pupils to translate mechanically from and into Sanskrit the sentences given in each lesson They pay little or no attention to the grammatical portion In others such books as the common Rūpāvalī are put into the hands of of the pupils and they are made to learn by heart the declensional forms given in these This shows a misconception of the object of this book which is evidently to teach grammar and to teach it not for its own sake but in its connection with the language not in a manner simply to overburden the pupil's memory but in a manner to awaken and encourage thought The sentences are intended to serve as exercises in the rules and forms and should be used as such The teacher should see that the pupil thoroughly understands the rules and knows the forms and in going over the sentences get him frequently to explain the grammar of the words occurring therein and such other points Repeated exercise is what the teacher should particularly attend to * * * * * * * *

EXTRACTS FROM THE PREFACES TO THE SECOND BOOK OF SANSKRIT

FROM THE PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION (1868)

This Second Book of Sanskrit has been prepared under instructions from Sir A Grant Director of Public Instruction Its plan is nearly the same as that of the First Book

This and the First Book together contain as much Grammar as is needed for all practical purposes perhaps more I have adopted the terminology of the English Grammarians of Sanskrit but have strictly followed Pānini as explained by Bhattoji Diksita in his Siddhāntakaumudi Most of the rules are mere translations of the Sutras Besides the terms Guna Viddhi and a few others which have been adopted from native Grammarians by nearly all European writers on the subject, I have found it necessary to appropriate two more, viz , Set and Anit

The prejudice against mere native terms in deference to which Professor Benfey seems in his smaller Grammar to have discarded even the words Guna and Vrddhi without substituting any others is in my humble opinion very unreasonable when it is difficult to frame new words to designate the things which they signify It is very inconvenient to have to describe the same thing again and again whenever one has occasion to speak of it It will at the same time be some what difficult for the learner to make out, when a thing is so described in a variety of cases that it is the same Words adapted to express a particular meaning are as necessary here as in other affairs of human life What an amount of inconvenience would it for instance entail, if whenever we had to speak of the human race we were, instead of being allowed to use the

word 'man" made to describe man's physical and rational nature ! But I must not elevate an ordinary truism to the rank of a newly discovered truth * * * * * *

There is one point in Sanskrit Grammar, in my explanation of which I have departed from ordinary usage though I think I do agree with Panini and his commentators It is the sense to be attached to the so called Aorist The most laborious student of a dead language is not alive to all the nice shades of meaning which are plain even to the uninstructed when a language is living Even to a Mahā Pandita in these days the sound of भवते is not at all so disagreeable as that of होएल is to the genuine Maratha peasant We know of the distinction between the Ātmanepada and Parasmaipada only in theory but that between the ए and ई of the Marathi Habitual Past of the एल and ईल of the Future we feel We must therefore to determine this question about the Aorist appeal to such Sanskrit works as we have reason to suppose must have been written when Sanskrit was a spoken language

The Kāvyas the Nātakas and most of the Purānas will not do for our purpose Such books as the Samhitas of the Vedas the Brāhmanas or even those portions of the two great Epics which do not bear indications of having been subsequently tampered with must be referred to To institute such a wide research I have neither had the necessary time nor the necessary means But the Aitareya Brāhmana seems almost to decide the point In this work, whenever stories are told the so called Imperfect or the Perfect is always used and the Aorist never occurs [1] On the contrary when the

1 In the passage noticed below we have स ह सनाहं प्रापत् where प्रापत् is the Aorist of आप् with प्र and is used in the narration of a past event But in the whole of the Brahmana there is so far as I can recollect not a single instance beside this, where the narrator uses the Aorist in speaking of past action The evidence being then so overwhelming some other explanation must be attempted

persons in the story are represented as speaking with one another they use the Aorist and the only sense that can be attached to it in these cases is that of the English Present Perfect in other words it indicates simply the completion of an action or an action that has just or recently been done The reason why the Aorist occurs in these cases only is that there is no scope for recent past time in mere narration and things that have just or recently occurred can come to be spoken of only when persons are talking with each other

The Aitareya Brāhmana contains passages remarkably illustrating what I say The story goes — Hariscandra said to Varuna Let a son be born to me and I will then offer him as a sacrifice to you Well said Varuna Then a son was born to him Then said Varuna You have got a son sacrifice him to me now Then said Hariscandra When a victim becomes ten days old then he is fit to be sacrificed Let the boy become ten days old I will then sacrifice him to you Well ' said Varuna The boy became ten days old Then said Varuna He has become ten days old sacrifice him now to me ' and thus it proceeds Now in this and the remaining portion of the Khanda the verbs said (occurring several times) was born ' became and others that are used by the narrator speaking in his own person are always in the Perfect while have got has become etc used by Varuna with reference to the boy are in the Aorist The latter clearly refer to a time just gone by

In the same manner in the story of Nabhānedistha related in the fourteenth Khanda of the Fifth Pañcika the verbs **अभाक्त, अभाक्षु, अदु** and **आदित** used by Nābhānedistha and

in the present case and this example ought by no means to be taken to invalidate the position in the text Perhaps when the reading of Vedic books was fixed **प्रापत्** and **प्रामोत्**, which occurs immediately after were through mistake made to exchange places.

evidently from the context denoting events that have just happened are in the Aorist as also **अवादी** used by Rudra While when the author in narrating the story speaks of certain things as having taken place he invariably uses the Imperfect the event from his point of view having occurred at a remote past time Similar instances in which the Aorist on the one hand and the Imperfect or the Perfect on the other are used exactly in the same way occur in 1-23 2-19 3-33 4-17[1] 6-33 6-34 7-27 7-28 8-7 8-23 while narratives in which the Perfect or the Imperfect only is used and where there is either no conversation or when there is it is only with reference to present or future time are innumerable 7-26 and 5-34 may also be consulted[2]

1 The cows held a sacrificial session with the object of getting horns after a year they got horns, and then they say to themselves —**यस्मै कामायादीक्षामह्या पाम तमुत्तिष्ठाम** i.e The object for which we undertook the sacrificial ceremony we have got We now rise or break up Here **आपाम** is the Aorist of **आप्** to obtain and evidently means have got or obtained while **अदीक्षामहि** is the Imperfect of **दीक्ष्** and certainly does not indicate any event that has just happened

2 To show how rich the language of this Brahmana is in verbal forms and especially of the Aorist I will here give a list of the forms of the Aorist referred to in the text It will be shown further on that the Brahmana follows the rules of Panini faithfully in the use of the Aorist and the following list will show that the forms also of this tense strictly obey the rules laid down by that grammarian except in a few cases

अजनि	आदित	मा परिगात	आसिषत	अग्रहीत्
अभूत	अवादी	अदृपत्	अमस्त	अचारीत्
अज्ञत	अक्रत	अभू	अस्तृत	अहौषीत्
अपत्सत	अदीक्षिष्ट	अवधी	अदात्	अगासीत्
अवोचत्	मा पात्	अवोच	अवधीत्	अवोचत्
अभाक	अकर्	अवोचम्	अजीजनत्	अशसीत्
अभाक्षु	मा दुषत्	अवोचन्	अजैषी	अयाक्षीत्
मा दृथा	आपाम	आज्ञास्था	अद्रुक्ष	मा गात
अदु	अदर्शम्	आज्ञासम्	अवार्क्षी	

We thus see that the so called Aorist denotes recent past time or the mere completion of an action and thus resembles the English Present Perfect And this is confirmed by what Panini says on the subject The Sūtras which give the senses of the three past tenses are —लुङ् 3 2 110 अनद्यतने लङ् 3 2 111 परोक्षे लिट् 3 2 115 They are thus to be interpreted— लुङ् or the Aorist indicates past time लङ् or the Imperfect shows a past action done previous to this day and लिट् or the Perfect a past event which took place before this day and which was not witnessed by the speaker Now the first Sūtra gives a general rule the second is an exception to it and the third an exception to this again the past time therefore left according to Pānini's system of rules and exceptions for लुङ् to indicate is अद्यतन, that is to say this days लुङ् can also by these Sutras indicate past time generally i e express simply the completion of an action without reference to any particular past time For the category past time can admit of three divisions only according to the principle indicated in the Sūtras viz past time generally and not specifically the time of this day and the past time previous to this day The last is taken up by लङ् and लिट् and the first two belong therefore to लुङ् By another Sūtra नानद्यतनवत्क्रिया प्रबन्धसामीप्ययो Pānini 3 3 135 लुङ् expresses recent and continuous past action in addition So that according to Panini लुङ् indicates (1) past time generally (2) the past time of this day and not previous to this day and (3) recent past time

Now all these characteristics we find in the English Present Perfect and not in the Indefinite Past For firstly, if we want to express simply the completion of an action i e past time generally without reference to any

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Of these 44 forms—only five—अज्ञत, अक्रत्, अकर्, आज्ञासम्, and अद्रुक्ष —do not conform to the rules laid down by Panini for the Bhasa or the Sanskrit current in his time (Note added in 1885)

particular past time we do not use the Indefinite Past in English but the Present Perfect I read Sir Walter Scott's Ivanhoe necessarily implies some particular time when the action of reading was done in other words the sense of the sentence is not complete without the specification of some time We must add some such expression as two years ago' or the particular time must be understood from the context But when we say I have read Sir Walter Scott's Ivanhoe there is no such necessity Secondly the English Present Perfect like the Sanskrit लुङ् can denote if it denotes any specific time at all the past time of this day only For I have read the book to day is good English but I have read the book yesterday' or a year ago is not And thirdly the Present Perfect, as is generally admitted denotes recent time in English

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FROM THE PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION (1870)

The observations made in the Preface to the last edition as to the sense of the Aorist have been confirmed by several passages I have met with, in the Samhitās of the Vedas and in Brāhmanas other than the Aitareya But since this is hardly the place for an elaborate essay on the subject I forbear to make any addition to what I have already said on the subject I have only re cast the remarks contained in the Preface on the meaning of the Sūtras of Pānini bearing on the question

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FROM THE PREFACE TO THE THIRD EDITION (1873)

Grammar was not an empirie study with Pānini and the other ancient grammarians of India Those great sages observed carefully the facts of their language and endeavoured always to connect them together by a law or rule and to bring these laws again under still more general laws Sanskrit Grammar

has thus become a science at their hands and its study possesses an educational value of the same kind as that of Euclid and not much inferior to it in degree For to make a particular form the mind of the student has to go through a certain process of synthesis He has to mark the mutual connections of the rules he has learnt and in each given case to find out which of them from the conditions involved hold good in that case and to apply them in regular succession until he arrives at the form required A mere unscientific teaching of the forms as such and mixing them up unconnectedly into a list our grammarians never resorted to so long as they could trace a resemblance even between two of them if not more

Convinced of the utility of this system I tried in this book to adhere to Pāṇini so far as was convenient or practicable and to give his general rules instead of splitting them up into the particular cases they comprehend In this manner I was also able to compress a great deal of matter into comparatively small space But the book necessarily became difficult, since instead of placing a ready made form before the student it gave him only the rules and required him to constitute it for himself Experience however both as a learner and a teacher has taught me that Sanskrit Grammar learnt according to the latter method is more easily and longer remembered than if learnt empirically

ON BHAVABHŪTI

BEING EXTRACTS FROM THE PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION OF THE MĀLATĪ-MĀDHAVA OF BHAVABHŪTI, WITH THE COMMENTARY OF JAGADDHARA BOMBAY SANSKRIT SERIES (1905)

[The Edition was by Sir R G Bhandakar Dedicated to the memory of E I Howard Esq Second Director of Public Instruction Bombay but for whose enlightened encouragement at a time when Sanskrit did not form part of the regular course of instruction imparted in our colleges the editor would in all probability never have studied the sacred language of his country "] N B U

I

After describing the Manuscript material and the mutual relations of the MSS Sri R G Bhandarkar proceeds —

All the nine MSS are independent of each other and no two are copies of the same original or closely connected with each other Hence when two or more agree, the reading acquires a certain authoritativeness * * * * * * *

In a large number of cases however the agreeing MSS do not form such groups but one of them agrees with one at one time and with any other at another at random Looking to the fact that the groups give readings which are intelligible enough and often equally good though a shade of difference can be discovered which renders one preferable to the other the conviction forced itself upon me that these changes were made by the poet himself at different times and some MSS have preserved the earlier form and others the later Of course, some of the differences in individual MSS or even in

those agreeing with each other at random may have been due to the mistakes of ignorant scribes or to the ingenuity of learned readers

The Manuscript material for such a play as Mālatī Mādhava is so ample and so satisfactory that the idea of restoring the text by making conjectures as if it were hopelessly corrupt which a certain critic has started must be entirely condemned Even in the case of corrupt texts conjectural restoration ought to be resorted to only in cases in which the conjecture is happy and carries conviction with it European scholars I am sorry to say indulge too frequently in it especially in Vedic literature when often they are not in circumstances to make a happy conjecture It is not to be denied that some of the conjectures are striking and hit at the truth but there are others which are simply gratuitous and provoking

II

Bhavabhūti was descended from a family of Brahmans surnamed Udumbaras residing in Padmapura in the country of the Vidarbhas the modern Berars They were followers of the Taittirīya Śāknā of the Yajurveda and belonged to the Kāsyapa gotra They were pious Brahmans regularly worshipping Agni and sometimes performing the higher sacrifices such as Vajapeya Even at present there are families of Marathi and Tailanga Taittirīyin Brahmans in and about the country where the Udumbaras lived [1] The name of Bhavabhūti's father was Nilakantha, of his mother Jatūkarnī and of his grandfather Bhatta Gopāla He was the fifth in descent from one Mahākavi who was a great sacrificer

Bhavabhuti was a man of learning He knew the Vedas the Upanisads and the Sāmkhya and Yoga systems of philosophy He has given indications of his acquaintance with the Yoga in

1 See explanatory notes on the play Act I. line 31

Mālatī Madhava and the Vīracarita [1] and in the Uttararāmacarita has in two or three places alluded to the chief doctrines of the Aupanisada or Vedānta system which appears to be somewhat different from that elaborated by Samkarācārya The name of his Guru or teacher was Jñānanidhi[3] which looks like one assumed by persons when they enter into the fourth or Samnyāsa order and devote themselves to the study and contemplation of the Brahman and that Jnananidhi was the best of Paramahamsas or ascetics of the highest order we are told in the first half of the stanza in the Viracarita He probably initiated our poet into the secrets of the Vedānta

In the Introduction to his Edition of the Gaudavaho [4] Mr S P Pandit states that in the colophon of the third Act in a MS of Malati Madhava received from a friend he found it mentioned that the play was composed by a pupil of Bhatta Kumārila and in that of the sixth that it was composed by Śrimat Umvekācarya who acquired his literary power (Vāgvaibhava) through the favour of Sri Kumārilasvāmin' The conclusion drawn by him is of course that Bhavabhuti was a pupil of the great Kumārilabhatta The statement in the colophon is certainly curious and chronologically does not conflict with any known fact But Kumarila was a great Mimāmsaka and Bhavabhuti does not in the introduction to his plays speak of Mimāmsa as a subject which he had studied though he makes mention of the other branches of knowledge mentioned above In his works he brings in as above

1 Malati Madhava Act V Viracarita beginning of Act III

2 Act II शब्दब्रह्मणस्तादृश विवर्तमितिहास &c Act VI विचाकल्पेन &c See note on line 397 Act I Creation according to Samkaracarya is a Vivarta while according to Bhavabhuti it is a Parinama.

3 See introduction to the Viracarita and the reading of N O K1 in the introduction (Bhavabhuti s Prastavana) to the Malati Madhava.

4 Page CCVI (Intro.) [N B U]

remarked his knowledge of the Vedānta and the Yoga but there is no allusion to any thing that may be regarded as peculiar to the Mimamsā Again in the nine Manuscripts collated by me and in G representing as they do the text prevalent in different parts of the country from Kasmir to Mysore some of them very old and in others consulted by other editors there is no trace of the statement contained in Mr Pandit s Manuscript Bhavabhūti does give the name of his Guru Jñananidhi and if he really owed his Vāgvaibhava to Kumārila it is wonderful that he should not have mentioned the fact himself Still I am not disposed to reject the statement entirely but its verification must be left to future research

Bhavabhuti is the author of three dramatic plays, the Vira carita Mālati Madhava and the Uttararāmacarita Śārnga dhara in his Paddhati attributes two stanzas[1] to him which are found in none of these three But the first of these is given by Jalhana in his Sūktimuktāvali as if belonging to an author named Mālatī Madhava from whose work six more stanzas are quoted by him[2] The reference is made at the end in the usual way by the expression Mālati Madhavasya The second of the two stanzas and another have been attributed to Bhavabhūti in another anthology[3] Another of the seven stanzas quoted by Jalhana is given by Śārangadhara but not ascribed to anybody[4]

1 निरवद्यानि पद्यानि यदि नाट्यस्य का क्षति ।
भिक्षुकक्षाविनिक्षिप्त किमिक्षुर्नीरसो भवेत् ॥ Pad 6 2 Stanza 146 in Peterson s Ed

अलिपटलैरनुयाता &c Stanza 791 ib

2 See my Report on the search for Mss. for 1887—91, p xl (=ante p 390) [N B U]

3 विभ्रमि in the Nirnayasagar Edition of the play

4 दामोदरमुदराहितभुवन यो वहति &c Report for 1887—91 p xl, (=Ante, p 395 N B U) and Peterson s Ed. of Sārng St 1162

Jalhana is the earliest compiler of an anthology known to us since he lived in the time of Krsna of the Yādava dynasty of Devagiri who reigned from 1247 A D to 1260 A D and consequently the information derived from him is more reliable It appears therefore that there was a poet who was called Malati Mādhava probably from his having had something to do with Bhavabhūti s work of that name just as some others were called Nidiadaridia Utpleksāvallabha Sītkaiaiatna etc from their using certain modes of expression In later times his existence was forgotten, and when his name was found connected with certain stanzas they were taken to be from the famous play of Malati Mādhava attributed to Bhavabhūti So that the occurrence in the later anthologies of the name of Bhavabhuti after certain Ślokas not found in his known works is not a just ground for inferring that he must have written another

The Viracarita seems to have been Bhavabhuti s first attempt, for it does not exhibit that power and felicity of expression and insight into the human heart that the other two display and is often heavy and uncouth Malati Mādhava must have been his second work and the Uttaiarāmacarita the last In the benedictory stanza at the end of this the play is represented as the production of his mature intellect [1] And this is confirmed by internal evidence and the traditional judgment of the Pandits among whom a verse declaratory of Bhavabhuti s having in the Uttararamacarita excelled " Kalidāsa has been current[2]

These two poets are frequently compared with each other and regarded as the leading dramatists in the language The ordinary belief among the Pandits is that they lived at the same time and a characteristic anecdote is told with regard to them Bhavabhūti took his Uttararāmacarita after he had composed it to Kālidāsa

1 शब्दब्रह्मविद् कवे परिणतप्रज्ञस्य वाणीमिमाम् ।

2 उत्तरे रामचरिते भवभूतिर्विशिष्यते ।

and asked him to give his judgment on it Kalidasa was at that time engaged in the game of Śaras and told Bhavabhuti to read out the play for him Bhavabhūti did so All the while Kālidasa was deeply engaged in the game and when Bhava bhuti had finished and asked him what he thought about the work he said that it was a very good production better than his own works and that the only fault he could discover was a superfluous dot or Anusvāra in the last line of one of the Slokas ' The line meant was **अविदितगतयामा रात्रिरेव व्यरसीत्** । Act I and the superfluous dot that on **एव** Kalidasa thinking that it should be **एव** as we find it in our text Undoubtedly **एव** is much better than **एवम्** the anecdote however can have no historical foundation

But though Kalidasa could not have lived long enough to be thus consulted by Bhavabhuti there can be little doubt that he was our poet s favourite author and was admired by him The loves of Śakuntalā and Dusyanta and of the Apsaras and Pururavas mentioned by Kāmandaki in the second Act of the present play may, very reasonably be understood to be allusions to the Abhijñāna Śākuntala and Vikramorvasi And in the ninth Act Mādhava s idea of using a cloud as a messenger to his beloved and even his manner and mode of addressing it seem to have been suggested by the Meghaduta

Bhavabhuti is a poet of great merit He shows a just appreci ation of the awful beauty and grandeur of Nature enthroned in the solitudes of dense forests cataracts and lofty mountains He has an equally strong perception of stern grandeur in human character and is very successful in bringing out deep pathos and tenderness He is skilful in detecting beauty even in ordinary things or actions and in distinguishing the nicer shades of feeling He is a master of style and expression and his cleverness in adapting his words to the sentiment is unsurpassed

The genius of Bhavabhuti was however more of a lyric than of a dramatic nature Notwithstanding the originality of conception involved in the plot of Mālati Madhava the poet does not show such a skill in the arrangement of his incidents and in the denouement as is displayed by the author of the Micchakati or even of the Mudrārākṣasa The incidents subsequent to the scene in the cemetery look like clumsy appendages and not like parts of a whole Kapālakundalā is represented to have taken away Mālati simply to give an opportunity to the poet to display his power of depicting the feelings of a man in Viraha and the incident appears by no means to harmonize with or to arise naturally out of the previous story Neither is the poet very skilful in the portraiture of varied character In this also he is surpassed by Śudraka Bhavabhūti had not the power of putting himself mentally into various situations of forgetting one and becoming quite a new man in another But as the poet of Nature and of human passion and feeling generally he occupies a very high rank among Sanskrit authors

Kalidāsa as Prof Wilson remarks has more fancy He is a greater artist than Bhavabhuti The former suggests or indicates the sentiment which the latter expresses in forcible language The characters of the latter overcome by the force of passion often weep bitterly while those of the former simply shed a few tears if they do so at all In the language of Sanskrit critics Kālidāsa s Rasa is conveyed or Abhivyakta by the Laksya or Vyangya sense of words while Bhavabhuti s is conveyed by the Vācya sense

The excellences and shortcomings of Bhavabhūti s genius are fully seen in the Uttararāmacarita The incidents in that play are but few There is very little movement But the description of the forest scenery of Janasthāna in the second Act and the portraiture of the griefs of Sitā and Rāma in the third are unrivalled Uttararāmacarita is more adopted for the hall than for the stage it is more a Śrāvya than a Dṛsya Kāvya while the

beauties of Śakuntalā are more perceptible when acted than when read The merits of the poet are also observable in Mālatī Madhava but not in such a developed form as in the other play while to his usual faults must be added the use of long prose speeches containing bewildering compounds Such a thing can never succeed on the stage Perhaps in this as in several other respects Bhavabhuti was carried away by the conventionalism which had begun to prevail and the rules laid down by the critics and the free play of his genius was obstructed Long compounds constitute the poetic excellence called Ojas and this Ojas is according to Dandin the very soul of prose [1]

The scene of the drama is laid at Padmāvatī situated at the confluence of two rivers named the Pārā and the Sindhu Of the identification and position of the town and the rivers I have spoken in another place [2]

According to the Rājatarangini Bhavabhūti was patronized by Yasovarman king of Kanauj This Yasovarman was subdued by Lalitaditya [3] king of Kasmir who acquired by his conquests a paramount supremacy over a large part of India The mention of this circumstance enables us to fix the date of Bhavabhūti But the exact date of Lalitāditya or Muktāpida as he was also called is still a matter of dispute Kalhana the author of the Rājatarangini gives the duration of the reigns of the kings noticed by him and mentions the year 25 of the Laukika or Saptarṣi Era as the date of the completion of his work He began the work in 24 Laukika corresponding to 1070 Saka According to the method of turning a Laukika into a Saka year given in my Report on Manuscripts for 1883 84 (p 84) [4] the

1 ओज समासभूयस्त्वमेतद्गद्यस्य जीवितम् ।

2 See explanatory notes on the play Act I lines, 88 89 (BSS Edition)

3 कविर्वाक्पतिराजश्रीभवभूत्यादिसेवित ।
जितो ययौ यशोवर्मा तद्गुणस्तुतिवन्दिताम् ॥ Raj Stein s Edn. IV 144

4 Ante, p 210 f [N B U]

Laukika 25 corresponds to 1071 Śaka passed and 24 to 1070 passed The sum of the durations of the reigns from Lalitāditya to Jayasimha who had been on the throne for 22 years when Kalhana finished his work has been given by Mr S P Pandit as 455 years 7 months and 11 days This being subtracted from 1071, we have Śaka 615 4 19 as the date of Lalitāditya's accession corresponding to 693 A D Cunningham in his original calculation gives the same but Mr Pandit somehow arrives at 625 A D and this is the date given by M Troyer also But the total of the durations given above includes a reign of seven years (Sapta vatsarān) assigned to Sāmgramapida one of the successors of Lalitāditya in two of the Manuscripts of the work, while a third gives him a reign of seven days only (Sapta vasarān) This will bring the date of the accession of Muktāpida with whom we are concerned to 700 A D Considering the arguments urged on both sides it is difficult to decide which of the two readings is correct but I am inclined from the context to regard Sapta vatsarān as the correct reading Lalitāditya Muktāpida thus reigned from 693 A D to 729 A D or 700 A D to 736 A D

But a comparison with Chinese chronology throws a doubt on the correctness of the date The Chinese annals represent Candrāpida brother of Muktāpida who reigned before Tarāpida another brother and the immediate predecessor of Muktāpida to have sent an embassy to the Chinese court in the year 713 A D and to have received the title of king at his request from the Chinese emperor in 720 A D while according to Kalhana's chronology Candrapida died in 689 A D As Chinese chronology has always proved accurate there must be a mistake of about 31 years in Kalhana's chronology of the period supposing Candrāpida to have died soon after receiving the title Lalitāditya himself is represented to have sent an embassy to China some time after 736 A D [1] which he could not have

1 Dr Stein's transl of the Rājatar Intr p 67

done if he died in 729 A D or in even 736 A D according to Kalhana's chronology If therefore we apply the correction of 31 years Lalitāditya Muktapida's date will have to be understood to be 724 760 A D or 731 767 A D Yasovarman therefore must have been subdued by Lalitaditya after 724 A D or 731 A D

And a still closer approximation has been arrived at by Prof Jacobi In stanzas 827 831 of Mr Pandit's edition of the Gaudavadha are given the portentous events which took place in the world as mentioned in stanza 832 on the occasion when the corner of Yasovarman's eye became twisted in consequence of a momentary shaking of his (kingly) position' Prof Jacobi justly takes this to be a reference to Lalitāditya's invasion[1] And certainly Yasovarman's loss of his position was momentary for the Kasmir prince does not appear to have annexed his kingdom but simply to have gone away after he had received his submission and concluded an alliance Among the portent ous occurrences one was the assumption by the disk of the sun when 'it was pierced through by Ketu of the form of an anklet as it were of the Lakṣmi (glory) of the three worlds dislocated from her foot when she thrust it forth violently in anger (Stanza 829) Evidently what is alluded to here is an annular eclipse of the sun and this according to astronomical calculations occurred as stated by Prof Jacobi[2] and was visible at Kanauj on the 14th of August 733 A D It was in that year therefore that Yasovarman was attacked by Lalitāditya A king of Central India of the name of I cha fan mo is mentioned by Chinese authors as having sent an embassy to China in 731 A D[3] This I cha fan mo has, I think been properly identified with Yasovarman and here we have the date of Bhavabuhūti's patron from another source

1 Gott gel Anz, 1888, nr 2 p 67

2 Ib p 68

3 Dr Stein's transl Rajatar Intr, p 89, and note on IV 134

The ambassador of Muktāpīda who was sent to the Chinese court some time after 736 A D is represented to have claimed the king of Central India as his master s ally He is in all likelihood Yasovarman himself and if so Dr Stein thinks that Lalitāditva must have subdued Yasovarman after the date of the embassy i e long after 736 A D [1] This goes against the date arrived at from the annular eclipse but the fact appears to be that as stated above Muktāpidā did not annex the territory of Yasovarman to his kingdom but kept him on the throne and formed an alliance with him and hence the latter was represented as the ally of the Kasmir prince

From Jaina sources if they are to be trusted we arrive at an approximate date for the death of Yasovarman which is consistent with those given above Rajasekhara the author of the Prabandhakosa tells us that a Jaina saint of the name of Bappabhatti converted to Jainism Āmarāja the son and successor of Yasovarman of Kanauj Bappabhatti was initiated as a monk in 807 of the Vikrama era Soon after that event he met Āmarāja who lived as a voluntary exile in Gujarat After he had succeeded his father Bappabhatti was at his suggestion raised to the dignity of Suri This occurred in 811 A V Between 807 A V and 811 A V corresponding to 751 A D and 755 A D i e about the year 753 A D , therefore Yasovarman died

The Rājatarangini mentions another poet of the name of Vākpatirāja who also was in the service of Yasovarman [2] The Gaudavadha alluded to above is the work of this poet and in it also he mentions the fact [3] There was " he says about him self nothing interesting about him but he derived his importance by resorting to the feet of Kamalāyudha "[4]

1 Transl Rajatar Intr p 89

2 St IV 144, quoted before

3 Stanza 797 of Pandit s Edn

4 Ib St 798

Kamalāyudha was a poet from whose work or works quotations are made by Jahlana and other anthologists He was thus a contemporary of Vakpatirāja Then he tells us how in his rugged compositions there still shine certain excellences as if they were the drops of the poetic nectar churned out of the ocean in the shape of Bhavabhūti [1] Herein he speaks of his indebtedness to Bhavabhuti from his connection with whom he derived some poetic conceptions or modes of expression From the manner in which the statement is made Bhavabhuti appears to have lived long before he wrote this Since Vakpatirāja mentions the annular eclipse of August 14th 733 A D not as a recent event he must have written his work a pretty long time after 733 A D and before 753 the approximate date of Yasovarman s death We may in general terms therefore state that the poet flourished in the second quarter of the eighth century, and Bhavabhūti in the first

The date thus determined agrees with all that is known of the chronological relations of Bhavabhūti with other writers In the first place Bāna s omission of his name from the long list given by him at the beginning of his Harsacarita is now intelligible Bāna flourished in the first half of the seventh century A verse from Bhavabhuti is quoted in Ksirasvāmin s commentary on the Amarakosa [2] Ksirasvāmin is mentioned

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1 1*b* St 789—भवभूइजलहिनिग्गयकव्वामयरसकणा इव फुरन्ति ।
जस्स विसेसा अज्जवि वियडेसु कहाणिवेसेसु ॥

Com —भवभूतिजलधिनिर्गतकाव्यामृतरसकणा इव स्फुरन्ति यस्य विशेषा अद्यापि विकटेषु कथानिविशेषु । निबन्धेष्विति क्वचित्पाठ ॥

2 दधति कुहरभाजामत्र—Prof Aufrecht s paper on Commentare Zum Amarakosa in Z D M G for 1874 Prof Aufrecht, however traces the verse wrongly to the Kiratārjuniya.

in the Rajatarangini as the teacher of Jayapida,[1] the grandson of Lalitaditya who reigned from 752 A D to 783 A D according to Kalhana's Chronology But as Ksirasvāmin notices Bhoja as a grammarian and lexicographer it is highly doubtful whether the author of the commentary was the same as Jayāpida's teacher Supposing the Bhoja referred to was the same as the famous prince of Dhārā of that name Ksirasvamin will have to be placed between about 1040 A D and 1141 A D the latter being the year in which Vardhamāna wrote his Ganaratnamahodadhi in which he mentions Ksirasvāmin[2]

Bhavabhuti is also quoted by Vamana in his Kāvyalamkāra vrtti Quotations from his work occur in the Kāvyaprakasa and in a work of Abhinavagupta who wrote in the beginning of the 11th century He is therefore in all likelihood the same as Jayāpida's minister of that name Bhavabhūti is quoted by Rājasekhara the dates of whose patron Mahendrapala king of Kanauj are 893 899 903 and 907 A D He is also quoted by Somadeva the author of the Yasastilaka who wrote the work in 881 Śaka corresponding to 959 A D in the reign of the Rastrakūta prince Krsna III by Dhanika the author of the Dasarupakāvaloka and brother of Dhanamjaya the author of the Dasarūpaka who lived at the court of Mūñja of Malwa (974 995 A D), and in the Sarasvatikanthābharana attributed to Bhoja of Dharā who reigned in the first half of the eleventh century Bhavabhūti is also quoted by Vardhamāna mentioned above and by Mammata the author of the Kāvya prakasa Verses from his work occur in Jalhana's anthology noticed above and in Śārngadhara's Paddhati and similar works written in later times

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1 क्षीराभिधाच्छब्दविद्योपाध्यायात्सभृतश्रुत ।
बुधै. सह ययौ वृद्धि स जयापीडपण्डित ॥ IV 489

2 See Prof Aufrecht's paper referred to above The year of Vikrama in which Vardhamana wrote is given as 1197

III

ON JAGADDHARA THE COMMENTATOR OF MĀLATĪ MĀDHAVA

Jagaddhara the author of the commentary on Bhavabhuti's Malati Mādhava was as he himself tells us the son of Ratnadhara and Damayanti Ratnadhara was the son of Vidyadhara and grandson of Gadadhara This last was the son of Rameśvara who was the son of Devesa son of Candesvara Candesvara appears to have obtained from some king or chief the grant of a village of the name of Suragrāma All his ancestors except perhaps his father were Mimāmsakas He or his father appears to have been a judicial functionary to some chief His grandfather resided Dr Hall states probably on the authority of Jagaddhara's other works at Videhanagara in Mithilā Our scholiast gives in some cases vernacular equivalents for Sanskrit words, but the reading is often so corrupt and uncertain that it is not possible to find out from these what his own vernacular was

But none of the facts mentioned by him enables us to determine the period when he lived All that can be done is to arrive if possible from the authors and works quoted or mentioned by him at a date before which he could not have lived In his present work Jagaddhara refers to Amara the Dharani the Śāsvata the Haravali the Utpalini the Visva or Visvaprakāsa[1] the Śabdaprakasa the Śabdabheda[2] the Ane kārtha the Nanartha the Ratnakosa the Medini the Amara

1 What is often called the Visva is really the Visvaprakasa of Mahesvara. I looked for some of the verses quoted by Jagaddhara from the Visva in the two copies of the Visvaprakasa in Dr Buhler's Collection and found them in both

2 The Śabdaprakasa and the Sabdabheda are one and the same work and identical with the Sabdabhedaprakasa which is an Appendix to the Visvaprakasa I looked for the passages quoted by Jagaddhara in the copy in Dr Buhler's Collection and found them there

mālā the Amaralatā[1] the Dhātusamgraha the Dhātupradīpa the Nyāsa Bharata Dandin the Sarasvatikanthābharana the Meghadūta Māgha and Naisadha[2] Of the lexicons quoted by him the date of the Visvaprakāsa is known It was composed as the author himself informs us in a Śloka at the end of his work in Śaka 1033 corresponding to 1111 A D[3] Jagaddhara furnishes us with another clue At the beginning of the seventh Act after explaining that the root प्रच्छ् with आ signifies to take one's leave finally ' or to bid adieu ' he tells us that the same root occurs in the Meghaduta and is explained by the comment atoi in the same way A great many commentaries on this poem besides that of Mallinātha are mentioned in Prof Aufrecht s Catalogus Catalogorum none of which however is well known And since Jagaddhara speaks of one commentator only without giving his name he must be understood to have been aware of one commentary only so well known as to render a mention of the author s name superfluous I therefore take it he alludes to Mallinātha who in his scholia on the poem does explain the root in the same way as Jagaddhara Mallinātha therefore lived before our scholiast Now Mallinātha according to Prof Aufrecht flourished after the thirteenth century[4] since he quotes from a work of Bopadeva in one of his commentaries Bopadeva was a contemporary of Hemadri who was a counsellor to Mahadeva[5] and Rāmadeva kings of Devagiri and consequently flourished at the end of the thirteenth

1 Amaramala and Amaralatā appear to have been two names of the same book or the latter is a mistection

2 Dr Hall gives some more names from the other works of the scholiast — the Gitagovinda, the Uttaratantra, Ratnavali Vala and Vindhyavasin and Mattanaga

3 See Prof Aufrecht s Oxf Cat p 188*b* I do not, however, find the Sloka in the Manuscripts in Dr Buhler s Collection.

4 Oxf Cat p 113*a*

5 Early History of the Deccan, pp 116 and 117

century Mallinātha wrote a commentary on the Ekāvali a work on Poetics and the prince who is panegyrised in that work ruled over Orissa till the first decade of the fourteenth century That is the date of the Ekāvali but the commentary must be later by about fifty years if not more [1] Another circumstance which indicates Mallinatha's priority to Jagaddhara is that while the latter quotes from the Medini every now and then the lexicon is never referred to by Mallinatha [2] If the Medini were composed before Mallinātha we might certainly expect quotations from it somewhere in his vast commentaries Medinikāra therefore very probably lived after Mallinātha and certainly before Jagaddhara

We should make a further advance in the present inquiry if we could determine the age of this lexicographer so often quoted by our scholiast In the introduction to his vocabulary Medinikāra mentions Mādhava If this Mādhava is the same as the great Minister of Bukka and Harihara kings of Vijaya nagara the Medini must have been written in or after the fourth quarter of the fourteenth century [3] In Rāyamukuta's commentary on the Amarakosa there are many quotations from this lexicon Rayamukuta wrote his work as he himself incidentally tells us in 1353 Saka and in 4532 Kaliyuga [4] correspond

1 See my Report on Manuscripts for 1887 91 p lxix and note in the Introduction to Mr Trivedi's Ed of the Ekavali [=Ante p 333 the note on Ekavlai is included in the Volume later] N B U

2 See Oxf Cat p 113 and Appendices to Mr Pandit's Ed of Raghuvamsa. Prof Aufrecht has observed one quotation from the lexicon in the commentary on Magha but it is a later interpolation (See the Preface to his Ed of Ujjvala datta, p xiv notes)

3 See Jour B B R A S, Vol IV p 107 The date of Mādhava's grant is 1313 Saka *i e* 1391 A D

4 इदानी च शकाब्दा १३५३ द्वात्रिंशदब्दादधिकपञ्च [शत?] वर्षोत्तरचतु सहस्रवर्षाणि कलिसंध्याया भूतानि ४५३२ । Raya on Am I 1 3 22

ing to 1431 A D Medinikāra therefore lived after about 1375 A D and before 1431 A D But if the Mādhava alluded to by him was another person we must determine his date with reference to that of Mallinatha instead of Mādhava and Rāyamukuta but the result is about the same as Mallinatha must have flourished as stated above, after the middle of the fourteenth century Probably Medinikara lived about the same time as Mallinatha Jagaddhara therefore lived after the fourteenth century but how long after we have not the means of determining A Manuscript of his commentary on the present play was written as we have seen in the year 1764 Vikrama corresponding to 1708 A D so that his latest limit is the end of the 17th century

Jagaddhara's commentary is very valuable His interpretation of his author is generally correct and proper but after having given an explanation which alone is plain and sensible he often attempts several others which are fanciful and far fetched probably to show off his learning and acumen In a few places he is positively wrong I have considered all these cases in the explanatory notes His quotations from Bharata and other authors and the information that he gives on several points are of very great use especially to the University student

Besides the present commentary Jagaddhara wrote others on the Venisamhāra Vāsavadattā Meghaduta Bhagavadgitā and Devimahātmya

A NOTE ON EKĀVALĪ

(Originally published in the Late Rao Bahadur K P Trivedi's Edition of the Ekāvalī Bombay Sanskrit Series No 63 1903 pp XXXIII—XXXVII) —N B U

In view of the Inscriptions brought to the notice of Mr K P Trivedi by Mr K B Pathak and others which Mr Pathak has not mentioned [1] the remarks made by me on the date of the Ekavali in my Report[2] on the Search for Manuscripts during 1887 91 require to be supplemented though the conclusions at which I arrived from the internal evidence as to the approximate time when the author of the work flourished remains not only perfectly unshaken but is remarkably confirmed and the Inscriptions do not yield much in elucidation of the point discussed that was not known before

The list of the princes who ruled over Orissa given by Sir W W Hunter and Mr Sewell is based on the Chronicle of the Jagannatha Temple and like other productions of the kind, contains a good deal that has no surer foundation than fancy or imagination mixed especially in the later portion with much that is historically true It should therefore be accepted with caution and confirmatory evidence of a more reliable nature should be resorted to where available Such evidence we have in the case of the Ganga Dynasty which ruled over the country and with which alone we are here concerned Seven Copper plate Inscriptions of princes of this family have

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1 For these Inscriptions See Trivedi's Introduction to Ekavali pp XXVI ff. [N B U]

2 Ante pp 328-334 It will be seen that Manuscript belonged to the 1884 87 Collection, though the notice thereof was originally contained in the 1887 91 Report. [N B U]

hitherto been discovered three of Codaganga two of Narasimha II and two of Narasimha IV

The year of Codaganga s accession is given as 999 Śaka and the dates of his three copper plate grants are 1003 Ś 1040 S and 107ɔ Ś The dates of the grants of Naiasimha II are 1217 Ś, which was the regnal year iepresented by the figure 21 and 1218 Ś and those of the Inscriptions of Narasimha IV are 1305 Ś which as a regnal year was represented by the figure 8 and 1316 Ś represented by the figure 22 In representing a iegnal year by a figure 1 6 and a figure ending in 6 as well as a figure ending in zero except 10 were we are told by Babu Manmohan in another paper of his omitted as inauspicious Thus the figure 8 represented the sixth year of the reign of Narasimha IV (1 and 6 being dropped) and the figure 22, the eighteenth year (1 6 16 and 20 being dropped) Thus 1305 Ś was the sixth year of his[1] reign and 1316 S the eighteenth If 1305 Ś was the sixth year 1316 S (ought to be the seventeenth instead of the eighteenth But this difference is probably due to the fact that a new number was given to the regnal year in the month of Bhādiapada so that in Caitra 1316 Śaka was represented by the number 17 as 1305 Śaka was by 6 and in Mārgasirsa the month named in the giant of 1314 Ś by the number 18 Thus, 1217 Ś which as a iegnal year of Narasimha II is represented by the figure 21 was the seventeenth year of his reign

The grants also give the genealogy of the dynasty with the duration of the reigns of the princes This is given by Babu Manmohan Chakravarti in his paper on the grants of Narasimha IV and need not heie be repeated The genealogy is certainly reliable but the years of the duration of the reigns as certainly not For in the first place in the grants of 1217 Ś

1 Uryā Inscriptions of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries, Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. LXII Part I No. 1, 1893

of 1305 Ś and 1316 Ś the year of accession of Kāmārnava the successor of Codaganga is given as 1064 Ś If the latter got possession of the throne in 999 Ś and his son 1064 Ś he could not have reigned for 70 years as he is represented to have done, but only 65

Again if we calculate by adding to Śaka 1064 which is the date of the accession of Kāmārnava the number of years for which the reigns of the succeeding princes lasted we have the following dates for the accession of the last seven princes —

Narasimha I	1174 Ś	Duration 33 years
Virabhānudeva I	1207 Ś	17
Narasimhadeva II	1224 Ś	34 ,
Virabhānudeva II	1258 Ś	24 ,,
Narasimhadeva III	1282 Ś	24
Bhānudeva III	1306 Ś	26 ,
Narasimha IV	1332 Ś	

But from the contemporary evidence of their own plates 1217 S was the seventeenth year of the reign of Narasimha II and 1316 Ś the eighteenth year of the reign of Narasimha IV Therefore either the date of accession of Kāmārnava 1064 Ś for which we have no contemporary evidence is wrong or the durations of the reigns or both

Now if 1316 Ś was the eighteenth year of the reign of Narasimha IV he must have come to the throne in 1299 Ś Calculating backwards by subtracting the years of the duration of each reign we get the following dates for the accession of the seven princes —

Narasimhadeva I	1141 Ś
Virabhānudeva I	1174 Ś
Narasimhadeva II	1191 Ś
Virabhānudeva II	1225 ১
Narasimhadeva III	1249 Ś
Bhānudeva III	1273 Ś
Narasimhadeva IV	1299 Ś

But according to one of the grants of Narasimhadeva II 1217 Ś was the seventeenth year of his reign and he must have come to the throne in 1201 Ś while according to our calculation he got possession of it in 1292 i e eleven years earlier Now since we started from a date vouched for by a contemporary document and thus come to a conclusion opposed to another contemporary document the years of the duration of each reign given in the plates must be wrong The date of Narasimha II occurring in his earlier grant is found on computation to correspond to Monday the 6th August 1296 A D and those of Narasimha IV Sunday 6th March 1384 A D and to Tuesday 23rd November 1395 A D

Now from all this what we get for our present purpose is no more than what we got from Sir W W Hunter s list viz that about the end of the thirteenth century of the Christian Era which is the period in which from the internal evidence the Ekāvalī was composed and the king panegyrised lived there was a Narasimha who ruled over Orissa The date of his accession is 1201 Ś i e 1279 or 1280 A D while in the list he is represented as having acceded to the throne in 1282 A D There is a difference of two years only which can be accounted for in a variety of ways If the period for which he is spoken of as having reigned is to be regarded as correct he held power till 1314 A D while according to the list he ruled over the country till 1307 A D

That Narasimha II was the Narasimha of the Ekāvalī is rendered highly probable or I might say, certain by the fact that in the Inscriptions of Narasimha IV he is in one place called **कविप्रिय** or favourite of poets" and in another, **कविकुमुदचन्द्र** the moon that made the night lilies in the shape of poets expand The description applies to the hero of the Ekāvali, both because he was chosen for his panegyric by Vidyādhara and because he must have patronized him and others like him

SOCIAL HISTORY OF INDIA

[FROM C Y CHINTAMANI'S INDIAN SOCIAL REFORM 1901 PART FIRST PAGES 1—26]

[THIS WAS CONTRIBUTED AS AN ORIGINAL PAPER TO THE VOLUME ENTITLED 'INDIAN SOCIAL REFORM, EDITED AND PUBLISHED BY Mr C Y CHINTAMANI IN 1901] N B U

INTRODUCTORY

Before entering on the subject of this paper it is necessary to give to the reader a general idea of the comparative antiquity of the different portions of Sanskrit literature referred to therein The hymns contained in the Rgveda Samhitā are the oldest but they were composed at different times and some of them are much later than the others The verses of these hymns when used for sacrificial purposes are called Mantras The Brāhmanas which contain an explanation of the sacrificial ritual come next but there was a very long interval between them and the hymns Then we have the Āranyakas which contain the Upanisads There are treatises of the latter name which are very modern and form by no means a part of the Vedic literature though sometimes they profess to do so Later than these are the Śrauta or Sacrificial Sūtras and contemporaneous with them or somewhat later are the Grhya Sutras The Dharma Sutras in which the religious and sometimes a civil law is laid down are still more modern

The Samhitā and Brāhmana of the Black Yajurveda contain the Mantra and Brāhmana portions mixed together Some of the Mantras may be as old as the later hymns of the Rgveda Samhitā but the Brāhmana portion must be of about the same age as the Brahmanas of the Rgveda Some of

the hymns of the Atharva Veda may be as old as the later ones of the Rgveda but others are considerably more modern

Buddhism rose in the later part of the sixth century before Christ and the death of Buddha took place about 477 B C The genuine Upaniṣads must be earlier than Buddhism The Grammarian Patañjali lived about 150 B C and Panini the author of the Sutras on Grammar must have preceded him by several centuries Yaska the author of the Nirukta which contains an explanation of the difficult words in the hymns must have flourished before Pāninı

From about the middle of the third century before Christ to about the end of the third after Buddhism was the favourite religion of the masses During that time Brahmanic literary and religious activity was a good deal impaired In the fourth century Buddhism declined and there was a Brahmanic revival and the Brahamans re edited some of the books on the religious and the civil law which had been written in the form of prose sentences called Sutras and gave a new and more popular shape to them Thus arose the Metrical Smrtis or Smrtis composed in Anustup Ślokas which now go by the name of Manu Yājñavalkya and other sages of the antiquity They of course contained mostly the same matter as the old Dharma Sūtras but they brought the law up to the time This species of literature having come into existence in this way, other numerous Smrtis of the like nature came to be written subsequently

The old Puranas were also re cast about the period and a good many new ones written The Mahabhārata is mentioned by Pāninı and in Āsvalāyana's Grhya Sūtras but was consolidated into something like its present shape probably three or four centuries before Christ but passages were interpolated into it from time to time and it must have been retouched at the time of the revival

CASTE

More than four thousand years before Christ according to the latest researches the Sanskrit speaking people called the Āryas penetrated into India from the North West They were at first settled in Eastern Kabulistan and along the upper course of the Indus and thence they gradually descended the river to the South and spread also to the east in the upper part of the country watered by the five rivers of the Punjab Their progress at every step was resisted by another race or races which in the Rgveda are designated by the name of Dasyu or Dāsa The Dasyus are contrasted with the Āryas and are represented as people of a dark complexion who were unbelievers i e did not worship the Gods of the Āryas and perform the sacrifices but followed another law The Āryan Gods Indra and Agni are frequently praised for having driven away the black people destroyed their strongholds and given their possessions to the Āryas From day to day ' it is said in one hymn he (Indra) drove the people who were black all alike from one habitation to another Those who submitted were reduced to slavery and the rest were driven to the fastnesses of mountains The process was carried on in all parts of the country to which the Āryans penetrated The old word Dāsa came to denote a slave " generally and the word Dasyu acquired the significance of a robber as those aborigines who had taken themselves to mountain fastnesses subsisted on robbery The latter word came also to signify one beyond the Āryan pale as these tribes of robbers were

While the Āryans were in the Punjab they were divided into a good many tribes each having a king of its own and a family or families of priests There were among them three social grades or ranks To the first belonged the priests who composed Brahmans (with the accent on the first syllable) i e , songs or hymns to the Gods and knew how to

worship them, and were called Brahmans (with the accent on the second syllable) The second grade was occupied by those who acquired political eminence and fought battles and were called Rajans All the other Āryas were referred to the third grade and were distinguished by the name of Visas or people generally These three classes formed one community and such of the aborigines as had yielded to the Āryas were tacked on to it as a fourth grade under the name of Dāsas which word had now come to signify slaves or servants Such grades existed amongst ancient Persians also In the course of time these grades became hereditary and acquired the nature of castes and were called Brāhmanas Rājanyas and Vaisyas The fourth class came to be called Śūdras, which probably was at first the name of the aboriginal tribe which had acquired a distinct position in the community and was afterwards generalised

These four castes are mentioned in one of the latest hymns of the Rgveda The first two formed definite classes with a definite sphere of duties and were the aristocracy of the community Since the Vaisya class included all other Āryas there was a tendency in it towards the formation of sub classes or communities and possibly there were such sub classes which according to some formed independent castes The Śūdras being the aborigines there were in all likelihood several castes amongst them corresponding to the several races which inhabited the country before the invasion of the Āryas These were of course denied the privilege of keeping the sacred fire or performing the sacrifices and were not allowed to read or study the Vedas The two highest castes do not seem in the times to which the old religious literature refers to have split up into sub castes No such are referred to in that literature though they are supposed by some scholars to have existed There were tribes of Kṣatriyas or Rājanyas and Gotras of Brāhmanas but not castes

With this social constitution the Āryas spread over the whole of Northern India and the Śudra population incorporated with their community became so large that it influenced the future development of the country The Sanskrit language was corrupted and the Vernaculars began to be formed

THE ABORIGINES AND THE FORMATION OF THE PRAKRITS

The languages of Northern India including the Marathi are offshoots of the Sanskrit and they were formed not by a course of gradual corruption and simplification such as we meet with in the case of a language spoken throughout its history by the same race but by a wholesale corruption of Sanskrit sounds i e mis pronounciation of Sanskrit words by a race the vocal organs of which were not habituated to utter those sounds and by a generalization of such grammatical forms as were in common use through ignorance of the special forms Thus arose in very ancient times the Prakrit including the Pali or the language of the sacred books of Southern Buddhists and these have in the course of time become the modern Vernaculars The phonetic difference between these and the old Prakrits is but slight when compared with that between the latter and the Sanskrit which shows that there was when the Prakrit was formed a special cause in operation, viz the incorporation of alien races and this cause has ceased to exist in later times The Prakrits and through them the Vernaculars have got some special sounds and also words which are foreign to Sanskrit and this points to the same conclusion

Thus then these dialects show that the new races that were incorporated with the Āryan community had to give up their own languages and learn those of their Āryan conquerors

The Prakrits and the Vernaculars bear the same relation to Sanskrit that the Romance languages Italian French etc bear to the Latin and just as these were formed by communities

composed of the old Romans and an overpowering large element of the Celtic and the Germanic races so were the languages of Northern India formed by mixed communities of Āryans and aborigines As a matter of fact some of the vocal peculiarities of the makers of Prakrits are displayed by the people of different Indian provinces at the present day Thus like the former the Gujarathis of the present day cannot pronounce the Sanskrit sound औ but always make ओ of it the Bengali cannot utter the conjunct consonant in Īsvara and other words and invariably changes it into a double consonant making इस्सर of ईश्वर, the Desastha Brahmans of Eastern Maharāstra pronounce a dental nasal as a cerebral and the Sindhi and also the Bengali cannot utter क्ष but must make क्ख of it The Bengali shows also the peculiarity of the old Māgadhi speakers by his incapacity to utter the three different sibilants and his giving them all a palatal sound This would show that among the speakers of the Modern Vernaculars there is such a large aboriginal element that it has overpowered the Āryan element and they may as well be regarded as descendants of the aborigines as of the Āryas

All this preponderating influence of the aborigines is to be accounted for not only by their large numbers but by the fact that men from the Āryan community frequently married Śūdra wives though the marriages were considered inferior and sometimes Śūdra men married Āryan women The fact that some of the Law Books allow of the former and prohibit the latter shows that in practice there must have been many such cases since the law never deals with imaginary circumstances but always such as are actual The origin of certain castes is traced in those books to such marriages and it is even represented that under certain circumstances and after the lapse of a certain number of generations the offspring of those marriages can attain to the caste of the original progenitor If

then the descendant in the fifth and sixth generation of a child of a Śūdra woman by a Brāhmana Kṣatriya or Vaisya man could become a Brāhmana Kṣatriya or Vaisya when such marriages were permitted it must be understood that there is some aboriginal blood flowing through the veins of the high caste Hindus of the present day

To Southern India the Āryans penetrated at a comparatively late period when communities and nations of aboriginal races had already been formed They did not settle there in large numbers and thus were unable thoroughly to influence the latter and incorporate them into their community Hence they preserved their own languages and many of the peculiarities of their civilization and these the Āryans themselves had to adopt in the course of time The Kanarese the Tamil the Telgu and the Malayalam belong to an entirely non Āryan stock of languages

THE CASTES AND THEIR OCCUPATIONS

It was not possible in the nature of things that the castes should always follow the profession or calling which brought them into existence and which is laid down for them in the ancient Law Books The Brahmans alone could officiate as priests at sacrifices and in the domestic ceremonies and a great many devoted themselves to that occupation There were those who preferred plain living and high thinking and taking a vow of poverty devoted their lives to study But there were still others who took to agriculture trade and other much meaner occupations and also to politics and there was in the olden times even a Brahmanic dynasty reigning at Pataliputra But politics and war were the special occupation of the Kṣatriyas They also devoted themselves to Philosophy and Literature and in the Upanisads they are several times mentioned as teachers of religious philosophy and Brahmans

as leaders In one place it is said that Brahma Vidyā was first cultivated by them [1]

It was on account of this philosophic culture that religious reformers sprang from their ranks Buddha was a Ksatriya and so was Mahāvira the founder of Jainism Vasudeva whose name is closely connected with the Bhakti school either as the name of the supreme being or as a teacher was a Ksatriya of the Yadava Clan A Brāhmana may says Āpastamba study the Vedas under a Ksatriya or Vaisya teacher when reduced to that necessity The Vaisyas followed the occupation of trade and agriculture The Śūdras are condemned to be the slaves or servants of the other castes by Brahmanic Law Books But as a matter of fact since by that name several social groups or castes were designated it was impossible that that occupation should have been enough for them or have satisfied them They often pursued an independent calling and became artizans Patañjali mentions carpenters and black smiths as belonging to the Śūdra class The lowest of them the Candālas were in the same degradad condition as they are now

ENDOGAMY

Endogamy i e marriage within and not without the limits of a group is a characteristic of castes But as already stated a man from the higher castes could marry a Śūdra woman under the law and generally a marriage connection could be formed by a man belonging to any of the higher castes with a woman of any of the lower castes The marriages were however considered to be of an inferior nature and the issue took rank after that of the wife of the same caste Marriages in the reverse order i e of a man belonging to a lower caste with a woman of a higher were like the marriage of a Śūdra man

1 See Ante, p 193 [N B U]

with an Āryan woman alluded to before strictly prohibited by the law books but since they speak of the issue of such marriages and give the law with reference to them there must have been in practice many cases of the kind After a time however these became obsolete and the marriage of a man of a higher or Āryan caste with a Sudra woman which had been allowed by the law before and frequently practised was also prohibited by the later legislators And in practice all marriages between members of different castes gradually went out of use

The Brahmanic religious writers mention a good many castes which they assert sprang from inter marriages between persons of different castes The origin thus assigned to the castes is in a good many cases evidently fanciful Some of them such as Vaideha and Māgadha must have arisen from the locality others such as Rathakara or chariot maker from the occupation and still others such as Candala from the race But it will not do to throw discredit over the whole statement The Indian authors are always inclined to reduce everything to a preconceived system The castes are four and if we find many more in the real life they must have sprung by inter marriages from these four This is the theory on which they have gone and certainly its application to all cases must be wrong But in order to render the conception of such a theory possible there must have been a few cases actually of castes springing up from such marriages But which of the castes mentioned by them are mixed castes of this nature it is not possible to determine All the so called mixed castes are considered Śudras which shows that some of them at least were aboriginal tribes which had become castes Similarly some castes are named which are said to have sprung from Vratyas or persons who had set themselves free from the Brahmanic ordinances about the orders i e , had in practice given up the

Brahamanic religion The same observation as that made above is applicable to this case viz some castes must have arisen from this cause but which we cannot say

COMMENSALITY

Commensality within and not without a group is in almost all cases another characteristic of castes But in the olden times we see from the Mahabharata and other works that Brahmanas Kṣatriyas and Vaisyas could eat the food cooked by each other Manu lays down generally that a twice born should not eat food cooked by a Śudia (IV 232) but he allows that prepared by a Śudia who has attached himself to one or is one s barber milk man slave family friend and co sharer in the profits of agriculture to be partaken (IV 253) The implication that lies here is that the three higher castes could dine with each other Gautama the author of a Dharma Sutia permits a Brāhmana s dining with a twice born (Kṣatriya or Vaisya) who observes his religious duties (17 1) Āpastamba another writer of the class having laid down that a Brahmana should eat with a Kṣatriya and others says that according to some he may do so with men of all Varnas who observe their proper religious duties except with the Śudias But even here there is a counter exception and as allowed by Manu a Brahmana may dine with a Śūdia who may have attached himself to him with a holy intent (I 18 9 13 14)

CONNUBIUM

In modern times it is of the essence of caste that there should be connubium only within its limits and commensality also except in the case of a few sub castes But if in ancient times there could be inter marriages between the three Ārya castes and also in times earlier between all the four and inter dining between the first three and some individuals of the fourth in what respect are they to be considered as castes ?

Only in this — that a certain dignity of position was transmitted from father to son and that marriage with a woman from a family of a lower hereditary position, was considered to be of an inferior nature

FORMATION OF NEW CASTES

For a long time the four castes preserved their original Vedic character as social grades though heredity had become associated with them But we can plainly observe the operation of strong tendencies to greater exclusiveness in the gradual contraction of the sphere of connubium and commensality which we have noticed above We can also discover the operation of causes which lead to the multiplication of castes

The difference of locality gave rise as we have seen to a difference of caste in the case of Śūdras Brahmanic law givers represent several provinces such as Avanti Magadha Saurāstra and the Deccan as unholy and consequently not fit to be inhabited by the Āryas (Baudhāyana's Dharmasūtra 1 2 13 14) and persons who have gone to others such as Pundra and Vanga are considered positively to have lost castes and cannot be readmitted except by the performance of certain purificatory rights This shows a tendency to the formation of separate castes among the Āryas on account of change of locality The Magadha Brahmans are spoken of even in sacrificial Sūtras as a degraded class Udica (Northern) Brāhmanas are frequently mentioned in Budhist Pali Works in a manner to show that they constituted an order or even a Jati (caste) of Brahmans This class or caste seems to have been regarded as highly respectable

The operation of race in the formation of castes we have already observed The original Śudra caste and a good many others that afterwards came to be included in it were due to this

cause As the Āryans spread far and wide in the country these two causes came into full operation

A third cause is the same as that which brought about the formation of the Vrātya classes When the ordinances and usages of caste are violated by some members of it the others excommunicate them or regard them as having ceased to belong to their castes This cause came into active operation probably during the time when early Buddhism enjoyed ascendancy and was followed by the Ksatriya and Vaisya castes Animal sacrifice was prohibited by the Great Asoka in the first half of the third century before Christ and along with that some of the ordinary usages were given up The Brahmanas must have looked upon those who did so as having lost caste and this fact is probably at the bottom of the view held by them that in this Kali age there are only two Varnas the Brahmanas and the Śudras the other two having disappeared The prevalence of Jainism and some of the other religious systems must have contributed to the same result And the laying down of certain sins liable to lead to excommunication in the Law Books shows that the practice must have prevailed A fourth cause also came into operation in the early centuries of the Christian era or even before It was the formation of Śrenis or trade guilds They are mentioned in some of the Law Books and in the Nasik and Kanheri Cave Inscriptions In these we have an allusion to a Tailika Sreni and a Malika Śreni i e the guilds of oil makers and gardeners These guilds must have had a regular organisation since charitable persons deposited money with them for the benefit of Buddhist monks on which they paid interest from generation to generation And in the course of time the guilds of oil men and gardeners became the castes of Telis and Malis Some or good many—not all as has been supposed by some writers —of the modern castes have got an organisation

with a headman or president and this they owe to their having sprung from such guilds or imitated their practice The followers of each occupation thus formed a caste and the numbers multiplied

A fifth cause has also been in operation for some centuries Religious schools or sects have given rise to different castes The followers of the Madhyamdina Śakha or recension of the White Yajui Veda form a different caste from that of the followers of the Kanva recension and those of Madhva from that of the followers of Śamkara though there is commensality between them except in some cases

THE PRESENT POSITION

These five causes have been in brisk operation during more than two thousand years, unchecked by any influence of a unifying nature and the principle of divisions has become strongly ingrained in Hindu Society and perhaps in the Hindu blood During all this period various religious and philosophical sects have been founded Religion has been developing and not quite on wrong lines and spreading elevating ideas But all these sects including that of the Buddhists occupied themselves with man's eternal interest and thought it no concern of theirs to promote his worldly interest The Buddhists and also some schools of the Vaisnavas considered caste to be of no value Men from all castes were admitted into the fraternity of Buddhist monks and the Vaisnavas disregarded caste restrictions in their dealings with each other But the re formation of the Hindu Society by relaxing the bondage of castes was not an object with them

Thus the result is that Hindu Society is now cut up into more than three thousand castes Each of them is a community by itself and having no connubium of or commensality with another, and has developed peculiar manners and tastes which distinguish

it still further from the rest and renders social intercourse impracticable Thus the two hundred and forty millions of Hindus living in India form about three thousand distinct communities each on an average composed of eighty thousand people i e about two thirds of the population of a single town of ordinary size such as Poona

SENART S THEORY OF CASTES

The germs of the Caste System existed among some of the principal races in the West For a long period there was no connubium between the Patricians and the Plebians in Rome and traces have been discovered we are told of the existence of restrictions as to inter marriage and eating together among the Greeks Germans and Russians But those germs were trampled under foot there while here they have found a congenial soil and grown into a huge bunyan tree, throwing its dark shadow on the whole extent of this vast country And what is the reason ? This is what M Senart, the great French scholar who has recently published an essay on Caste is represented to say about it

' M Senart shows how the growth of strong political and national feeling constantly tended in the West to weaken and at last succeeded in removing these (caste) restrictions He suggests that the absence of such feelings in India may be one reason why the disabilities have not also there been gradually softened away It is indeed very suggestive for the right understanding of Indian History that they should on the contrary have become so permanent a factor in Indian life '

M Senart s theory appears to be that the innumerable castes of the present day existed even in very olden times and that the four Varnas or grades belonged to pre Vedic times — when the ancestors of the Parsis and Hindus lived together — and were traditionally handed down to the Vedic times and these

traditional grades were fused together with the numberless castes that really existed so as to form what he calls a Hybrid system The modern castes have not grown out of the old Varnas or grades Hence he speaks of the caste restrictions as not having been softened away But agreeing as I do with Oldenberg a German scholar who has expressed his dissent from M Senart and believing that the view I have put forth above is alone sustained by the evidence available I should say that the old slight restrictions have in the course of time become very heavy fetters that render all movement impossible ' And this is the result of the entire absence of Political and National feelings Pride and other feelings that divide man from man have had full swing in the History of India and sympathy or fellow feeling has been confined to the narrowest possible sphere

MEAT AND DRINK

Connected with the question of Caste is that of the use of meat and drink It is generally supposed that abstinence from meat is an essential condition of Brahmanism But according to all authorities the Brahmanas and other twice born used meat in ancient times The flesh of five species of five clawed animals is permitted to be eaten in the Dharma Sutras and even beef is allowed by Āpastamba (I 17 30 37) Most of the sacrifices of the old Vedic religion were animal sacrifices and the animals killed by suffocation for the purpose were goats sheep cows or bulls and horses It is impossible that the idea of offering meat to Gods could have originated unless men themselves liked it and used it But the influence of Buddhism and later of Jainism threw discredit on the practice and those who re edited Hindu Law in the fourth century of the Christian era and later i e the writers of the Smrtis of Manu and Yajñyavalkya lay down the old

permissive precept but hedge it round with so many restrictions that it amounts almost to prohibition

But in modern times the Brahmans of Bengal Mithilā Kashmir and Sindh do use meat while in countries which were for a long time under the influence of Buddhism and Jainism such as Gujarath even the lower castes abstain from it But the killing of cows or bulls for any purpose—whether for sacrifice or meat—went out of use early and was prohibited in the books

Similarly in the Vedic times the popular drinks were Soma a species of intoxicating liquid and also Sura or fermented liquor This last however was soon given up and we find the use of it enumerated among the seven deadly sins even in such an old work as Yāska's Nirukta

POSITION AND INFLUENCE OF WOMEN

In the list of the old teachers or Ācāryas of the Rgveda given in Āśvalayana's Grhyasutra, occur the names of three women Gargi Vācaknavi Vadavā Prātitheyi and Sulabhā Maitreyi The works of some of the male teachers mentioned therein have come down to us and those of a few others are alluded to in other works wherefore it must be admitted that they were actually living individuals So these ladies were not imaginary persons but really existed and taught Gārgi Vācaknavi is mentioned in the Brhadāranyaka Upanisad as having been a member of a large assembly of learned Rṣis held at the court of Janaka king of Videhas and taking active part in the debate on Brahman or the Universal Essence that is reported to have taken place

Sulabhā Maitreyi is introduced in the Mahābhārata as discoursing on Brahman with king Janaka In another part of the same Upanisad Maitreyi the wife of Yajñyavalkya is represented to have asked him when he expressed his

intention to retire from family life and divide his property between her and another wife whether wealth could confer immortality on her On Yajñyavalkya s denying it she said she did not care for that which would not make her immortal and begged of Yajñyavalkya to explain to her what he knew about Brahman And so Yajñyavalkya discourses on it to her and she interrupts him with intelligent questions This discourse is famous and often referred to in the Advaita Vedānta taught by Śamkaracārya

Draupadi is represented as carrying on a keen controversy with Yudhisthira about God s dealings with men The poet would not have brought forward such a scene unless in his time there were women able to speak with such intelligence and knowledge as Draupadi shows Among the Buddhists there was an order of nuns as of monks, and there exist works written by the female religious elders All this shows that women in those days were not condemned to ignorance but took part in the discussion of religious and philosophic questions and even appeared in assemblies of men

THE IDEAL WIFE

A wife and husband became by their marriage Dampati or "two masters of the house The Gods gave her to him (the bridegroom) for house keeping their union was as permanent and intimate as that of the Earth and the Heaven and she became his friend and companion — This is the substance of the Vedic Mantras repeated by the bridegroom at the marriage And in keeping with the ideal here shadowed forth the Vedic ritual makes her a partner in all the religious duties The husband cannot keep the sacred fire without her her presence and co operation are necessary in all the great sacrifices The fire kindled on the occasion of marriage had

to be kept up all the domestic ceremonies concerning him her and the children were to be performed on it and when either died he or she was to be burned by means of that fire The fire was thus a standing symbol of their union

This ideal of the relations between the two was in all likelihood observed even in worldly matters in the well conducted families as the following praise contained in the Mahābhārata indicates — She is a wife who is diligent in household duties she is a wife who has children she is a wife to whom her husband is the breath of life she is a wife who is devoted to her husband A wife is one half of a man a wife is the best of friends a wife is at the root of the accomplishment of the three objects of life (righteousness worldly prosperity and satisfaction of desire) a wife is at the root when final deliverance is attained Those who have wives perform their duties those who have wives become householders those who have wives enjoy peace those who have wives are prosperous In solitude they are friends whose conversation is sweet in religious duties they are fathers and in illness they are mothers To a traveller they are a repose in the wilderness He who has a wife is trustworthy therefore wives are our highest resources (Mahābhārata I 74 39 ff)

When Buddha was going about preaching his gospel his great supporters were women, who gave him and his numerous disciples many gifts and fed them at their houses One such female devotee frequently mentioned in the Pali Buddhistic books was a rich lady of the name of Visakā who resided at Śravasti the capital of Kosala She had many healthy sons and grand sons and was looked upon as an auspicious person All men invited her to dinner first whenever there was a sacrifice or any festive ceremonial This gives an idea of the influence and popular esteem that a woman could attain Her husband is nowhere mentioned and she is represented as doing things of her own motion as also those

females who belonging to respectable families, gave up a worldly life and became nuns This shows that women enjoyed a good deal of independence In later times too a great many benefactors of the fraternity of Buddhistic monks were women and their names are found inscribed on the monuments of those times

THE OTHER SIDE OF THE PICTUPE

The picture has also another side Though a wife was highly respected a woman as such was held in little esteem In the Taittiriya Samhita it is stated that women are unsubstantial and consequently excluded from inheritance Yāska gives two views one agreeing with this and another to the effect that they can inherit Those who hold the former say that daughters on that account are exposed given or sold but the others retort that sons also are treated in the same way and give the instance of Śunahsepa who was sold by his father to Rohita the son of Hariscandra king of the Solar race to be sacrificed to Varuna in his place Thus it will be seen that the general opinion of the Āryas was wavering and had not become definitely hostile to females In the Rgveda times girls were free and could choose their own husbands and enjoyed a great deal of independence But a daughter is always a source of anxiety to the father on account on her difficulty of finding a suitable husband Hence even in such an old work as the Aitareya Brāhmana while the wife is called a friend or companion a daughter is spoken of as (the source of) humiliation

In the Mahābhārata women it is said ' while enjoying themselves with men deceive them no man who has once got into their hands can be free All the wiles of Śambara Namuci and Kumbhinasa are to be found in women They laugh when a man laughs weep when he weeps even one they do not like they subdue by endearing words

Usanas or Bṛihaspati does not teach a device that women do not know by their natural wit What is false they pronounce to be true what is true they make out to be false how is it possible for men O brave one to watch them ? There is nothing more wicked than women women are burning fire they are the illusive jugglery of Maya put the edge of a razor, poison serpent and fire in one scale and women in the other ' (XIII 39 and 40)

In actual life the relations between man and woman are so varied that it is quite possible that under certain circumstances a man should speak thus about a woman But when the legislator Manu is equally hard on women it must be acknowledged that the estimate of the old Ārya of womanly nature is not flattering to them generally They are debarred from reading the Vedas any religious rite in which they alone are concerned is directed to be performed without Vedic Mantras Even the Bhagavadgītā gives expression to the general belief that it is only a sinful soul that is born as a woman Vaisya or Śūdra

Thus women began to suffer in the estimation of men about the time of Yāska and the downward movement which then commenced resulted in their being subjected to definite disabilities by the fourth century of the Christian era, when the Metrical Smṛiti of Manu was written and the Mahābhārata retouched and it has continued to this day and rendered their condition still more deplorable

AGE OF MARRIAGE

(I) OF GIRLS

When the Mantras addressed by the bridegroom to the bride at the time of marriage (the substance of some of which I have given above[1]) were composed there can be no question that the

[1] Ante p 459 [N B U]

bride must have been a girl who had arrived at an age of discretion and could understand what marriage meant In the time of Āsvalāyana Āpastamba and others who in their Grhya Sutras give the details of the marriage ceremony and say nothing about the age of the bride we have to suppose that then too she was a grown up girl and this is confirmed by their allowing intercourse on the fourth day after marriage Hiranyakesin and Jaimini prescribe in express terms that the bride should be a mature girl who has been chaste while Gobhila Gobhilaputra and the Mānava Grhya lay down that a girl not having intercourse previously with a man should be married This also means that the girl should be one who has reached womanhood But they add it is best to marry one who has not arrived at womanhood ' Manu and other writers of Metrical Smrtis require that a girl should be married before she has arrived at maturity

In these various injunctions we observe a regular downward course Āsvalāyana is silent about the age of the girls and the reason must be that late marriages—which the Mantras that were repeated and the rule about the inter course on the fourth day presuppose—must have been a matter of course and alone in practice When however Hiranyakesin expressly enjoins the marriage of mature girls only the opinion of the Āryas about the time when he lived must have begun to become unsettled and early marriages to be thought of as better But when Gobhila first of all lays down a precept which in effect is the same as that of Hiranyakesin and afterwards recommends an immature bride as the best the opinion in favour of early marriage must have become more predominant And it went on acquiring still greater predominance, until when the Metrical Smrtis were written or the religious law was revised it had completely triumphed, and the other was driven out of the field Manu however as the earliest of the writers of these

works has not entirely forgotten late marriages and allows under certain circumstances a girl to remain unmarried for three years after she has attained womanhood And since his time late marriages have become entirely unknown and in these days girls are sometimes married even when they are a year or two old

(II) OF BOYS

The old law was that after Upanayana or the ceremony of making a boy over to a Guru or preceptor he should study the Vedas for twelve twenty four or even forty eight years and then relinquish the Brahmacarya or student s vow or that he should give up the vow after he had completed his studies without reference to the number of years he took to do it It was then that he was allowed to marry The Upanayana ceremony was performed in the case of a Brāhmana boy when he was at least eight years old and in the case of a Ksatriya or Vaisya boy when he was eleven or twelve As the lowest period of twelve years for a student s life must have been fixed because the studies generally occupied so much time a young man was free to marry when he was at least twenty years old But as a rule he entered into that relation at a later age and Manu lays down thirty or twenty four years as the proper age

Now here the law upto the time of Manu was entirely in favour of late marriages in the case of boys But gradually the duration of student life was curtailed until now in the Maratha country it lasts for three or four days only and the relinquishment ceremony (Samāvartana) is performed on the fourth or fifth day The Upanayana ceremony and the Vedic study have thus for a long time become a solemn farce and a boy is married when he is about twelve years old It is considered necessary for the reputation of a family that the boys in it should be married at about that

age and the delay of marriage till about sixteen is regarded as throwing discredit on it

BURNING OF WIDOWS

The custom of burying or burning a widow with the dead body of her husband prevailed among a good many ancient Āryan races settled in Europe It was in practice among the Teutonic tribes and also among the non Āryan Scythians But in the whole of the Rgveda there is no allusion to the practice Still it must have prevailed among the Indian Āryas before the time when the hymns were composed For there are two verses one of which occurs in the Atharva-Veda Samhita and in the Taittiriya Āranyaka and the other in the latter and in the Rgveda Samhitā (Ath -Ve XVIII 3 1 Taitt Ār pp 651 and 632 Ed Bibl Ind Rgv X 18 8) of which the first is repeated when the wife of an Agnihotrin is made to lie down by the side of her dead husband on the funeral pile and the other when she is raised from it by her brother in-law or her husband s pupil or an old servant (Āsvalāyana Grhya IV 2 18) The sense of the first is O mortal this woman desirous to go to the world of husbands lies down by the side of thee who art dead in accord ance with ancient usage (Purāna dharma) give her children and wealth' and of the second ' Rise O woman for the world of the living thou art lying by the side of this dead (man) The wifehood of a second husband stares thee in the face'

The whole ceremony is a mimicry of the once practised custom of burning a widow and the fact of raising the woman from the pile shows that it was afterwards given up The word Didhisu which occurs in the latter verse is taken in an etymo logical sense by European scholars and Sāyana in his commentary on the Rgveda and made applicable to the dead husband but in the commentary on the Taittiriya Āranyaka Sayana takes it

in the sense of a second husband" and that is the usual sense of the word and that alone is appropriate here But I must not go into the reasons in this paper intended for the general reader

Thus the Vedic Āryas had consciously given up the custom of burning widows and there is no trace of it in the older books on the religious law But it must have prevailed among some of the many Āryan tribes that migrated to India or among the aboriginal Śudras and there is an indication of it in the story of Mādri one of the two wives of Pandu having burned herself with her dead husband and in another part of the Mahabhārata where a female dove is represented to have burned herself with her dead mate She went like a human widow to the ' world of husbands " and becoming re united with him lived happily with him

But when the deterioration of the Āryan moral feeling had established itself the custom was generally adopted from the tribes among whom it existed and the precept about the burning of widows was laid down in some of the Metrical Smrtis though however not without a protest from others But the later Panditas in their exposition of the law denied the authoritativeness of the protesting texts and decided that the burning of widows was lawful And so it became the general practice though it was optional and looked upon by some as an irrational act, as is shown by the beautiful passage against it in Bāna s Kādambari and was eventually prohibited by the British Government in 1830

WIDOW MARRIAGE

We have seen that the wife of the dead Agnihotrin was raised from the funeral pile by a promise of re marriage The text which refers to this is one of the indications contained in the Vedas as to the existence of the practice of widow marriage There is another in the Atharva Veda in which it is stated that

'when a woman who has had a husband before marries another after his death they are never separated from each other if they perform the rite of Aja Pañcaudana' In the Aitareya Brahmana we have a third passage in which it is said that one man may have many wives but one woman cannot have many husbands at one and the same time" This last expression implies that she can have many at different times The re married woman was called a Punarbhū and the word occurs in the Athaiva Veda and in the Metrical Smitis The marriage of widows however is not allowed by an express precept in the older works on the religious law Of the Metrical Smrtis two—that of Parasara and Nārada—permit it but all the rest are opposed

The fact appears to be that in ancient times the practice of widow re marriage did exist and it continued to be followed up to the time when the Metrical Smṛtis were composed But in the meanwhile it had come to be considered not respectable or had fallen into disrepute Hence a controversy arose between the legislators Some ran it down entirely but Manu argues with those who held it to be legal, and says that the giving of a widow in marriage is not mentioned in the law about marriage and makes a compromise by allowing the re marriage of a widowed girl who has not arrived at maturity Others however represented by Parāsara and Nārada stoutly defended the practice and laid down a direct precept to legalise it The writers on the other side admitted the fact of the existence of re marriages in so far as they put into the list of sons a Paunarbhava or one born of a Punarbhu or a re married woman But they gave him a low rank and allowed him a right to inheritance on the failure of those above him or a fourth part of the estate if they existed Yajñyavalkya even rules that the debts of a man who has deceased should be paid by him who marries his wife Thus there is no question

that the practice did exist at the time when these works were written that is from about the fourth to about the sixth century of the Christian era It was not forgotten till the beginning of the eleventh century For in a Jaina work written in 1014 A D to discredit Brahmanism and glorify Jainism, a certain legend is narrated in which a man is represented to have been excluded from the table of his fellows because he had become a recluse without going through the previous order of a married house holder He was advised to marry but as no one would give his daughter to such an old man as he was it was suggested that he should marry a widow, and in support of the suggestion the text from Parāsara legalizing such a marriage was quoted But though Parasara legalized the practice it was not rehabilitated and continued to be held in disrepute Hence it gradually fell into disuse and was entirely forgotten in later times

PRESENT CONDITION OF WOMEN

We have thus seen how the disabilities of women gradually multiplied But the tale does not end here In still later times the disregard for the life and happiness of the female creatures grew until it became almost abnormal and female infants were destroyed in certain provinces and girls to the number of a hundred or two were married to one man in another The first practice has now been put an end to by the British Government but the second still flourishes Again in these days a man marries a girl of twelve or thirteen after he has lost his first wife she dies after a time and another is brought into the house this also meets with the same fate and a fourth is married when probably the man is past fifty and even verging on sixty and she is left a widow before she has arrived at womanhood or soon after Sometimes negotiations for the new connection are entered into in the burning ground while the dead body of the old wife is being consumed by fire Now it is a fact that a connection between a girl of thirteen or fourteen years

and a man of thirty five or above proves fatal to the life of the girl A great many instances are now before my mind s eye in which when a man married a second girl wife he had soon to marry a third and a fourth The husband thus causes the death of the poor girl And still even highly educated men of the present day do not scruple to resort to the practice It is in their power to marry a grown up widow and make an unfortu nate female creature happy and secure for themselves a suitable companion and to shun the guilt of causing the death of an innocent and helpless creature But no they have not the courage to withstand the criticism of the caste criticism I say not persecution for in reality there is very little of that

The downward course which began many centuries ago has landed us here And anxiously thinking about the matter one asks himself why should this degeneration have gone on con tinuously for a long time without impediment The reason seems to be that the tyranny under which the Hindus have lived from times immemorial have weakened their moral fibre —if not entirely destroyed it We have been subject to a three fold tyranny political tyranny priestly tyranny and a social tyranny or tyranny of the caste Crushed down by this no man has dared to stand and assert himself Even religious reformers have shunned the legitimate consequences of their doctrines to avoid coming into conflict with the established order of things The promptings of his better nature or the pangs of conscience a Hindu has had to suppress for fear of the three agencies, and now the better nature has almost ceased to prompt or the conscience to bite At present however though we live under a foreign Government we enjoy a freedom of thought and action such as we never enjoyed before under our own Hindu princes But have we shown a capacity to shake our selves free from priestly and social tyranny ? I am afraid not much But this is certain that unless we rouse our conscience

and cultivate the higher feelings of our nature and with the strength derived from these stand erect against priests and caste there is no hope of our being able to turn back the current of deterioration and degradation that has been flowing from the very olden times and increasing in force as it advances

THE INDIAN CASTE SYSTEM

[From the Report of the Second Aryan Brotherhood Conference Bombay, 1915 pp 13—24]

In the Volume on 'Indian Social Reform" issued by Mr Chintamani in 1901 there is an article on the 'Social History of India"[1] contributed by me This article contains a short sketch of the development of caste among the Hindus the substance of which with some variations I must here reproduce During the early portion of the period occupied by the composition of the Rgveda Samhitā two Varnas — which word afterwards came to signify a caste — are alluded to (1) The Ārya Varna i e Ārya colour or group of men (2) The Dasyu Varna i e Dasyu colour or group of men Later on there appears a mention of Brahma Ksatram and Visas which indicate three occupations viz that of priests rulers and politicians and the ordinary people These occupations had not yet become hereditary and anyone could assume them in accordance with his own circumstances Devāpi who is represented by Yāska as belonging to the Kuru race is mentioned in X 98 5 as having assumed the function of a sacrificial priest and brought down rain The person for whom he acted as priest was his brother Śantanu, and since according to Yāska they belonged to the Kuru race they must both be considered to have followed the occupation of rulers or politicians This is an instance in which a Ksatriya may be considered for a time to have become a Brāhmana

There is a story related in the Aitareya Brāhmana that the old Rsis held a sacrificial session on the banks of the

1 Printed, Ante pp 443 ff [NBU]

Sarasvatı Theıe was among the sacrificers a man of the name of Kavasa Aılusa and beıng a non Brāhmana of a dısrespectful character and thus not authorısed to be a sacrificer was drıven out to the dry sands that he mıght not drınk the watei of the Sarasvatı There he became a seer or a Rsı and composed a hymn ın consequence of whıch the Sarasvatı ran up to hım and enabled hım to quench hıs thırst Havıng thus composed a hymn he became non Brāhmana as he was a Brāhmana

And there are stoıies of Vısvāmıtra s havıng been orıgınally a Ksatrıya current ın the Epıc Perıod Vısvāmıtıa and hıs descendants were the authors of the Thırd Book of the Rk Samhıtā and consequently Brahmanas pre emınently There aıe no plaın ındicatıons ın the Samhıtā ıtself of hıs havıng been once a Ksatrıya but accordıng to a very old tradıtıon current ın the tıme of Aıtareya Brāhmana and of Yāska he was The lattei ın explaınıng the expressıon कुशिकस्य सूनु or the son of Kusıka occurrıng ın one of Vısvāmıtra s hymns tells us that Kusıka was a kıng In the Aıtareya Brāhmana Śunahsepa ıs represented to have addressed hım as Rājaputra or the son of a kıng and Bharatarsabha or the great Bharata Thus the epıc story seems to have been confirmed by a very old tradıtıon and Vısvamıtra havıng been born as a Ksatıiya, became a Brahmana and a Rsı

Thus orıgınally there were these three orders and as anybody was at lıberty to take up any of them that suıted hıs cırcumstances the orders weıe ın no sense castes In tıme however they became heı edıtary and no one could assume that order ınto whıch he was not born In one of the latest hymns of the Samhıta that known as the Purusasukta the four castes Brāhmana, Rājanya, Vaısya and Śūdra aře dıstınctly mentıoned The first three belong to the Āryan stock and the last ıs cleaıly dıstınguıshed from ıt It has already been mentıoned that when the Āryans ınvaded Indıa, they met wıth hoı des of ındıgen

ous tribes to whom they gave the general name of Dasyus In the course of time one or more of these tribes became incorporated with the Āryan Society and to them was assigned the function of menial service Probably one of the main tribes was called by the name of Śūdra and that term acquired a comprehensive sense so as to render it applicable to all non Āryan tribes

But though these orders had become hereditary and acquired to that extent the nature of castes still commensality and connubium between the members of a certain group to the exclusion of persons of another group which are the essential characteristics of a caste at the present day did not exist for a long time The epics are full of instances in which Brāhmanas dined with Ksatriyas and Vaisyas and in some cases with Śudras also And the members of a caste were allowed to marry wives from the lower ones in addition to one from their own Such marriages are called Anuloma marriages i e marriages in conformity with the established gradation of castes Marriages in the reverse order i e , of a woman of a superior caste with a man of an inferior one were prohibited by law but still were in practice The authors of Dharmasūtras and the Metrical Smitis give the names of the mixed castes formed by these two kinds of marriages Among the names mentioned by them are such ones as Vaidehika and Māgadha which are clearly names derived from the locality in which the people belonging to the castes originally lived i e these were considered as separate castes only because they lived in the provinces of Videha and Māgadha and were thus isolated from the rest just as the Vadnagars and Visnagars have become separate castes in consequence of the locality to which they belonged

Caṇḍālas and Nisādas are also mentioned among the mixed castes and were evidently aboriginal tribes The authors of the Dharmasūtras finding a number of castes prevalent

in Hindu Society endeavoured to account for them by the theory of the mixed marriages we have mentioned Probably a few castes were formed by such marriages but it has been our mental practice to form a theory based upon the instances falling within our ordinary observation and extending that theory to other instances also in which the origin is unknown But the enumeration of these mixed castes shows us this at least — that there were some which owed their origin to mixed marriages that there were others due to the difference of locality and still others which properly were original races

Difference of race has been a very fruitful cause of the difference of castes Not only did the aboriginal races form so many independent castes but there were other races also who made incursions into the country in historic times and swelled the number The Yavanas or Bactrian Greeks made their appearance in the country a few centuries before Christ and were followed later on by Śakas Though these held large portions of the country they entered it as conquerors and remained there as rulers When they lost power they were probably absorbed in the existing castes I may here mention a colony of Persian priests called Magi who brought the worship of Mihira or the Sun into the country about 200 300 A D These are known to Sanskrit literature as Magas and are considered as Brāhmanas The Maga Brāhmanas exist as an independent caste in Rajputana and elsewhere in Northern India to this day

But from about the first century after Christ to about the sixth large hordes of tribes of the name of Abhiras and Gūjaras poured into the country and settled in it The Abhiras occupied the country from the East of the Punjab to about Mathurā and southwards to Kathiawad and Konkan The Gūrjaras followed afterwards They came by way

of the Punjab to a province of which they gave their name now known as Gujarat Then they entered Rajputana and founded a kingdom at Kanauj which subsisted for a few centuries Subsequently they turned to the south and established a kingdom in Northern Gujarat at Anahilpattana and gave the name of Gujarat to the old province of Lāta which it still holds The Abhiras and Gūrjaras formed separate castes and we have at present Abhira and Gurjara goldsmiths Abhira and Gurjara carpenters and even Abhira and Gurjara Brahmanas Later on came also a small horde of Huns called in Sanskrit Hunas These Hūnas seem to have formed a caste and there are some people in the Punjab whose Gotra is known by the name of Huna

In addition to these three causes there were others also which contributed to the multiplication of castes We have epigraphic evidence that there were in the early centuries of the Christian era a number of trade guilds such as Tailikasreni or the guild of oil men, Mālikasrenī or the guild of gardeners which had their own constitution This enabled them to receive in permanent deposit sums of money the interest of which was to be devoted for the benefit of Buddhist mendicants Guilds such as these became exclusive castes in the course of time Then there arose a number of religious sects which too hardened into castes eventually

But the most fruitful source for the multiplication of castes was the number of persons who were called Vrātyas Those whose Upanayana ceremony was not performed at the time prescribed or not at all were called Vrātyas and all communication with them was prohibited In general terms it may be stated that those who violated the Brāhmanic ordinances were excommunicated and formed separate castes This principle of excommunication went on being largely resorted to in later times even when there was a slight departure from the ordinary usages of castes From the

operation of all these causes the number of castes has now swollen to more than about 3 000 and the Hindu population of India is now divided into so many distinct communities differing in manners and customs and often hostile to each other

The germs of the caste system existed among the nations of the West There were no inter marriages between the Patricians and the Plebians of Ancient Rome for a long time and there were traces even amongst the Greeks Germans and Russians of the same prohibition and of not eating together But these traces disappeared in the course of time among those nations while they have had a luxuriant growth in India until they have developed into a mighty and extensive banian tree casting the dark shadow of its branches over every province city and village of India! And what is the reason? This is what M Senart a French scholar who has written an essay on Caste" says on the subject The growth of strong political and national feelings constantly tended in the West to weaken and at last succeeded in removing these (caste) restrictions" He suggests that the absence of such feelings in India may be one reason why the disabilities have not also there been gradually softened away Softened away" indeed! There is no talk here of caste restrictions softening away they have instead hardened into a rock in a manner to challenge the skill and power of the greatest athlete among us to break it

Not only have political and national feelings not grown among us but whatever rudiments of those feelings existed at and before the time of Buddha have on the contrary softened away and now there is no trace of them But we have received an English education and European ideas have been grafted on our minds and they are filled with new national aspirations As a result of the terrible war that is now being

waged in Europe, there is a hope that some of these aspirations will be realized and the aim of the British Government will be as the Viceroy has recently declared to make India a friend of the Empire and not a trusted dependent To become the friend of the Empire India must be one and one hearted and this can only be effected by the obliteration of caste distinctions among the Hindus and a good understanding between them and the Mahomedans Our efforts therefore must now be directed towards achieving such a result

But during all this time that I have been speaking of was there no gifted soul to stem the torrent of this caste formation? There was—and I may say—there were Buddha taught the doctrine that all the four castes were equally pure and denied the claim of the Brahmanas to a superiority in this respect over the rest It is stated that while he was staying at Śrāvastī the Brāhmanas deputed a learned young man of the name of Assalāyana (Āsvalāyana) to discuss the question with him The questions that were put to him by Buddha were whether there was any difference between the Brāhmanas and the other three castes as to the manner in which persons belonging to them were conceived and developed in their mother s womb and afterwards were born whether their moral liabilities and the consequences of the violation of what is right and proper were different i e whether a Śūdra murderer was more sinful than a Brāhmana murderer whether heaven was the reward of a virtuous Brāhmana only and not a virtuous Śūdra and so on Āsvalayana did not recognize any difference At last Buddha declared that the superiority claimed by the Brahmanas was a heresy propounded by some Ṛṣis in con sequence of which they lost their spiritual power And Buddha admitted to his spiritual dispensation members of all castes whatever even Candālas and scavengers The Brahmanic dispensation was open to the three higher castes only though there was a difference even here and the Śūdras were excluded

The Śudras are declared not to be qualified for the study of the Vedānta to attain Moksa or eternal bliss and the way open to them was to discharge their duty of service to the higher castes faithfully and thus be born in future life as Vaisya Ksatriya or Brāhmana when alone they could study the Vedānta and be emancipated

But Buddha was a religious reformer and not a social or political reformer and therefore he stopped after admitting all castes to the benefit of his system of redemption and did not impose upon his followers the duty of neglecting their castes in social relations and thus practically giving it up Similarly Vaiṣnavism was a religious reform intended to supersede the old sacrificical religion and even the Aupanisada religion of contemplation But Bhagavad Vasudeva in the Bhagavadgitā and all his subsequent followers confined themselves to admitting all castes to the new dispensation of Bhakti or love and Karma or the performance of right actions and did not run down castes as such or preach its abandonment though the Vaiṣnavas of later times such as Rāmānanda and his followers R a e d ā s the currier Kabir the Mahomedan weaver etc neglected it very perceptibly in their ordinary relations Even our Tukārāma declares his readiness to worship a Vaisnava as such to whatever caste he belonged

But all these saints and Sādhus did not look upon caste as a social evil, but disregarded it in their fellowship with each other as earnest devotees of God whom they loved and I may here remark that all the revolutions we have gone through since the sacrificial religion came into disrepute have been Religious and Moral revolutions and not Social or Political Revolutions A revolution is a change that affects and moves masses of men and religious revolutions in India had this effect but political revolutions were perhaps more frequent

than religious revolutions but they were simply contests between rival dynasties and the masses of the people remained unaffected They did not care who ruled over them and if he was found to be despotic and inhuman their ordinary remedy was to leave his kingdom and dwell in a country governed by another prince Thus the absence of strong political and national feeling to which M Senert attributes the non effacement of the original caste distinctions is illustrated by this our stolid indifference to political revolutions

But we can no more continue to be stolidly indifferent as to who governs us and how he governs us Our English education has evoked in us a sense of nationality and we have been thinking of the evils from which our nation is suffering and endeavouring to remove them by the introduction of reforms political social moral and religious These constitute a national question and the elevation of the nation is what we have been seeking The education of our women attracted our attention very early then the abolition of early marriages and afterwards the marriage of widows

The evils of caste came, about 1850 to be looked upon as seriously obstructive to the formation of a nation, and about that year the late Rao Bahadur Dadoba Pandurang impressed on his pupils of the Normal Class that he taught the necessity of eradicating them and organised a society known by the name of Paramahamsa The society gradually increased in numbers When a new member was admitted he was made to read a prayer and afterwards to eat a piece of bread baked by Indian Christians as an indication that he had given up the caste requisites Once a year or perhaps oftener all the members who belonged to different castes dined together But all this was done with closed doors and the members were afraid of publicity The pupils of the Normal Class lived on the second floor of Dumete's Chawl in Phanasvadi

while they were in Bombay A good many of them were after wards sent to Moffusil towns as vernacular school masters and there they acted as missionaries of their caste creed

One of these was located at Ratnagiri where I was a pupil till the end of 1852 He succeeded in making several men Paramahamsas A class fellow of mine who had come under his influence wanted to convert me to the new creed and used to take me for long walks in the afternoon when he discussed with me the absurdity of caste distinctions and their destructive effects on national unity I was of course intellectually convinced of all this but was not admitted as a member of the body till the beginning of 1853 when I went to Bombay for the prosecution of my studies in the Elphinstone College About that time i e when I was in the 16th year of my age the initiation ceremony was performed in a room in Dumete's Chawl in my case, and I was made to eat a piece of bread which made my hairs stand on end because of a vague feeling that I had done something awful The Paramahamsa society went on in the manner above described till about the early sixties when the book in which the names of the members were written down was stolen and every body was afraid that he would be exposed to caste perse cutions and the society naturally broke up and the caste question was transferred to another sphere

Some of the members of the Paramahamsa society felt that Social Reform could not have a stable and healthy footing unless based on Religious Reform They therefore organised the Theistic body of the Prārthanā Samāja on the model of the Brāhmo Samāja of Calcutta The guiding principle of this reform was the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of man This last implies an obliteration of caste distinctions and much mor It implies also the levelling down of all social dis tinctions for which however many members of religious bodies are not prepared But the general attitude of these new re

formers towards castes is more hostile than that of old reformers like Buddha and the Vaisnavas and it may be said that these new religious bodies have adopted all the programme of the social reformers One prominent body of these reformers — that of the New Dispensation—has not yet adopted the doctrine of the doing away of the Purdah in the case of women

But a still more wider sphere which the caste reform has acquired is the growing public opinion against it called into being by considerations of self interests If you have to travel by rail you must lay aside some at least of the caste requirements If you want to better your position in life by getting into the Indian Civil Service or the Indian Medical Service or by becoming a barrister or an expert in any art or science you must go to England and Europe or to America This involves decided violation of caste rules since even if you are supposed not to resort to any forbidden food you have to eat the food cooked by Indian Christians or by Europeans The caste rules in this respect are set aside without any compunction and a large number of men secure these practical advantages which result from the violation Caste is given up by these persons not because they thereby contribute to the consolidation of the nation but simply because they wish to improve their worldly position

The natural effect of this as I have stated on several previous occasions is that a man when he starts for Europe or America leaves his caste at the Apollo or Ballard Pier and all the while that he remains in those foreign countries he lives without it and resumes it at those Piers when he returns That is these travellers go through a penance when they come back to purify themselves from the sin which they believe not to have committed or when they do not do so they live as members of their own previous castes This at the best may be characterised as unconscious Caste Reform, and is highly pre

judicial to the healthy growth of Hindu society since it involves hypocrisy There are however a few daring persons who continue the practice of dining at forbidden places which they had to adopt in foreign countries even after their return and there are still others who without going to foreign countries give up the caste rule of not eating the food cooked by a man belonging to a caste lower than his

In the meanwhile a wave of reaction has been sweeping over us for a good many years I heard of the formation of a Brahman Club in Bombay about 25 years ago and since that we have had Clubs and periodical Conferences called Parisads of many castes the Saraswatas the Kayastha Prabhus the Daivajñas or goldsmiths the Shimpis or tailors the Malis or gardeners and others It is often urged in favour of such conferences or Parisads that they are the means of the introduction of Social Reform in those communities The object of the Sārasvata Parisad is stated to be the union of all the sub castes To that extent the Parisad does good no doubt but the assertion of the exclusiveness of the community involved in the holding itself of the Parisads or the running of a Club serves to harden the caste distinctions instead of softening them Hence these Parisads and Clubs are retrogressive in my opinion

Then again we often hear of the bitter relations between the Marathas and the Brahmans in some of the Native States the Brahmans declining to perform domestic rites by the use of Vedic Mantras in the houses of the Marathas and the Marathas insisting on their being so performed The partiality of a man in high position using his patronage in favour of men of his own caste only has descended to us from very old times It was thought that English education would cure a man of this caste partiality, but it is a matter of regret that it has not and a doubt often creeps into my mind as to whether after all, English education will instil into our minds that resoluteness sincerity of purpose

and energetic prosecution, that are necessary for bringing about a conscious reform on national grounds in the matter of caste by obliterating the distinctions that it involves

But how is a conscious reform to be brought about We violate caste when it suits us and resume it when the necessity has ceased This insincerity must be given up and we must set ourselves to destroy caste consciously for the consolidation of our nation by openly dining together But even this open dining may come to prevail and the caste remain strong For this purpose it is necessary that there should be inter marriages between the different castes Such inter marriages are allowed by the old Hindu Law and it is only Pratiloma marriages that are prohibited But the law of the land at present as shaped by our English courts is that even Anuloma marriages are illegal This is an artificial obstruction placed in the ways of those who seek to reform the condition of their country by the Courts of that Government, which by its system of education has taught us to effect reforms Therefore we should all join in a protest against this and seek the re enactment of the old Hindu Law

Then again it is stated that marriages between members of different castes will result in the degeneration of the race But we have seen that mixed marriages were frequent in the olden times and the progeny resulting from them became incorporated with the other Hindu communities showing no signs of de generation The distinction between an Āryan and a Negro is very great and the offspring of an inter marriage between them may prove to be inferior But the distinction is not so great between a Citpāvana a Karhāda a Desastha a Senavi a Prabhu a Daivajña as to make us fear that the progeny resulting from the inter marriages between these castes will be degenerate

There is however one objection to these inter marriages Some of the manners and customs and even the mode of cooking

food are different in the case of different castes and an inter marriage will cause a great deal of inconvenience to the wife and husband But these will be passing inconveniences and to ensure our ultimate freedom from them it is necessary that even before inter marriages come into vogue we should organise an intimate intercourse between the respectable families of the different castes so as to bring about a close approximation to each other But whether we shall have the courage to perform such marriages on any large scale is doubtful Still if we place the ideal constantly before our mind and work up to it sincerely there is nothing to prevent its realization in the course of time But it may appear impossible to some and they may propose that the caste should continue to exist especially in matters of inter marriage but that our ordinary relations to each other must be based on the supposition that there is no caste distinction between us In our Meetings and our Conferences and Congresses we should accustom ourselves to be guided only by the feelings of a United Nation You will have to consider whether this is possible whether if one of your leaders in such move ments attains to real power he will not be guided by partiality for his own caste in the exercise of that power Caste feeling is of the same kind as national feeling but its mischievousness consists in its being confined to a small community following a few occupations only while the national feeling extends over a vast community the members of which follow different occu pations which are complements of each other and constitute a solid unit But if this national feeling brings about an estrange ment between different bodies of men notwithstanding great similarities between them in times of peace and in much exaggerated form in times of war as is the case in Europe at present how can you expect its bastard kindred — the caste feeling—to bring about a greater harmony between the different castes ? The caste feeling dies even harder than the national feeling It subsists among the Goanese Christians to this day

Its very narrowness and want of self sufficiency constitute a danger to the growth of the higher or national feeling

From the preceding it will be seen that I propose that we should keep the ideal of the obliteration of caste distinctions constantly before our mind s eye The question now is whether we should similarly aim at the destruction of provincial distinctions whether it is desirable that Gujratis Marathas Punjabis Hindusthanis Bengalis the Telagus the Tamils the Kanarese the Malayalams and others should be fused together into one mass of humanity It may be desirable but is it possible ? Innumerable languages are spoken by these people —their manners customs aims aspirations literature and art differ considerably Is it possible to bring about their uni fication ? These people are not only as different as but more different than the nations of Europe Nationality and race assert themselves in spite of all endeavours to efface them What, therefore we should seek is to bring out Social Reform inclusive of the obliteration of caste in each of the communities or provinces and not to unify them But the result of having many provincial nationalities must be mutual jealousies and an uncontrollable desire in those that are enterprising to subjugate others and finally a war of annihilation such as the one now being waged in Europe Will our provincial nationalities not lead to similar result ?

With regard to Europe sober and thoughtful men have perceived the necessity of placing all the nations therein under one central authority whose decisions and com mands should be obeyed by all The confederation of European nationalities is the ideal conceived by these thinkers and if the present War ends in a thorough discomfiture of the most aggressive States and a general weakening of them all there will be attempts to realize such a confederation

Here in India however we have already got a Central Authority to which all our provincial nationalities will be subject

Under the guidance of this Central Authority and in virtue of the policy hitherto pursued and to be pursued by it in future our Provincial Nationalities will combine together for the promotion of Indian interests as opposed to provincial interests and an Indian Nationality subordinating to itself the provincial nationalities will grow up The Indian National Congress and the other National Conferences as well as the Supreme and Provincial Legislative Councils have already given birth to a feeling of Indian Nationality Things are everywhere tending towards provincial autonomies controlled and regulated by a supreme power exercising sway over the whole of India

In social matters also our aim must be the same and we should seek provincial reform regulated and controlled by the necessities of a general Indian Social Reform Confederation here as well as in Politics should be our aim Lastly whatever we are able to accomplish in the matter of Social Reform and even supposing that we do not succeed at all, we should impress upon our minds the idea that we have a duty to perform towards our province and our country and endeavour to discharge it without regard, in the words of the Bhagavadgitā to the resulting fruit, i e not being depressed by failure or elated by success into a blind over confidence and carelessness [1]

1 The foregoing was the Address of Sir R G Bhandarkar as President of the Second Aryan Brotherhood Conference held at Bombay on Thursday the 4th of November 1915 and the following days [N B U]

PRESIDENTAL ADDRESS AT THE NINTH INDIAN SOCIAL CONFERENCE HELD IN 1895

[From C Y Chintamani's Indian Social Reform 1901 Part Third pp 177 190]

Ladies and Gentlemen—I must in accordance with the usual practice begin by thanking you for having elected me your Chairman On the present occasion however this is not a mere matter of routine and formality Certain circumstances have this year very widely evoked enthusiasm for the cause of Social Reform and have led to a sort of constitution being given to this conference similar to that which the Political Congress possesses I have before me to day a large number of my countrymen who, I believe are sincere advocates of social reform as calculated to improve the fortunes of our country and to place her in a condition to enable her to maintain her position in the keen competition and rivalry that is now going on between the different countries and races of the world To be the Chairman of a body of such true lovers of their country is an honour that cannot but be highly appreciated

About sixty years ago none among us had any idea of the reform of our society and a Conference such as this was out of the question But since that time we have come in closer contact with Western Civilisation chiefly through the means of English education and that has led us to take interest in the concerns of Indian Society in general, and consider its good to be our good and has evoked in us feelings of justice and com passion for the various classes that compose our society If then you are animated by these sentiments the task before us to day will present no difficulties For the end aimed at by the pro positions that will be laid before you is justice and fair play to all classes of persons the alleviation of their sufferings and the

removal of obstacles in the free development of our individual activities

And first a good many of the proposals have reference to the condition of the female portion of our society Gentlemen one half of the intellectual moral and spiritual resources of our country is being wasted If our women were educated as they ought to be they would be a powerful instrument for advancing the general condition of our country They will bring up every new generation in a manner to perform its duty efficiently and will shed the influence of the benign virtues peculiar to them on men and so to say humanise them All the means of educating women therefore that have been indicated in the propositions you will I feel sure approve of You will see that the opening of High Schools is one of them That necessarily implies that the study of English language and literature is considered to be beneficial to our women Though there has been some difference of opinion as regards this point still I believe the necessity of such education has been recognised by the majority But I think it still remains an open question whether our ideal for the education of women ought to be the same as that for the education of men — whether after they finish their High School education they ought to be made to go through the whole University Course upto the M A Degree If bitter complaints have recently been urged as to the great pressure which our University Education imposes upon our men much stronger grounds there are for fear as regards women, whose constitution is more delicate and certain incidents in whose life and whose domestic duties tax them so heavily Perhaps after finishing a High School education if further progress is desired there should be a selection of such subjects as are more calculated to develop the peculiar aptitudes of womanly nature

The other points concerning our daughters and our

sisters have reference to the unjust and cruel sufferings to which our present social usages subject them and which no man—in whom the sentiments of justice and compassion are developed—can find it in his heart to tolerate even for a moment The misery of our widows has been the subject of frequent remarks I will therefore not detain you long by a full exposition of it I will only make a general observation that that society which allows men to marry any number of times even upto the age of sixty while it strongly forbids even girls of seven or eight to have another husband after one is dead —which gives liberty to a man of 50 or 60 to marry a girl of eleven or twelve which has no word of condemnation for the man who marries another wife within fifteen days after the death of the first is a society which sets very little value upon the life of a female human being and places women on the same level with cattle and is thus in an unsound condition disqualifying it for a successful competition with societies with a more healthy constitution

Often times the marriage of a girl under certain circumstances proves her death warrant This matter has within the last few years forced itself powerfully upon my observation A young man of thirty or thirty five loses his first wife straightway he proceeds to marry another who is a girl of ten or twelve That girl dies by the time she reaches the age of twenty another takes her place immediately after she too dies similarly then comes a third who meets with the same fate and a fourth is married by the persevering man and is eventually left a widow before she is out of her teens A great many such cases have occurred within the last few years and amongst our educated men The medical men whom I have consulted say that the results are due to the marriages being ill assorted i e to the great inequality between the age of the girl and of the strong and vigorous man I do not know

how else to characterise these cases except as cases of human sacrifice Surely if the men who have married girls successively in this manner are educated men their refined sentiments and feelings ought to make them spare poor innocent girls and marry grown up women — widows, if unmarried ones are not to be had Gentlemen this case of ill assorted marriages deserves greater condemnation at our hands than the other which is the only one that seems to be contemplated in one of the resolutions to be brought forward and in which an old man of even fifty or sixty marries a girl of ten or twelve

I will next call your attention to those points in the resolutions which concern the institution of castes And first of all allow me to observe that a very great revolution has been effected in this matter by the mere fact that we are governed by a people amongst whom the sense of equal justice for all classes of people has received a high development A Śudra at the present day is not more heavily punished than a Brāhmana for the same crimes Manu Yājñyavalkya and others have been set aside in this respect and the privileges which in the eye of the criminal law men of the highest caste enjoyed have been taken away from them I remember about 45 years ago when a Brahman was hanged for committing a murder at Ratnagiri it created a stir among the people since such a punishment for a Brahman was opposed to all past traditions of the country But of course the change did not provoke active hostility and has been acquiesced in on all sides Similarly a Śudra's tongue is not now cut off for repeating the letters of the Vedas On the contrary if a teacher in a Government school refuses to teach the sacred Mantras to a Śūdra he is apt to be dismissed from service In our schools and colleges we have to teach Sanskrit literature including the Vedas to all castes and classes But it is very much to be

regretted that the treasures of knowledge which has thus been thrown open to all is not availed of by the lower castes to the extent to which they should This is to be accounted for in a great measure by the fact of the old traditional feeling not having gone out—education is not what the Śudras think of first nor are endeavours made by others to induce him to educate himself and smoothen his path to a University Degree Similarly the railways have been effecting a silent revolution A holy Brahman does not scruple to sit in a third class carriage by the side of a Mahar whose very shadow is an abomination on ordinary occassions

The Mahars and Mangs on this side of the country and the Pariahs on the other who form the lowest classes have been entirely neglected They are the outcasts of Hindu Society and have been from the remotest times in a very degraded condition The reference made to this fact by a Mahar Haridāsa in his prefatory remarks while performing a Kirtana at my house a few years ago was very touching He said The Vedas and Sāstras have cast us aside but the Santas or saints of the middle ages have had compassion on us And be it said to the credit of the Santas of Mahārāṣtra headed by the Brahman Ekanātha and to the Santas of other provinces that they had compassion for the outcasts of Hindu Society and admitted their claims to religious instruction and a better treatment If then in those olden days these pious men with their hearts elevated by faith and devotion admitted the lowest Śūdra to religious communion and instruction shall we upon whom a greater variety of influences have been operating refuse to exert ourselves for bringing enlightenment in the dense darkness in which his mind is shrouded ? And I believe from the opportunities I have had of observation that the despised Mahar possesses a good deal of natural intelligence and is capable of being highly educated So that to continue to

keep him in ignorance is to deprive the country of an appreciable amount of intellectual resources

And generally allow me to observe that the rigid system of castes which prevails among us will ever act as a heavy drag on our race towards a brighter future To tie men down to certain occupations even when they have no aptitude for them renders those men less useful to the country When all men belonging to a certain caste must follow a certain occupation only the field is overstocked and poverty is the result You can get a Brahman school master for five or six rupees a month but a good carpenter or stone mason cannot be had unless you pay from twenty to twenty five rupees per mensem And unless perfect freedom is allowed to men in this respect and each allowed to make the best possible use of his own powers the country cannot economically advance Special privileges enjoyed by certain castes must keep the members of others in a disadvantageous position in the rivalry and competition of life In order that a nation as a whole must put forth all its power it is necessary that there should be no special privileges and special restrictions

Again the principle of caste has throughout our history operated in such a way that each caste has now come to form a separate community with distinct usages even as to the kind of food that is eaten and the manner in which it is cooked And there is no social inter communication between them of a nature to bind them together into one whole Hence, instead of there being a feeling of sympathy between different castes there is often a feeling of antipathy As long as this state of things lasts I shall feel greatly obliged to any one who will explain to me how it is possible to form a united Hindu nation If therefore we feel at all concerned as regards the future of our country in the great struggle that is going on in the world, something must be immediately done to induce a

feeling of unity among these distinct communities and to convert active antipathy into active sympathy

And I will here make bold to assert that the chronic poverty of the agricultural classes and the depredation of the proverbial Savakar or money lender constitute a great social evil The Government has been endeavouring to do a good deal by means of mere special legislation but that does not seem to have remedied the evil and the money lender continues to charge interest from 18 to 25 per cent on loans raised on the security of lands and two or four pice per rupee per month i e $37\frac{1}{2}$ or 75 per cent on smaller sums lent for shorter periods and there are also enhancements of interest when the money is not paid at the stipulated time In this manner the poor peasant is everywhere a prey to the rapacity of the money lender and is never allowed to raise his head This is a political as well as a social question The Government has been on several occasions urged to establish Agricultural Banks, but it has not yet seen the wisdom of doing so and we too whose countrymen the agriculturists are have not shown particular solicitude to remedy the evil by establishing banks of our own I do not think any special banking institution with elaborate machinery such as has been recently proposed is wanted An ordinary bank with agencies at the District towns and sub agencies for circles with a radius of about at 10 miles will I think fully answer the purpose Money should be lent on the security of land at an interest from 9 to 12 per cent payable about the same time as the land revenue Sympathetic though firm treatment should be accorded to the peasants and the agents employed should not be unscrupulous men exacting perqui sites for themselves But I will not trespass on the province of the man of business and whatever be the scheme that may be considered suitable and whatever its details this I feel certain about—that shrewed men ought not to be allowed to

prey upon the ignorance and entire helplessness of the agri cultural classes and perpetuate their wretched condition

Then there are other points in the resolutions the aim of which is to remove positive obstacles of our healthy develop ment The early marriage of boys and girls is of this nature since its effect is to undermine the strength of both and bring forth a progeny of weak children The growth of the parents themselves intellectual as well as physical, is stunted and in the course of evolution our race must become incapable of that energy and stillness of application which are so necessary under the conditions brought into existence by the rivalry and competition of races The prohibition of travel in foreign countries I would put under the same head since the same acts as an obstacle to the free expansion of our energies and capacities

These are the principal points aimed at by the Social Reformer You will see that what is necessary in order that these reforms may come into practice is that there should spring up in our hearts a sense of justice a keen sympathy for the sufferings of others and a love for one s own country and race and an anxiety for their future well being If the feelings have been awakened in us with any degree of intensity, they cannot fail to realise themselves in some sort of action and I believe that the contrary holds true that when no action follows the feelings are either not awakened at all or if really awakened are very weak It is this fact and also the general conservatism of our nature as well as the fear of excommuni cation that hold us back and we devise a number of excuses for our inaction

Sometimes we are disposed to leave the whole matter to the action of time thinking that all that we desire will come into practice just as the rigidity of caste rules is being gradually lessened by railway travelling and

such other circumstances But time is not a force—it is simply a conception of the mind to connect events together—and cannot work any changes If therefore any changes have come on in the course of time they must be brought about by the force in the human heart that leads to action As a matter of fact, such changes are often very extensive and important For instance the practice of early marriage of girls and of female infanticide and Kulinism have come into existence in comparatively recent times But if you examine their origin you will find that the first owes its introduction probably to the circumstance that when the girls grew up they went wrong in some cases In order to prevent such a result they were tied down to a husband before they were of an age to go wrong To avoid sin was of course a laudable object but the desire was not under the guidance of reason Consequently the many evil effects of early marriages were overlooked and the attainment of that one object was exclusively attended to If however the desire to prevent the evil had been under the guidance of reason other modes would have been devised for avoiding it than the one actually chosen

Similarly the practice of female infanticide and of Kulinism must in the beginning have arisen from family pride One s daughter should not be married into a family possessing no importance or distinction To marry her into a high family requires a heavy expenditure of money which the father cannot afford and in the case of Kulinism such a family is not available Hence rather than suffer the disgrace of allying himself with a low family he allowed his daughter to be destroyed, and in the other case to be married to one who had innumerable wives already Here again you will see that the motive of action was not under the guidance of the higher feelings of love and tenderness for a human being and especially for one's own child

Thus then what time brings about is very often not under the guidance of reason or the higher feelings of our nature and consequently very often degradation is the result and not elevation It will therefore not do to leave reform to time or the slow or unconscious operation of causes It must be effected from a conscious intention and the motive force should be as above remarked a sense of justice a keen sympathy and an anxiety for the future of one's own country Unable to appreciate the feelings of the true reformer we often accuse him of being hasty in desiring to do everything at once —we sometimes say that if he had adopted a particular way the reform he desires would have long come into practice Com ments such as these I always suspect especially when they come from a man who has done little or nothing practical I am however not an advocate of headlong action The motive forces of reform should be powerful in our hearts but they must be tempered in a manner not to lead us to cut ourselves from a vital connection with the past We should not adopt the procedure of the French Revolution but imitate the mode of action of the English people whose pupils we are They have realised as great changes as the French Revolution sought to effect but in a manner which connects them with the past history of the country It will not be impossible to devise such a mode of action One who has returned from foreign travels should live like an ordinary Hindu A remarried widow should conduct herself just like an ordinary Hindu lady And even as regards caste we should behave towards each other in ordinary matters as if no such distinction existed between us while as to eating together and inter marriage they must come in by and by especially when the sharp distinctions as to usages and customs between the several castes are obliterated by a closer intercommunication than that which exists at the present day

But the great danger of delayed reform is that in a short time the feeling which dictated it becomes cool and the necessity for it is entirely forgotten To prevent this result it is essential that the motive springs of reform should always be kept alive in our hearts We should make an earnest effort never to lose sight of the goal we have to reach But the modest proposal that will be laid before you as regards these two matters viz inter communication as regards eating and marriage alliance between members of the sub divisions of the same castes involves no violent change whatever consequently there is I believe no excuse for delaying its realisation

Generally it may be observed that what we have to avoid is the formation of a separate caste cut off from all social intercourse with any of the existing Hindu castes —that is to say we should avoid such complete isolation as for instance conversion to Christianity leads to And most of the reforms we advocate involve no break of continuity Some of them will be welcomed by the orthodox people themselves and as regards a great many others what we propose is merely to go back to the more healthy condition in which our society once existed In ancient times girls were married after they had attained maturity now they must be married before widow marriage was in practice now it has entirely gone out women were often highly educated and taught even music and dancing now they are condemned to ignorance and denied any accomplishments The castes were only four in number now they are innumerable Inter dining among those castes was not prohibited now the numberless castes that prevail cannot have inter communication of that nature Consistently with the maintenance of continuity in this manner there ought to be I think as much action as possible A strong public opinion must be created among the whole body of educated natives condemning any departure from the programme of reform

while no mercy should be shown to one who does what even the orthodox disapprove and at sixty marries a girl of ten or twelve or another wife immediately after the death of the first The exhibition of any caste partiality must also be severely condemned as no religious rules require it Unless we act in this manner, all our advocacy of reform will sink into the merest sentimentality more demoralising in its effects than sturdy orthodoxy

But even sentimental advocacy is an homage done to a right cause and consequently is better than stolid indifference or active hostility This however is unfortunately the mental attitude of a great many educated natives in all parts of the country In Bengal, as was pointed out by our friend the Honourable Mr Justice Ranade the other day social reform is now confined to Brahmos The great body of educated Bengalees who are not Brahmos are indifferent or hostile The late Ishvara Chandra Vidyasagara who inaugurated the reform about widow marriage and first ransacked our Smrti literature to be able to make out that it was sanctioned by the Śāstras and worked for a life time to make it popular was in his later days filled with despondency and expressed his conviction to visitors from this side of the country that Hindus as Hindus would never accept Social Reform It is certainly a matter of the deepest regret that it should be confined to a religious body We on this side have not come to this pass yet though we have our full share of indifference and hostility The aim of the reformers here has always been to reform our society—our nation I am happy to find that our Madras friends agree with us in this respect Reform through the agency of caste which is attempted in some parts of the country is very un satisfactory Very little can be effected in this way The reduction of marriage expenses and measures of this nature only can be carried out by its means and the great danger of

this method is that caste which has corroded the vitals of this country will be strengthened by it

Thus then we should nurture in our hearts the great forces which bring about the reform of society viz truth justice and sympathy Two of the greatest historians of England have told us that the Moral Law governs the affairs of the world its observance alone ensures national prosperity One of these I have quoted elsewhere and will now ask your attention to the observations of the other The strongest of the forces which are steadily bearing nations onward to improvement or decay are according to Lecky the moral ones Their permanent political well being he says is essentially the outcome of their moral state The Moral Law seeks to purify private life and to effect social justice and through these alone is the political well being of a nation possible

And Evolutionary Science is beginning to teach us the same lesson Competition and rivalry are the necessary conditions of progress towards a higher condition among men as well as among the lower creatures This competition and this rivalry tend to establish the supremacy of the stronger individual over the weaker his race propagates itself and that of the other disappears It is this law that is leading or has led to the extinction of the aboriginal races in the presence of the stronger European races in America Australia New Zealand and other islands This competition and rivalry need not assume the form of an actual war of extermination It has been clearly ascertained that even in the midst of profound peace the primitive races show a tendency to disappear If this law was in operation in our country our future must be very gloomy But our climate will I think come to our rescue as it has been ascertained that the stronger races of Western Europe cannot if settled here exhibit the same energy and perseverance that they do in temperate regions Colonisation of India by the European races

is therefore an impracticability but does not deliver us from the dangers of competition and rivalry with them And again that law must be in operation among us to ensure our own progress But to estimate its full effects we must understand the conditions under which it acts in the case of man

Man is a social animal and the competition that comes into operation in his case is a competition between societies The ancient history of the human race consists of wars between such societies and the triumph of one and subjugation of another This competition and rivalry between different societies is going on still and in order that a society may carry on the contest to a successful issue it is necessary that it should be so organised that the individuals composing it should not be borne down by artificial restrictions but be able to put forth their best powers and capacities

The history of England for example shows a gradual emancipation of the classes that were once in a condition of little better than slavery and a renunciation of their privileges by the dominant classes The effect of this has been to place the individual in a more advantageous position to conduct the battle of life and thus to render the society of which he is a member fitter for competition and rivalry with other societies But it is the development of sympathetic or altruistic feelings only amongst the privileged classes and the society generally that can lead to the removal of the disabilities of others and the redress of their grievances Without such feelings internal dissensions and eventual degradation must be the rules And these feelings are now leading the English people to devise means for relieving the chronic poverty of the lower classes to readjust the relations between labour and capital and undertake a variety of schemes to relieve distress and misery It is a patent

fact acknowledged by all disinterested persons that the English people have developed the altruistic feelings in a higher degree than any other European nation and by the way this constitutes the basis of our hopes in a future for our country Just as England has been endeavouring to remove the disabilities and sufferings of the lower classes of her population so shall efforts not be wanting on her part to remove our disabilities and sufferings but the law of social evolution cannot cease to operate and in order that our society may be able to hold its own in the competition and rivalry with other societies which is inevitable we must abide by the conditions of that law That law is thus stated by the latest writer on the subject whose book has created a great stir 'That the moral law is the unchanging law of progress in human society is the lesson which appears to be written over all things No school of Theology has ever sought to enforce this teaching with the directness and emphasis with which it appears that evolutionary science will in the future be justified in doing In the silent and strenuous rivalry in which every section of the race is of necessity continually engaged permanent success appears to be invariably associated with certain ethical and moral conditions favourable to the maintenance of a high standard of social efficiency and with those conditions only"

If then social efficiency and consequent success are what we desire in our contest with other races we must because the law is immutable endeavour to realise those ethical and moral conditions We must cultivate a sense of justice and a love and sympathy for others relieve the poor widow of her sufferings remove the disabilities of woman kind and of the lower classes and allow free play to the energies and capacities of all And the necessity for our doing so becomes the more imperative from our political condition If we ask England to remove our disabilities we must as a necessary preliminary

show that we are worthy of the favour by removing the disabilities of the oppressed classes of our society Thus and thus alone will our country prosper Every scheme for bettering our condition is destined to fail if it does not make provision for the growth of these sympathetic virtues and through them, for the realisation of Social Reform

Let us then invigorate and elevate our souls by ever placing before our mind s eye the precept of the Great Indian Reformer of the sixth century before Christ the lion of the Śākya race Gautama the enlightened Cultivate a mind boundless (as sympathy) for all beings as is that of the mother who protects her only son by sacrificing her own life ' and with him proclaim from the Social Conference Hall ' May all living beings feeble or strong long great middle sized or short, small or large seen or unseen living far or near born or to be born be happy "

SOCIAL REFORM AND THE PROGRAMME OF THE MADRAS HINDU SOCIAL REFORM ASSOCIATION

[From 'The Indian Social Reform" Edited By C Y Chintamani 1901 Part Fourth pp 218 229]

Dr R G Bhandarkar delivered the following Address as President of the Second Anniversary Meeting of the Madras Hindu Social Reform Association held on the 27th of December 1894 —

I have been all my life a schoolmaster and as such it has been my duty to castigate boys and young men In the observations I am going to make therefore you may find a good deal not flattering to you nor to your taste but I assure you it will be said with a pure and unmixed desire to promote the real good of my country The Hindu Social Reform Association has done me very great honour by inviting me to preside at its annual meeting But great as the honour is it had not a sufficiently attractive power to drag me about seven hundred miles away from my closet in Poona What I come for is to encourage the Members of the Association and congratulate them on having begun real practical work in matters of social reform by taking pledges and on their determination to withstand all the inconveniences or persecution that may result therefrom for the sake of truth and their country's good They have thus shown rare moral courage and given evidence of the possession of what I call moral force By moral force I mean in the present case strong indignation against the evils injustice and even the cruelties that at present disgrace our society and an earnest dessire to eradicate them Moral forces of this sort our race has not

shown within the last twenty centuries and we have allowed ourselves without any thought and feeling to be drifted into our present deplorable condition

The Social Ideal was much higher and more rational in ancient times than it is now I will therefore go into the history of the several institutions and practices which your pledges refer to For this purpose I propose to glance at what might be called the several layers of Sanskrit literature The oldest layer is that of the Mantras of the Vedas Next in antiquity come the Brāhmanas and Āranyakas or forest chapters including the Upanisads Then we have the so called Sutras which deal with sacrificial matters and the religious concerns of daily life of the first three castes Next we have the epic poems the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyana and last of all the Metrical Smrtis or law books and the Purānas The point of view from which I shall consider this extent of literature is that of the critical scholar whose object is to trace out history and not of the Pandit according to whom sequence of time either does not exist or is unimportant

EDUCATION OF WOMEN

Now with reference to the first point—about the education of women—there is no question that in the very olden times they were not debarred from the highest education In the list of teachers which a Rgvedi Brahman has to repeat in connection with a daily ceremony called the Brahma Yajña there are the names of three women — Gārgi Vācaknevi Sulabha Maitreyi and Vadavā Prātitheyi The works of some of the male teachers therein named have come down to us wherefore they were historical persons Hence the three women mentioned along with them were also historical persons and were teachers though there are now no works which go by their names The first of these is also mentioned

in an Upanisad as forming a member of an assemblage of learned Rsis in which the highest problems about the world and the supreme and individual soul were discussed and as taking part in the debate In the epic poems girls are represented as going through a regular course of education of which dancing drawing and music formed parts they are represented as mixing freely with men and taking part in conversation on the highest subjects Buddhistic literature also represents women as actively assisting the reform which Buddha had inaugurated and as discussing with him points about virtue duty and absolution Gradually however their importance lessened and about the time when the dramatic literature arose we find that as a class they were not taught Sanskrit though they could read and write in the popular languages and even compose poetry in them Even so late as the eleventh century women were not condemned to exclusion and were taught scientific music as follows from a copper plate Inscription (recently edited and translated by me[1]) in which a queen one of the wives of a king of the Deccan is represented to have sung a beautiful song in an assembly composed of the highest officers of that and the surrounding kingdoms and to have obtained as a reward the consent of her husband to give land in charity to Brahmans The seclusion of women and their ignorance is therefore a custom that was introduced in later times and the Mussalman domination contributed to render it very rigid

AGE OF MARRIAGE

Now as to early marriages it admits of no question whatever that girls were married after they came of age The religious formulas that are repeated on the occasion of marriage ceremonies even at the present day can be understood only by

1 Published in Volume III of this Edition pp 340 ff N B U]

mature girls The bridegroom has to say to his bride that she has become his friend and companion and that together they would bring up a family It is impossible that a girl below the age of twelve can understand such expressions addressed to her When the formulas were composed therefore girls had already arrived at maturity Then again in some of the Sutras the bride and the bridegroom are directed to live apart from each other for a certain number of days and in some cases for a year It is not possible that such a direction should be given if the girl was of an age when she could not cohabit with her husband In some of the Sutras there is an actual direction for their being brought together on the fourth day after the marriage ceremony All this necessarily implies that the girl had arrived at maturity before the marriage ceremony was performed

In profane literature also we have the clearest indications that girls were married after they attained maturity But early marriages began soon to come into practice Āsvalāyana Āpastamba and others say nothing specific about the age of the girl at the time of marriage, leaving it to be understood from the nature of the ceremonies that they were to be of a mature age Hiranyakesin and Jaimini expressly prohibit a man s marrying a girl before she has arrived at puberty After the completion of his study the student they direct shall marry a girl who is Anagnikā i e not immature Evidently when these Rsis wrote the practice of early marriages was coming in but they set their face against it as irrational The authors of later Sutras such as Gobhila and Manu after giving general directions as regards marriage lay down that it is best to marry a girl who is Nagnikā i e one who has not arrived at puberty They only thus recommend early marriages This shows that when they lived and wrote the feeling against late marriages had grown strong Of the writers

of Metrical Smritis Manu is not quite decidedly opposed to late marriages but other writers prescribe early marriages only under religious penalties

In this manner late marriages gradually went out of use and early marriages became general When the custom of such marriages became established the evils arising from them were not perceived by anybody and gradually in this part of the country in particular the age at which boys and girls were married became lower and lower until now a female infant nine months old is tied in holy wed lock to a male infant about a year old Here there is an in stance of the fact that our people through the influence of custom lost all sense of the utter absurdity of the practice

REMARRIAGE OF WOMEN

The practice of re marriage of women also prevailed in the olden times The Aitereya Brahmana contains a statement which may be thus translated Therefore one man may have several wives but one woman cannot have several husbands simultaneously This shows that polygamy was in practice, but not polyandry And to exclude that only—and not a woman s having several husbands at different times—the writer uses the word simultaneously Thus a woman can have several husbands at different times

In the performance of the funeral ceremonies of the keeper of the sacred fire the practice prevailed of making his wife lie down with his dead body but before setting fire to the latter the wife was made to rise and a verse was repeated the sense of which is Rise Up O woman to join the world of the living Thou liest down with this man who is dead come away and mayest thou become the wife of this second husband who is to take hold of thy hand This verse occurs in the Rgveda Samhita and in the Taittirīya

Āranyaka In the latter it is explained by Sayana in accordance with my translation but in the former he explains the word Didhisu which occurs in it not as a second husband as he does here but as one who impregnates and makes it applicable to the first husband European scholars of what might be called the Etymological school' also explain the word in the latter sense but the word Didhisu acquired by usage the sense of a second husband and it is not proper to set aside that sense and explain it etymologically as one who impregnates And another School of Vedic scholars who attend more to usage is growing up in Germany and I feel confident that they would explain the word and verse in the manner in which Sayana explains it in the Taittiriya Āranyaka This verse is in the Atharva Veda preceded by another the sense of which is this woman wishing to be in the same world with her husband lies down by thy side O mortal who art dead following the ancient practice grant her in this world children as well as wealth If he is asked to give her children after his death they must be children from another husband In another place in the Atharva Veda it is stated that she who after having had one husband before gets another afterwards will not be separated from him if she and he perform the rite called Aja Pañcaudana Here you have a clear statement about the re marriage of a widow

In later times the practice began to get out of use and in the time of Manu it was restricted to a child widow But the condition of remarried women was considered lower than that of the wife of a first husband Still however in two other Metrical Smritis occurs a text in which women under certain circumstances are allowed to marry a second husband and the death of the first husband is one of these circumstances This shows that even in later times the practice of widow marriages prevailed in some parts of the country while the

existence of texts prohibitory of it in the Puranas and some Smrtis shows that it had gone out of use in others

Widow marriage was a thing by no means unknown even at such a late period as the beginning of the twelfth century of the Christian Era for in a work written by a Jain in 1170 of the Vikrama Era corresponding to 1114 of the Christian era a story is told of a certain ascetic sitting down to dinner along with other ascetics The other ascetics rose up when he sat down and left their seats He asked them why they had done so upon which they told him that he had committed an irreligious deed in having taken the vow of an ascetic before going through the previous condition of a married life They then directed him to go away and marry a wife He went away and demanded the daughters of men belonging to his caste in marriage But as he had become an old man nobody would give his daughter to him whereupon he went back to the ascetics and told them of what had occurred Then they advised him to marry a widow and he went away and did accordingly In connection with this the same text about the re marriage of women which I have quoted above is given as occurring in their Śāstras But in still later times the practice became entirely obsolete

THE PRACTICE OF SATI

There prevailed among us you know the practice of burning widows on the funeral piles of their dead husbands till it was put a stop to in 1830 by the British Government Now in the Rgveda Samhita there is no trace whatever of the existence of this practice and it is supposed by a German scholar that it was adopted by Indian Āryas from another Āryan race with which they afterwards came in contact for it did generally prevail amongst some of the cognate European race such as the Thracians But the Vedic Āryas had given it up and that it

once prevailed amongst them and was afterwards given up is indicated by the second of the two texts which I have quoted from the Atharva Veda in which it is said This woman following the ancient custom lies down by thee O mortal ' Thus you will see that the custom which had gone out of use amongst the Vedic Āryas was revived later on about the time when the Metrical Smritis were written through the influence of the practice of other races

CAUSES OF DETERIORATION

The corruptions which the more rational practices of olden times underwent must have been due to such foreign influence and also to other causes A few centuries before the Christian Era and a few after it India was exposed to the inroads of foreign races from the West some of which afterwards settled in the country The lowering of the status of women generally must have been due to the influence of these new settlers But other causes also may have been in operation for instance the fact that when girls remain unmarried for several years after puberty a few some times went wrong must have contributed a good deal to the introduction of the practice of early marriages But the great point to be noticed is that the excesses to which even a good motive led did not strike our people Thus the later practices of female infanticide and Kulin marriages in Bengal must have been due to the feeling natural in parents to marry their daughters into a respectable family But it is not everybody that can get a husband for his daughter in a rich or respectable family and to marry her to a man in a lower condition of life or belonging to a low family was considered disgraceful and rather than suffer such a disgrace the Rajputs destroyed their female infants and the Bengali Brahmans gave their daughters to a man even though he had wives already and he came to have a number of them often so many as 125

Here you will find the inability of our people to perceive the cruelty or the absurdity of a practice when they are under the influence of an idea sanctioned by custom than which nothing is more sacred

THE CASTE SYSTEM

One social institution and that perhaps the most important remains to be noticed In the very early times the system of castes did not prevail and it seems to have developed about the end of the Vedic period It arose from a difference of avocations or professions The feeling of a father that a son should follow his trade or calling is natural and it is this which in the beginning at least when unchecked by other influences gives rise to separate castes The word Brahman signifies in the older portion of the Veda a hymn composed in praise of a deity There were some men who were skilled in the composition of such songs In return for these songs the Gods to whom they were addressed were believed to confer favours on the singers and on those kings and princes for whose sake they were composed Singers such as these were therefore always in requisition whenever a God had to be propitiated and it became a lucrative trade And fathers bringing up their sons in that trade — there came to be in course of time a certain number of families devoted to the avocation of composing these songs and singing them in the worship of Gods The members of these families became Brāhmanas and thus they came to be recognised as a separate caste

Similarly the descendants of princes chiefs and soldiers followed the avocations of their ancestors and came to form a caste of warriors The cultivators of soil constituted the Vaisya caste When the Āryan race left the Punjab and spread over Northern India some of the aboriginal races were incorporated with their society, and formed the caste of Śūdras Thus there

four castes but the rules about these were by no means so rigid as they afterwards became Even in the time of the Epics the Brāhmanas dined with the Ksatriyas and Vaisyas as we see from the Brahmanic sage — Durvāsa having shared the hospitality of Draupadi the wife of the Pāndavas A member of higher caste could marry a woman belonging to any of the lower castes there were also many instances in which a man belonging to a lower caste married a woman from the higher castes Amongst the composers of the Vedic hymns there were some such as Kavasa Ailusa who did not belong to the Brahman caste but was still admitted into it on account of the faculty they possessed

What caste has become in the course of time you need not be told The smallest difference as regards locality trade or profession and practice was enough to constitute a separate caste and thus the four original castes have grown to four thousand and there are no inter marriages or inter dining between any two of these These four thousand castes form so many different communities and the phrase 'Hindu community' is but a geographical expression The evil results of such a system on the social religious and political condition of a country cannot be overstated

THE TYRANNY OF CUSTOM

Thus then you will see that our social institutions and practices were healthy and rational in the olden times and they have latterly become corrupt and irrational through some cause or other But the most wonderful thing about the matter is that the excess which in the downward course our race was led to did not attract attention and rouse the moral sentiments or excite moral indignation and women were committed to the flames crying child widows were forcibly disfigured and condemned to a solitary and unhappy life little girls were sacrificed at the hymenal altar in numbers female infants were

were murdered—and there was no body to protest against these cruelties as Hiranyakesin and Jaimini once did against early marriages On the other hand these later practices acquired the force of custom Custom is a god whom our race devoutly worships and religious sanction was accorded to these practices by the insertion of texts in the later books The moral sentiments were not strong enough to burst through the thick veil of custom and assert the claim of truth justice and humanity

The question now is whether with our minds liberalised by English Education and contact with European Civilisation we shall still continue to worship custom and be its slaves and allow our moral sentiments to remain dead and unjust and cruel social practices to flourish If our education does not lead us to protest against them that education must be considered to be merely superficial Gentlemen we have in the course of our history not emancipated ourselves from the tyranny of our political potentates and from the tyranny of custom our social potentate Fortunately now the British Government has freed us from the former and granted us rights and allowed us a large measure of freedom but not satisfied with that we are seeking for greater freedom Shall we then with the spirit of freedom thus awakened stoop slavishly to the tyrant custom and bear all the cruelty that it inflicts upon us ? If we do the spirit of freedom that we think is awakened in us is illusive and delusive No ! if we have to march on along with the progressive races of the West with whom we are now indissolubly united our social institutions must improve and become moral rational and just There can be no advancement politically I firmly assert without social and moral advancement And by seeking the several reforms that we have in view we certainly shall not be taking a leap in the dark for the condition of our society once was what we are now endeavouring to make

it This is the spirit in which we should approach the question of sweeping away from our institutions the corruptions of later ages

It has often been suggested that on the strength of the texts in the old books we should convince the orthodox leaders of our society of the reforms we seek being sanctioned by the Śāstras and endeavour to introduce them with their aid and consent But such a thing to my mind is an impossibility Our old books do not constitute the real authority in religious matters that we obey Custom has been and is our authority — custom is our religion Texts creep into our religious books, as I have already observed sanctioning current customs and even when they do not do so our Pandits who in later days have developed a great deal of logical acumen prove by means of their subtle arguments customary practice to be the only one sanctioned by our religious books The later development of the Hindu religious law has proceeded just on these lines We must therefore begin the work of reform in spite of the orthodox leaders trusting simply to our awakened moral consciousness and to the fact that it is not an entirely new thing that we are going to introduce

EXHORTATIONS AND SUGGESTIONS

I am therefore glad that you have begun the work in earnest and taken certain pledges These pledges are good as a first instalment though that about caste does not signify much in accordance with the standard prevailing in my part of the country No one can excommunicate us in Western India for eating food prepared by Brahmans in the presence of members of most of the lower castes I do not wish you, however to obliterate all distinctions at once Caste has become so inveterate in Hindu Society that the endeavour to do so will

only result in the formation of new castes But the end must steadily be kept in view We must remember that caste is the greatest monster we have to kill Even education and intercourse as regards food does not destroy it The feeling that we belong to a certain caste and are different from those constituting another caste returns again and again in a variety of shapes even when we have broken through the restraints imposed by caste as regards eating and drinking and if not studiously driven away will ever keep us apart from each other and prevent the formation of a homogeneous nationality I will ask you to consider whether a pledge not to be guided by caste considerations in the disposal of your patronage if you happen to be placed in a position of influence and in the whole of your ordinary practical life and to act in all matters except inter marriage and inter dining as if you belonged to one community, will not be a more effective pledge You might also gradually pledge yourself to dine with members of sub castes

Your pledges about concubines and nautch women are also highly commendable in my eyes They show a correct appreciation of one of the problems before us One who takes liberties in these matters, cannot claim that he has respect for his wife's personality or for womankind generally Our aims about the elevation of woman and the assignment to her of her proper position in society from which she may exercise a humanising influence over us all cannot be realised unless respect for her becomes a part of our nature Again, looseness in these matters deteriorates the character of a man and this deterioration must produce evil effects in other respects also Your determined attitude in this matter therefore and the earnest efforts you have been making during the last two years to propagate your views have been to me the source of the deepest gratification and deserve all the

commendation that is possible for me to bestow Moral rectitude here as elsewhere is the essential condition of progress all along the line

As to your pledge to bring about widow marriages and to admit the re married widow and her husband to your table—that indeed is a bold step that you have taken You will for a time be subjected to persecution, but I hope you have prepared yourself for it and if your educated country men who have not had the courage to join you will but sympathise with you and not aid the orthodox I have little doubt that this reform itself will gradually become a custom and cease to be looked down upon The great thing we have to remember is that we should go on practising what we consider to be good without making much ado about it It will then come into general practice and growing into a custom, will become sanctified For our previous history has I again affirm, shown to my mind that custom is the spiritual potentate that sanctifies—and sanctifies even horrid deeds

The association you have started renders me hopeful There is nothing like it on our side and everywhere among educated natives there is lukewarmness about social reform The minds of some are not liberalised at all others think that the reforms we have in view are good but flatly refuse to do anything to aid them while there are a great many who are supremely indifferent I agree with my friend the Honourable Mr Justice Ranade in thinking that there has been an awakening But he has allowed us the option of being satisfied with it I exercise the option and declare that I am dissatisfied The lamp has been lighted but the light is flickering and in view of the attitude of even of our educated brethren it is just as likely to my mind that it will be blown out as that it will blaze In these circumstances the endeavours that you are making are a

great source of comfort and encouragement and I earnestly hope you will continue your work as boldly as you have begun it and that you will find imitators both in your Presidency and in other parts of India and our country's cause will make a real advance

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS AT THE BOMBAY PROVINCIAL SOCIAL CONFERENCE HELD IN 1902

[From the Dnyan Prakash " of Poona Dated Thursday, 30th October 1902]

The Provincial Social Conference was held at Sholapur on the 26th and 27th of October 1902 Dr Bhandarkar was in the chair The following is his speech —

Hitherto India has lived an individual life and not a corporate or national life The advancement of the individual was the object of thought and endeavour with the Hindus and as spiritual good is superior to temporal attention was especially devoted to the former Profound religious conceptions were developed in the minds of the gifted ones of the race and the Sumum Bonum was found in union with God and a con dition of perfect purity and holiness which did not admit of the ordinary distinctions between right and wrong which pre supposed an imperfect moral condition But these gifted Hindus had in all likelihood no conception of a national existence and therefore did not concern themselves with questions about the national weal We have an extensive religious poetical and legendary literature but no work on politics or History What ever happened in the political world the people generally followed the even course of their occupation undisturbed by it The great grammarian Patañjali and his pupils quietly pursued the studies of grammar while a town very near the place where they lived, was besieged by a Yavana (who was probably Menęandar a prince belonging to the Greeco Bactrian dynasty) as if they were totally unconcerned with it Similarly in later times other Princes of that dynasty and foreign tribes of the

names of Śakas Kusanas Abhiras and Gurjaras established themselves in the country But the Indian population at large does not seem to have even troubled itself with the matter and took no part in the political revolutions This portion of our History we have entirely forgotten because the foreign races that settled in the country became in course of time Hindus and were relegated to the Ksatriya or Sudra caste The various tribes in Central Asia that poured into the country had no specific religion of their own and became worshippers of Śiva or Visnu when they came here In later times Mahomed gave them a religion and since that period invaders of India formed a distinct community when they settled in the country The incursions of the Mahomedans were not a new event in the History of India They were a continuation of those of similar races of the pre Mahomedan period The people at large did not care who governed them and all that the conqueror had to do was to subjugate the military classes and this disregard for corporate interest shows itself in trifling matters also Most of our towns in the Maratha and Gujarathi country had and even have their water closets with their hinder parts turned towards the streets They kept the interior of their houses clean and considered the street as the proper repository for all sorts of filth and it was nobody's interest to see whether the streets were kept clean

The effect of this indifference to corporate or national interests was that from time to time the country was governed by foreigners In social matters some of our good customs—such as marriage of girls at a mature age and the practice of widow marriage—became obsolete The burning of widows on the funeral piles of their husbands which had been discontinued in Vedic times was renewed infanticide and the marriage of a great many girls with one man came into use and these evils did not attract the attention of any body

and were allowed to go The number of castes increased a thousand fold The germs of the caste system existed among the European Āryas also The Patricians in Rome formed at first a separate caste having no connubium with the Plebians but the Romans and modern races were actuated by intense national spirit and hence the distinction had to give way Ignorance and poverty gradually increased in our country and it was reduced to an abject condition

But now with our minds enlightened by our contact with the Western nations we cannot afford to be indifferent to our national and corporate interests We are on all sides pushed by foreign nations seeking to profit themselves at the expense of our country and in the keen competition which has already set in we must suffer and be reduced to a miserable condition It is therefore high time to set our houses in order so that the energies of our people may have full scope and all obstacles towards development in all departments may be removed and this is the object of the social reform The political agitation that has been going on for so many years has for its object the redress of certain grievances and the acquisition of new political powers But the object of social reform—with which I would associate moral reform—is to render us fit for the exercise of these powers The social reform move ment therefore is of greater importance than the other in so far as it seeks to render the nation vigorous and free from social obstructions and restrictions Those of us that have seen its importance have been endeavouring for more than 60 years to introduce certain reforms into our society And I will devote a short time to the consideration of the history of social reform in order that the experience of these years may serve us as guide in our future endeavours

Female education began to be practically undertaken about the year 1848, and schools for teaching girls established in

the principal towns At first it was in the hands of private individuals only and latterly the Government has taken it up But after all the result is very imperceptible The custom of early marriages necessitates the premature removal of girls from schools and thus the education that is given is of a very elementary character As regards early marriage there has been a perceptible improvement in the case of boys who in rare cases are at present married before the age of eighteen at least in those classes that have come under the influence of new ideas But the improvement in the case of the girls is very little In some cases they are kept unmarried till twelve but even that I consider to be a very early age As regards widow marriage the first on this side was solemnised in the year 1869 And there have been a good many more since then But the number is far from satisfactory and this reform I may without contradiction say has not penetrated very widely into our society Even highly educated natives without the slightest compulsion when they become widowers even when they are themselves forty five or more marry a girl of ten or twelve instead of a grown up widow A good many are afraid openly to enter into social relations with a re married widow and her husband In connection with this I may say that the heartless custom of sacrificing little girls by being mated with old men between fifty and sixty years of age still continues to flourish and it grieves my heart to say even among educated men —alumni of the Deccan and the Elphinstone Colleges The plague which has been committing dire ravages in our country has thrown many a female child into the condition of widow hood but there has been no educated man during these five years to rescue any one these helpless creatures from her pitiable state So that widow marriage upon the whole seems to have made very little progress

But in another respect we are distinctly going backward

since we began to speak about reform About 1850 a secret society called Paramahamsa Mandali was formed in Bombay for abolition of caste Since it was composed of men who had not the courage to face opposition the society became defunct when the doings of the members began to be talked about out side In my early days I remember whenever there was any public movement all classes Hindus Parsis and Mahomedans joined in it and a feeling of brother hood existed among them But in these days we find these classes conducting such public movements independently of each other and even the separate castes of Hindus following suit There is as great or even greater estrangement between these large classes and Hindu castes than there existed before Social Reform was thought of There are separate clubs of Brahmans Sārasvatas or Śenvis, Candraseniya Kāyasthas and Daivajñas What can be more discouraging to the heart of a sincere reformer than this condition of things ? Not only has no progress been made towards the union of these classes and castes but the differences between them have become accentuated Where are we going ?" is the question that constantly troubles my heart

I may here make a passing allusion to the rather bitter disputes between the Marathas and the Brahmans going on at Kolhapur and Baroda which sets this back sliding of ours in a lurid light I have already referred to the fact that during the Pre Mahomedan Period the foreigners who settled in the country became Hindus The dynasty that ruled over Kanouj in the 8th and 9th centuries belonged originally as has recently been proved to a foreign race—that of the Gurjara and Mahendrapala one of the princes of that dynasty is spoken of by the celebrated poet Rajasekhara who was his Guru and calls himself Mahā rāstriya in one place as having sprung from the solar race Similarly we have reason to believe that the Chahuwans, Parmars and Solankis belonged to the same race But they

have in the course of time become Rajputs If foreigners could become Kṣatriyas in this way there is no reason why Maharastra Brahmans of this presidency should not similarly declare the Rajas of Kolhapur and Baroda to be Ksatriyas even supposing that they have not descended from a Pauranic line when a Maratha Brahman of great learning Gagabhatta decided that the founder of the Maratha empire was a Ksatriya and on the other hand one is at a loss to see why such an importance should be attached to the performance of domestic ceremonies according to the Vedic ritual But certainly it is devoutly to be wished that in one way or the other this unseemly quarrel should come to an end

One of the social reforms advocated by us viz travelling to foreign countries has been progressing recently at a rapid rate It appears to me that every one who has come more or less under the influence of the new ideas is ready to go to England Japan or other countries and the only obstacle in the way is the want of sufficient funds What the advocates of this reform look to is that the men who travel to foreign countries should on their return be received back into their castes This is good as a temporary measure but if truth must be followed it will not do to ignore the fact that most of those who go to England and other countries are not able to adhere to the rules of castes while in these countries The caste is thus in almost all cases practically given up And to assume it again on coming back to this country is in my eyes going backwards and points to the inveterate nature of the institution by means of which though really giving up caste we ostensibly or outwardly stick to it

From all I have said and a good deal more that falls under our observation it appears as if the germs of castes formed an essential ingredient of our blood To eradicate them is perhaps as hopeless as drying up the Indian Ocean The races of

Europe destroyed those germs in their infancy by using the antidote of the spirit of nationality In the absence of that antidote the germs of the disease have had an extensive development and have become extremely strong in India and rendered the formation of an Indian nationality an impossibility If however you think we can form a nation with caste let us try But at least caste jealousies must be forgotten in practical matters not opposed to caste rules and we should act towards each other as if no caste differences existed between us But we should also endeavour to bring about a fusion of sub castes and this is what one of the propositions before us contemplates This appears to me to be a promising matter but even here it will not do to be too optimistic

I have thus briefly gone over the principal planks in the platform of the social reformer In what I have observed there is a good deal to discourage an earnest reformer who heartily wishes that his country should progress and one feels inclined to think with the late Īsvaracandra Vidyāsāgara that the Hindus would never adopt social reform But there is no cause for despair Sir Auckland Colvin describes I believe our position correctly in his article on India in the new Volumes of the Encyclopedia Britannica where he says Torpor is shaken off and a nervous activity takes the place of silence and inaction The Princess has arisen and moves forward though with dazzled eyes and uncertain steps encumbered by the folds of her old world garments Having slept so long our eyes are dazzled by the new light we see we do not see our way clearly before us our steps are uncertain and we are encumbered by the folds of our former garments But our steps should certainly become more certain and endeavours must be made to cast off the encumbering folds For this reason it appears to me that the proposal you have made for establishing a Central Reform Association at Bombay and branch associations in the districts is very good

We must by means of lectures pamphlets and leaflets educate the public opinion of our people and bring them to perceive the justice and reasonableness of the reforms we advocate and the dangers ahead which will overtake us if we reject them At the same time we must form a strong body of reformed public opinion amongst ourselves which men of sixty marrying a girl of twelve or fathers marrying their boys and girls when they are little children will be afraid of At the same time those who are conducting this agitation for social reform should themselves be persons who have shown their sincerity by introducing one or other of these reforms in their family The method often spoken of—of winning over the spiritual heads of the different communities and introducing reforms with their help —is I am afraid not destined to be successful At the same time to interpret or rather to mis interpret the Śāstras so as to make them agree with our views is a method which also is extremely unpromising My view of our people is that the great Śāstra or spiritual adviser whom they obey is custom and if the Gura or Sāstra goes against this they will be disobeyed and set aside The feasible plan therefore appears to me to silently but sincerely introduce the reforms we advocate so that in the course of time they may themselves become the prevailing customs

But the great question is whether our conscience has been sufficiently aroused to enable us to withstand whatever opposition or persecution we may meet with in our course If it is not it must be if we are to progress and not sink lower and lower until we are wiped off the face of the earth And there is another question will the ideal of social reform in itself inspire us with the necessary enthusiasm ? In Bengal social reform is almost given up by persons who are not members of the Brahmo Samaj And it is the latter institution that advocates both religious and social reform Things have not come to this pass here as the present conference shows But

the very slow progress we have made and the steps backward that we take as well as the fact that a social reformer more or less by his own acts sets aside the Hindu religion as it is make one think that the only efficient way is to devise a radical course of reform based upon the reform of Hindu Religion Religious belief is calculated to invigorate the conscience, and social reform will then become an imperative duty But for obvious reasons I must not go into the question further and leave you to decide the whole matter for yourselves

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS AT THE NATIONAL SOCIAL CONFERENCE HELD AT AHMADABAD IN 1902

[From the 'Dnyan Prakash' of Poona dated 1st January 1903]

The Session of the National Social Conference was held in the last week of December 1902 and Mr Lalshankar Umiya shankar and the Hon ble Justice Mr N G Chandawarkar the Chairman of the Reception Committee and the General Secretary of Conference respectively had delivered their addresses on the day previous to Sir R G Bhandarkar's Presidential Address given below [N B U]

LADIES ANE GENTLEMEN

Yesterday you had a glowing and attractive picture placed before you To day it is our business to see whether the canvas on which the picture is to be painted is torn and tattered and cannot hold it or of a weak texture and cannot retain it for long If it be of either nature we have to see how it can be repaired and strengthened so that it may answer our purpose Dropping all metaphor I may say that the object of Social Reform is to eradicate such evil customs as have undermined the energies of the Indian people and prevent the free ex pansion of their powers and capacities The three hundred millions of the population of India are divided into about 5000 different communities which are called castes and between which there is no intimate social intercourse The spirit of caste pride has come into free play and jealousies and dis cussions are the result No sincere co operation can be expected under the circumstances Some of the communities are so small that it is difficult to secure husbands for women and wives for men And often unsuitable matches have to be

formed And this is in too many instances the case in the province of Gujarat where stories of girls of inferior castes being brought from Kathiawad and palmed off on intending bridegrooms as belonging to their caste are not uncommon

The lower castes are in a very depressed condition no education is available to them Even their touch is considered abomination and to improve their social condition they often change their religion and become Christians The women of the country are as a rule not educated thus leading to what may be called a waste of half the moral and intellectual resources of the country a waste for which there can be no compensation anywhere Boys and girls especially the latter are married at a very early age and this must necessarily lead to the degeneration of the race and the education of girl stops when they arrive at about the age of twelve Girl widows are condemned to a life of misery and often immorality and a society that connives at this condition of things must become demoralised to a certain extent Travelling to foreign countries is prohibited and thus there is no scope for the development of the enterprising spirit of the people If therefore in the present keen competetion between the nations our people are to have a fresh start a strong fight will have to be made against these and such other customs

SOCIAL REFORM A NATIONAL MOVEMENT

This has been my creed since the year 1893 I gave expression to it at Sholapur by laying stress on the national significance of social reform and I thought it was the creed of all social reformers I was not aware that I was uttering anything new and was surprised to find that I was so regarded in some quarters I can have nothing to say to those who expressed an approval but there were some people I am told who regarded widow marriage for instance, as called for only

for the removal of the misery of the widow girls and had no connection whatever with national interests According to these men the removal of misery of certain creatures is the object of social reform The acquisition of social facilities for foreign travel is sought for by the social reformer but the removal of existing misery cannot be its object So also in a very large number of cases caste distinctions do not create misery yet the social reformer seeks to obliterate them The old Buddhists especially of Northern India constituted benevolence as one of the cardinal principles of their conduct They even sacrificed their lives to promote the good of others but they did not seek systematically to abolish caste though amongst themselves the Buddhist monks paid no heed whatever to it I however do not mean to say that sympathy for the sufferings of others is not a motive in itself. In fact it is the highest motive and the world has now begun to move towards its realisation though I am afraid there is more talk about it than actual work as is shown by the manner in which President Roosevelt's attempts to be just and impartial to the Negroes in the United States have been received But if mere sympathy for the sufferings of others is the object of social reform why should we confine our efforts to the Indians and why not extend them to the Chinese or Europeans? Practically therefore we have to restrict the operations of this high motive to the people of India, so that, from this point of view even social reform becomes a national movement

TIME IS NO FORCE

Now some people there are who believe in the natural operation of the causes which have come into existence and declare deliberate social reform not only unnecessary but harmful, and agitation such as is conducted by this Conference and Social Reform Associations to be mischievous The causes

that have come into operation are our contact with Western nations the English education we receive at Schools and Colleges English law and policy which make no distinction between a Brahman and Śudra railways which compel a holy Brahman to sit side by side with a low caste man in a third class compartment the increase of population consequent on Pax Britanica which is driving even Brahmans to resort to the profession of tone masons tailors weavers and so forth These have no doubt been changing our manners but their operation must cease with the satisfaction of the immediate need and it cannot give us systematic reform Besides if social reform were left to the natural operation of these causes you cannot trust to the process always yielding rational results The changes that our present circumstances are calculated to produce may be good or may be bad The expression that is often used in connection with this view is that time will work out the necessary changes But time is no force it is simply a category of the understanding to distinguish one event from another The real force comes from human motives which are invoked by the circumstances in which men find themselves If therefore time works out changes it must be by the force of human motives And as the lower motives are always more powerful than the higher ones though these are nobler in their nature when you leave things to take their own course the changes that will be effected will be such as the lower motives of man bring about that is to say the changes will not always be good or rational In order therefore that the changes which our present circumstances or the causes indicated above are likely to produce may be good or rational it is necessary to discuss and decide which [we] will have and which not In other words social changes must not be left to work themselves out but should always be under the guidance of our reason and moral sense

WITHOUT THE CONTROL OF REASON

Our previous history is full of examples in which when things were left to themselves the changes that were effected were irrational and immoral Some of you know that the authors of our Smrtis or law books enumerate twelve kinds of sons who succeed their father One of these is Kānina or the son of a virgin that was begotten before a girl was married and who in some cases was regarded as the son of her father and by some as the son of the husband whom she subsequently married This shows that when the practice of marrying girls at a mature age prevailed some of them went wrong And in all likelihood it was to serve this evil that the practice of marrying girls at an early age came into existence Some of the old Rṣis lay down the ritual of marriage on the supposition that the bride was a grown up girl others after laying down the general rule add it would be better to marry a girl before maturity" There are still others who did not approve of this new practice that was coming in and laid down in express terms that only a mature girl should be married So far the new change was not beyond the control of reason But that control was soon lost and it went on spreading over a wider area The possibility of a girl going wrong before maturity was alone looked to and gradually early marriage became a stereotyped custom without reference to the reason that ushered it in and the limit of age became lower and lower until now a child even a few months old is sometimes married Thus then this change was not under the guidance and control of reason and was left to work itself out The manifest evils of early marriage were entirely lost sight of and early marriage came to be firmly rooted

Similarly the original motive that eventually led to female infanticide and the marriage of about a hundred girls or more to one man was not bad That motive was the anxiety of

parents to marry their girls into respectable families But this was not under the guidance of reason and parents killed their daughters to avoid the disgrace of marrying them into low families or wedded them to husbands that saw them only once in their life Similarly a too nice regard for female chastity not of the moral but physical kind led to the proscription of widow marriage and no regard whatever was paid to the evil consequences which have come so glaringly under our observation And the innumerable castes that we find at present owe their existence to the feeling of exclusiveness working itself out unchecked by national considerations This is the result then, when we allow certain influences to work themselves out and do not subject them to criticism at each step and arrest their operation when it oversteps the bounds of reason It will therefore, not do to trust to the new circumstances in which we find ourselves now to eradicate the prevailing evil customs There must be discussion and decision and deliberate plans for the introduction of such changes only as are good and rational

TWO FOLD OBJECT OF SOCIAL REFORM

The reform movements that are going on have a two fold object viz deliberate eradication of the prevailing evils and the prevention of others that the new causes which have come into operation may bring about if left to work silently For the present the first object is more important but as I stated at Sholapur we have not been able to do very much towards its accomplishment A European friend recently wrote to me that from all he had observed it appeared to him that there was no strong force at the back of the Reform Movement and we must acknowledge that this is true, looking to the persever ing and energetic efforts and exertions made by Europeans whenever they have to introduce a reform Most of us have read Morley s Life of Cobden Can we say that our exertions

can at all be compared with those which that great man and his co adjutor Mr Bright went through to convince people of the injustice of the Corn Laws And the number of our people is so large and they are so impervious to ordinary influence and the social practices we have to eradicate are so many that more persistent efforts than those of Cobden and Bright must be made by resolute men in all parts of the country to bring even a small minority of the people to the conviction that these practices are baneful Since like the Corn Laws our agitation is not to culminate in legislation that will compel action we must begin by introducing our doctrines into practice ourselves

Oftentimes the reproach has been cast at the Social Conference that there is any amount of talking there but very little action and a danger which is likely to arise from inaction is that it will become a simple matter of routine with us to speak of matters of Social Reform and for others to hear us and becoming callous we shall cease to be really enthusiastic about it ourselves All this you will I hope bear seriously in mind As I stated at Sholapur we should form associations wherever we can there should be lectures discussions pamphlets and leaflets and we should have a public opinion amongst ourselves which will prevent back sliding A large amount of money will also be wanted But the question is Are there such resolute men amongst us who will work in the manner in which Cobden and Bright worked to bring about a reform in the Corn Laws? ' If we have or if we shall have if not now then only in my opinion the future interests of our country are safe and if no such men arise our future must indeed be gloomy

As to the second object of Social Reform movement viz keeping the influences now at work under the guidance and control of reason a spirit of fair criticism prompted solely by the love of our country must be developed by us Whenever

any evil principle finds introduction into society or a good principle is carried to excess criticism ought to be brought to bear on it For instance it cannot be denied that the spread of the vice of drunkenness amongst the higher castes is due to the circumstances in which we find ourselves The Social Conference and social reformers generally ought to condemn the practice in no measured terms Again there are persons amongst us who secretly violate the rules of castes as regards eating and drinking but outwardly pose as orthodox persons If the number of such men goes on increasing demoralisation of Indian society must inevitably be the result This also must be fearlessly criticised if we have any regard for our future good In this manner as we go on other evils hitherto unheard of may come into existence and the only remedy I can think of is that a regard for national interest must grow up amongst us and we should endeavour to do all that is possible to prevent the growth of any evil arising from these circumstances

IS THIS PESSIMISM?

I am afraid in consequence of the remarks I have now made some of you will again call me a pessimist or at least say that a pessimistic tone pervades my observations I am myself unable to see the justification of this title or of this view I have never said that there is nothing good in us Hindus or that we are not capable of rising nor have I said that we have done nothing in matters of reform Though at Sholapur I stated that in our history we Hindus as a whole have shown no concern for national or corporate interests or were not actuated by the national spirit or sentiment and consequently allowed ourselves to be conquered by foreigners still I did not say that the spirit of our military classes was ever permanently crushed, or that the learned priestly mercantile and other classes lost their peculiar excellences After

the Śakas Yavanas Pahlavas and Kushans had governed a large portion of the country for three or four centuries a Hindu dynasty of Guptas rose to power and established itself over the whole of Northern India The foreigners were driven out by Candragupta otherwise called Vikramāditya the most famous prince of the dynasty The occasion was seized by the Brahmans to regain the power over the people which they had lost through the influence of early Buddhism and according to their lights put the social system in order by remodelling their laws and institutions The Hūnas or Huns who held power for some time in the country were put down by a prince of the name Yasodharman who ruled over North Western Malwa and Rajputana In modern times Hindu domination was restored by the Sikhs in the North and the Marathas in the South In very early times when the Āryans spread over the different parts of Northern India they appear to have had an aristocratic form of Government in some instances at least In the time of Buddha while Magadha was governed by a prince and was an absolute monarchy the Vajjis or Vṛjjis Ksatriya inhabitants of a neighbouring province formed a Republic Such other republics are also spoken of And the system of giving to the provinces in which certain Kṣatriya tribes had settled the name of the tribe itself must have originated from the fact of their being joint owners of the provinces i e having a Republican form of government Thus the country in which Pāñcālas lived was called Pañcāla and that in which Kuravas lived Kuravas In Western countries these aristocratic republics became democracies and existed as such for a long time and political ideas and institutions were highly developed In India they soon became absolute monarchies and ever remained as such and the political growth of the country was arrested To this result ecclesiastical absolutism that was

established at the same time also contributed since it checked freedom of thought and action

You will thus see that I do not and cannot deny us the capacity for assimilating the national sentiment and working for the promotion of national interests But the progress we have made during the last sixty years since we became subject to the new influences and in Bengal during the last 150 years has not been considerable as I have shown in the Sholapur address One cannot help coming to this conclusion when one carefully observes what is going on about one If for declaring this openly one is to be called a pessimist verily truth itself is pessimistic and I believe it will do us good if rough pessimistic truth were dinned into one s ears instead of smooth optimistic falsehood The former will rouse us to action the latter will send us to sleep again though there is no question the new causes that come into operation have awakened us Consider for a moment how the Japanese have completely transformed themselves within the short space of 35 years A Japanese scholar whom I met in Poona a few days ago told me that before the transformation took place i e 35 years ago there was no connubium or inter marriages between the military and mercantile classes but now this distinction has been obliterated The Japanese are a unique people and I do not think it is possible for us to make progress at their rate but still during the twice and five times as many years that we have been under the same influences as they—not the same I should say, but under far stronger and better influences since we have been positively receiving education at the hands of a European nation we might be expected to drop the connubial distinction between at least the minor sub divisions of the same caste But we have not done it Now gentlemen believe me when I say that I do not feel offended in the least when a pessimistic tone is discovered

in my remarks but what I want to drive out by referring to this matter is that our people have somehow become fond of praise They even allow themselves to be misled by certain foreigners who indulge them lavishly with it For progress what is wanted is discontent with the present condition—and praise bestowed upon us and believed in by us is calculated to make us self satisfied and unwilling to make an effort to rise It is to warn my hearers of this weakness that I have alluded to the matter

In conclusion allow me to remind you that the great discovery of the nineteenth century—the law of evolution—is receiving confirmation from every side The law implies that there has been throughout the universe a progress in the material as well as the spiritual world from the simple to the complex from the dead to the living from good to better from the irrational to the rational This is the law of God and if instead of obstinately changing to what is bad and irrational, we move forwards to what is good and rational we shall be obeying the law of the Universe and co operating with God If however we continue to go down from what is bad to what is worse from good to bad and from the rational to irrational as we have been doing for so many centuries we shall have to seek another universe to live in

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A NOTE ON THE AGE OF MARRIAGE AND ITS CONSUMMATION ACCORDING TO HINDU RELIGIOUS LAW

This essay with its Appendices was originally published by Sir R G Bhandarkar himself in a pamphlet form in the year 1891 in connection with the controversy on the Age of Consent Bill then before the Indian Legislative Council [N B U]

I

The question is whether intercourse immediately after maturity[1] is necessary according to the Hindu religious law

(i) Manu says —

काममामरणात्तिष्ठेद् गृहे कन्यर्तुमत्यपि ।
न चैवैना प्रयच्छेत्तु गुणहीनाय कर्हिचित् ॥

Chap IX Verse 89

The maiden may even remain till death in the [father's] house after maturity but he should never give her to one who has no merits

On this the oldest commentator Medhātithi observes "A maiden is not to be given [in marriage] before puberty and she is not to be given even after puberty as long as a meritorious bridegroom is not to be had प्रागृतो कन्याया न दानम् । ऋतु दर्शनेपि न दद्याद्यावद् गुणवान्वरो न प्राप्त ।

(ii) Again —

त्रीणि वर्षाण्युदीक्षेत कुमार्यृतुमती सती ।
ऊर्ध्वं तु कालादेतस्माद्विन्देत सदृश पतिम् ॥

Manu IX 90

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1 The expressions maturity, puberty and grown up are in this note used to denote that stage in the growth of a girl in which a certain physical phenomenon has begun to appear

After maturity she should wait for three years and after that marry a suitable husband herself

(iii) Baudhāyana also says the same thing —

त्रीणि वर्षाण्यृतुमती काङ्क्षेत पितृशासनम् ।
ततश्चतुर्थे वर्षे तु विन्देत सदृश पतिम् ॥

IV 1 14

For three years after puberty she should wait for her father s order and then in the fourth year marry a suitable husband herself '

(iv) Vasistha s Sutras XVII 67 and 68 are to the same effect

(v) Gobhilaputra in the Grhyasamgraha says —

नग्निका तु वदेत्कन्या यावन्नर्तुमती भवेत् ।
ऋतुमती त्वनग्निका ता प्रयच्छे[1]त्त्वनग्निकाम् ॥

Gobhiliya Gr Su Ed Bibl Indica p 839

A girl is called Nagnikā (naked) as long as she has not arrived at maturity After maturity she is Anagnika (not naked) He should give that Anagnika girl [in marriage]

(vi) Hiranyakesin lays down in his Grhya Sutra that a young man should after finishing his education marry with the consent of his parents an Anagnika or grown up girl who is chaste and of the same caste with him (समावृत्त आचार्य-कुलान्मातापितरौ बिभृयात्ताभ्यामनुज्ञातो भार्यामुपयच्छे[2]त्सजाता-नग्निका ब्रह्मचारिणीम् ।)

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1 दनाग्निकाम् (another reading)

2 सजातानग्निकाम् is the reading of my Manuscript of another dated 1706 Saka found by me in the City of Poona, and of the Poona Hiranyakesin Brahmans generally It is also the reading of three of Dr Kirste s six Manuscripts The compound cannot be dissolved into सजाता and नग्निका (सजाता चासौ नग्निका च) as in that case it would be सजातनग्निका by Panini VI 3 34 Besides if नग्निका were the correct reading, the following adjective ब्रह्मचारिणी

These texts show that the principal Hindu legislators allow of a girl remaining unmarried till after she has arrived at a certain stage of growth and three of them limit the period for which she may so remain to three years She may thus have no connection with a man for three years after puberty

(vii) And Manu specifically allows a girl to remain unmarried till the age of twelve For says he

त्रिंशद्वर्षो वहेत्कन्या हृद्या द्वादशवार्षिकीम् ।

IX 94

A man thirty years old should marry a girl pleasing to him of the age of twelve years

Taken in connection with the texts already quoted this means that he should marry her even if she has already become mature i e she can remain without connection till the age of twelve

II

But these texts do not show that the legislators allow of a grown up girl remaining without connection with a man *after marriage* The following bear on that point

(i) अक्षारालवणाशिनौ ब्रह्मचारिणावलकुर्वाणावध शायिनौ स्याता त्रिरात्र द्वादशरात्र सवत्सर वैकऋषिर्जायत इति ।

Āsvalāyana Grhyasūtra, I 8 10—11

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chaste who has had no intercourse would be useless for a **नग्निका** or one who has not arrived at the particular physical stage is necessarily chaste The commentator Matidatta in Dr Kirste s Edition at least takes **सजाता नग्निका** as the reading which is also the reading of three of Dr Kirste s Manuscripts, but curiously enough he explains the word as **आसन्नार्तवा** who is about to arrive at the physical stage and **वस्त्रविक्षेपणार्हा** who is fit to b denuded and **मैथुनार्हा** ' fit to have intercourse Evidently he had a conception of the sense that the context requires but had a bad reading before him There can be no reasonable doubt that **सजातानग्निका** is the correct reading

[After the bride has been taken to the house of the bride groom] the two should not eat corn of certain species nor taste salt should be chaste i e have no intercourse adorn themselves and sleep on the floor for three nights or twelve nights or for a year since thus the wife comes to have the Gotra of her husband (leaving that of her father)

(ii) **सवत्सर न मिथुनमुपेयाता द्वादशरात्र षड्रात्र त्रिरात्रमन्तत ।**

Paraskara Grhya Sutra I 8 1

For one year [after the day of marriage] they should not have conjugal intercourse or for twelve nights or six or at least three

(iii) Sankhāyana Āpastamba Hiranyakesin Khādira and Gobhila impose Brahmacarya or abstinence only for three nights after the day of marriage in some cases or after the bride is taken home in others

Now the very fact of the imposition of abstinence from inter course by all these authors of Grhyasūtras shows the existence of a possibility of the intercourse And since it cannot be contended that there is such a possibility when the married girl is in a condition in which the physical occurrence has not yet taken place it must be concluded that the marriage ritual prescribed by these authors presupposes the girl to be in a condition of puberty And the rule expressly laid down by Gobhilaputra and Hiranyakesin and the observation of Medhāti thi quoted above confirm this view And even a living Bengal Pandit Candrakānta Tarkālamkāra in his comment on the passage in Gobhila which imposes abstinence observes —

त्रिशद्वर्षो वहेत्कन्या हृद्या द्वादशवार्षिकीम् । इत्येवमादिके कल्पे व्यवायस्य नासभव ।

Ed in Bibl Ind p 327

i e Under a system implied by such texts as A man thirty

years old should marry a girl twelve years old that is pleasing to him intercourse is not impossible '

The authors of the Sutras proceed next to prescribe intercourse after the completion of the period of abstinence together with the ritual to be observed at the time Āpastamba (III 8 10) rules that it should take place in the latter part of the fourth night and prescribes the repetition of certain other Mantras (III 8 10) on the occasion of another intercourse immediately after a monthly course [1] which portion of the ceremony corresponds to the Garbhādhāna or conception ceremony of the present day Hiranyakesin s directions are precisely the same Śānkhāyana (I 19 1) allows of it immediately after a monthly course only (ऋतुवेलायाम्) with the Garbhādhana ceremonies and Khadira (p 385 S B E Vol XXIX p 385 ऋतुकाले) and Pāraskara (I 11 7 यथर्तुप्रवेशनम्) do the same Gobhila notices the first rule which we find in Āpastamba and Hiranyakesin by saying ' according to some there should be intercourse after the first three nights ' (ऊर्ध्वं त्रिरात्रात्सभव इत्येके), and then lays down his own rule that the time for intercourse is immediately after a monthly course" (यदृतुमती भवत्युपरतशोणिता तदा सभवकाल । p 346 Ed Bibl Ind)

It will thus be seen that the authors of the Grihyasūtras whose rules presuppose marriage after puberty, prescribe abstinence for the first three nights after marriage or after the bride is taken away to the bridegroom s house some provide for intercourse on the fourth night but the majority on the occasion of a monthly course Whether the monthly course meant is the one immediately after marriage is doubtful but there is a

1 The time meant when intercourse is prescribed by the use of the expression ऋतौ or ऋतुकाले which I have translated by " on the occasion of or immediately after " monthly course is from the fourth or according to some the fifth night after the beginning of the monthly course to the sixteenth inclusive

strong reason as will be shown hereafter to believe that they meant any monthly course generally even long after marriage In any case there is no ground for saying that they prescribe intercourse at the first monthly course after marriage But Āsvalayana and Pāraskara extend the period of abstinence expressly to one year as the most righteous course wherefore it follows that the postponement of the consummation of a marriage that has already taken place for one year at least after puberty is not opposed to the Hindu religious law

III

But marriages after puberty have now become unknown among the higher castes and are considered to be opposed to the Dharmasāstra A girl is married before she has grown up and it is contended that the religious books render it obligatory to consummate the marriage immediately after puberty or the first monthly course though in practice it is not done in many cases in various parts of the country It is therefore necessary to examine the texts relied upon They are of this nature —

प्रयच्छेन्नग्निका कन्यामृतुकालभयात्पिता ।
ऋतुमत्या हि तिष्ठन्त्या दोष पितरमृच्छति ॥

Vasistha

A father should give his girl in marriage while in the immature condition being afraid of her attaining puberty for if she remains with him in a condition of puberty the father incurs sin

But this is felt to be too tame Hence another text is quoted from Yama by recent writers on the domestic ceremonies which is as follows —

कन्या द्वादश वर्षाणि याप्रदत्ता वसेद् गृहे ।
ब्रह्महत्या पितुस्तस्या सा कन्या वरयेत्स्वयम् ।
तस्मादुद्वाहयेत्कन्या यावन्नर्तुमती भवेत् ॥

The father of the girl who remains in the house unmarried incurs the sin of murdering a Brahman The girl should choose for herself Therefore he should get his girl married before she arrives at maturity '

But this must have been regarded as extravagant even by those who believe in infant marriages only as legal for they prescribe no heavier penance for the offending father than feeding a few Brahmans and giving them presents or simply giving one cow If the father is rich however he has to give away as many cows as the courses passed by the girl without marriage —See Samskārakaustubha on the marriage ceremony—

But the peculiarity of our religious law is that a text is always found to justify any new custom that obtains currency and often times it happens that the texts quoted by the writers of Digests are not found in the extant copies of the works from which they profess to quote them In those cases where a text is not available our theologians twist the senses of those which exist in a manner to serve the purpose But of course this argument cannot be used at present Still in the face of the texts quoted by me from Manu Gobhilaputra Hiranyakesin Vasistha and Baudhāyana the texts declaratory of the obligatory nature of infant marriages cannot even according to the orthodox rules of interpretation be allowed full swing The author of the Nirnayasindhu attempts a reconciliation and says that marriage after the age of ten is prohibited but in consideration of the texts of Manu Baudhāyana and others marriages at twelve and sixteen even if the attainment of maturity becomes known are allowable in those cases in which the legal giver of the girl does not exist (दशवर्षादूर्ध्वं विवाहो निषिद्ध । तथापि दातुरभावे द्वादशषोडशाद्वे ज्ञेये रजोभाव इदम्) But there is no reason whatsoever why the late marriages should be restricted to those cases Manu and others do not in prescribing them speak of the non existence of the father

or other givers The only fair way is to regard both as equally legal according to the well known orthodox rule that when contradictory precepts such as that he should offer oblations after sunrise and he should offer oblations before sunrise ' exist one is at liberty to follow whichever he chooses Thus then marriages after puberty are allowable and not opposed to the Hindu religious law

IV

The texts as regards the other point are of this nature —

गर्भाधानमृतौ कुर्यात्। (Brhaspati quoted by Nanda Pandita in the Samskāranirnaya)

" He should perform the conception ceremony immediately after a monthly course

ऋताबुपेयात्सर्वत्र वा प्रतिषिद्धिवर्जम्। (Gautama as quoted by Candiacūda and Kamalākara)

' He should have intercourse immediately after a monthly course or on any day except those which are prohibited

Texts such as these provide only for the ceremony being performed and intercourse being had immediately after a course but do not require that the thing should take place after the first course And no text has been brought forward by the authors of the seven or eight Nibandhas or Digests I have consulted which expressly enjoins the conception ceremony or intercourse on the occasion of the first course

But there are others of the nature of the following —

ऋतुस्नाता तु यो भार्यां सन्निधौ नोपगच्छति।
घोराया भ्रूणहत्याया पच्यते[1] नात्र संशय॥

Parāsara

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1 युज्यते (another reading)

He who, though living in the same place with his wife, does not cohabit with her on the occasion of a monthly course incurs the deadly sin of killing an embryo there is no doubt about this

This text is quoted as from Parāsara by Nanda Pandita Kamalakara Anantadeva and Candracuda Nanda Pandita observes—with reference to a text of Manu (III 45) which inculcates that a man shall always cohabit with his wife on the occasion of her courses being devoted to her and go to her with the vow of generating a son except on certain holy days —that this precept is mandatory and he must go for it is laid down that he commits a sin if he does not and in proof of this he quotes the above text from Parāsara The obligation to have intercourse on the occasion of courses rests upon precepts like this which threaten a man with sinfulness and since the statement is general it admits apparently of being made applicable to all courses even the first and the view that the consummation of marriage must be effected at the first course can if at all be based only on these precepts At any rate no other text bearing on the point has been brought forward by the authors I have consulted and it is not likely that the Bengal author Raghunandana whose Samskāratattva is not available here should have said anything different from what Nanda Pandita and the rest have said

Now though this precept of Parāsara and others like it render intercourse compulsory on the occasion of monthly courses still it can come into operation only when the door is opened for it and that door can be opened only by the Garbhādhāna or conception ceremony which is indispensable For a text quoted from a Smrti attributed to Āsvalayana by Nanda Pandita and Kamalākara says —

गर्भाधानस्याकरणात्तस्या जातस्तु दुष्यति ।

'If the Garbhadhāna ceremony is not done he (a son) who is born of her becomes unclean or sinful

But we are not told by the authors of the Digests that it should be performed on the occasion of the first course as the texts adduced only require its being performed immediately after a course And we have seen that the authors of the Gṛihyasutras Sānkhayana Khadira Paraskara and Gobhila leave the matter equally indefinite The Parisiṣta or appendix of Āsvalayana Gṛihya which takes up points omitted in the Sutra itself and is manifestly later than the latter gives however a more definite indication of what is meant The Garbhādhāna ceremony according to Nārāyanabhatta the author of a ritual for the Rgvedins consists of two parts (1) the kindling and consecration of the fire and throwing oblations into it of cooked rice and ghee in honour of certain deities and (2) the rites preparatory to the actual intercourse which are directed to be performed at night when both the husband and wife well dressed have seated themselves on a bedstead These however since priests are wanted to repeat the sacred formulas are gone through, as a matter of fact during day time along with the first part of the ceremony the physical portion intended to be consecrated by those rites, being made to stand over till the night Now with reference to the time when these two parts which in the Parisista are mentioned one after the other and called Prājāpatya and Garbhalabhana respectively should be performed the author of the work lays down the following rules —

a अथर्तुमत्या प्राजापत्यम् । ऋतौ प्रथमेऽनुकूलेऽहनि &c

Now for the Prajapatya ceremony of a woman after a course On the occasion of the first course on an auspicious day he should &c '

b अथ गर्भलभनम् । ऋतावनुकूलाया निशि &c

Now for the Garbhalabhana On the occasion of a course or an auspicious night' &c &c

Here evidently the author of the Parisista looks upon these ceremonies as distinct from each other and directs that the first consisting of the consecration of the fire and the oblations should be performed on the occasion of the first course but the second, which must be followed by intercourse on the occasion of a course The omission here of the word **प्रथम** or 'first is evidently intentional and shows that the ceremony introductory to intercourse need not be performed on the occasion of the first course but may be delayed to any subsequent[1] one The general statements of the authors of the Sutras and the indefinite texts quoted above should in the light of this be understood to mean the same thing

Now if the ceremony introductory to intercourse and intended to consecrate it may thus be delayed surely the operation of Parāsara's command to cohabit with one's wife on the occasion of a course on pain of the deadly sin of killing an embryo must be delayed also and the text cannot be considered as over riding the Sūtras or Parisistas and rendering the liberty allowed by these entirely nugatory But supposing it is rendered nugatory and the rule of Parasara is in undisputed possession of the field its province must be determined according to the usual orthodox principle as what remains after assigning to whatever exceptions it may have their own proper place And the rule has many exceptions

(1) One of them is contained in the text itself According to Nanda Pandita because the word **सनिधौ** i e living in the

1 The omission of the word **प्रथम** in the case of **गर्भलभन** leaving **ऋतौ** only is construed by some as signifying that the ceremony should be repeated on the occasion of each course But in such a case we should expect **ऋतावृतौ**, as we have **अहरह** (p 301 Ed Bibl Ind) **मासि मासि** p 306 &c

same place" is used a husband does not render himself sinful, if he does not have intercourse in consequence of his being at a distance from her (**सन्निधिग्रहणादसन्निधौ न दोष ।**)

Again Vyāsa says —

(2) **व्याधितो बन्धनस्थो वा प्रवासेष्वथ पर्वसु ।**
ऋतुकाले तु नारीणा भ्रूणहत्या प्रमुच्यते ॥

If a man is suffering from a disease or is imprisoned or away in a foreign country he is free from the sin of killing an embryo [if he has no intercourse] on the occasion of a course of women and also when he abstains on certain junctures"

(3) The following verse from Vyāsa is quoted by Kamalakara Anantadeva and Candraguda

वृद्धा वन्ध्यामसद्वृत्ता मृतापत्यामपुष्पिणीम् ।
कन्यास् बहुपुत्रा च वर्जयेन्मुच्यते भयात् ।

He should avoid intercourse with his wife when she is old barren or ill behaved or when her children die or when she has not yet arrived at the peculiar stage of life or when she gives birth to daughters only or has many sons '

(4) According to Anantadeva and also Nanda Pandita the Vedic basis of Parāsara s precept is the statement that a man is born with three sorts of liabilities He owes to the gods a sacrifice to the manes offspring and to the Rṣis the chaste life of a student His liability to the manes he discharges when he begets a son so that Parāsara's precept is binding on him only till the birth of his eldest son His other sons are the results of his own appetencies and there is no religious obligation as to their being begotten Nanda Pandita quotes Manu IX 106 7 in support of this

The province of the rule is thus limited in these various respects according to the writers of the Digests I have consulted

But the following also must be regarded as other exceptions —

(5) The precept of Āsvalāyana and Paraskara in their Grhya Sūtras that the married couple should observe abstinence for one year as explained above This however is given by Vijnanesvara in the Mitākṣarā under I 81 as a reason for interpreting the texts enjoining intercourse as permissive (see below)

(6) The following text from Baudhāyana

त्रीणि वर्षाण्यृतुमती यो भार्यां नाधिगच्छति ।
स तुल्य भ्रुणहत्यायै दोषमृच्छत्यसंशयम् ॥

He who does not cohabit with his wife for three years after she attains puberty incurs sin equal to that of the killing of an embryo There is no doubt about this "

Parāsara denounces one who does not resort to his wife after she attains puberty generally Baudhāyana denounces one who does not do so for three years i e according to him, he who observes abstinence for less than three years incurs no sin If Parāsara s rule is allowed full scope Baudhāyana s will have to be set aside while if the latter is followed the former is not set aside but obtains the scope left uncovered by the latter In this way of construing them both are allowed scope and this is the usual way of settling such points in the Hindu Śāstras

Thus the Hindu religious law allows the consummation of marriage being deferred for three years after a girl attains puberty

This is the conclusion one can fairly come to in my opinion taking the precepts of Brhaspati Gautama Manu and Parasara quoted or translated at the beginning of this section as mandatory or binding But this nature is denied to them by Śridhara, the commentator on the Bhāgavata In his comment on XI 5 11, he says in substance that there can be no

command in a sacred book about a thing which one does from his own natural desire It would be absurd to think that a sacred precept was wanted to tell a man to drink water when he was thirsty When therefore notwithstanding this there are precepts such as that a man should eat the flesh of five species of five clawed animals (**पञ्च पञ्चनखा भक्ष्या**), what is meant is that the flesh of no other species of five clawed animals is to be eaten but of these five And even then the eating of the flesh of the five is not enjoined as necessary for it depends upon one's own desire So the sense of the precept is If one wishes to eat the flesh of five clawed animals at all he should eat that of these five and not of others i e a man is allowed to eat the flesh of the five but not compelled' Precisely similar is the case with the precept one should have intercourse with his wife on the occasion of a monthly course This is a thing which no sacred books are wanted to direct a man to do for his passions lead him to it What is meant then by the precept is that one should not satisfy his passion at any other time or elsewhere but on that occasion and with his wife only The act is not enjoined as necessary but only the occasion and the subject are defined for the act depends upon the desire So then the precept comes to this that if one desires to have intercourse he should have it with his wife only and on a particular occasion only but he is not compelled to have it on that occasion The precept therefore is simply permissive If it is permissive and a man may have intercourse or not as he likes why is it that Parāsara accuses one who abstains of the deadly sin of killing an embryo? What Parāsara means is that that man only is guilty of sin who desiring to have intercourse abstains from it simply because he does not like his wife or hates her[1]

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1 **ननु ऋतावुपेयादित्यादिना विधिर्दर्शित । सत्यम् । नत्वयमपूर्वविधि । रागत प्राप्तत्वात् । कि तु नियमविधिरूपेण रागिणामभ्यनु-**

This is Śrīdhara's view and Kasināth Upadhyāya the author of the Dharmasindhu agrees with it Vijñānesvara in the Mitāksarā gives the same under I 81 but remarks that Bharuci Visvarūpa and others do not approve of it ' and proceeds to give their reasons He does not say decidedly what his own opinion is which shows at any rate that he sees the force of the view which makes the precept permissive only He must therefore be considered as allowing his followers to choose either of the two views

Thus the points I have endeavoured to make out in this Section are these —

1 That the texts prescribing the Garbhādhāna ceremony and intercourse do not provide that they should come off on the occasion of the first monthly course but leave the matter indefinite

2 That if those indefinite texts are understood in connection with the statement in the Āsvalayana Grhyapariśista they must be regarded as leaving it to the option of the person concerned when to perform the ceremony

3 That since Parāsara's text and others of that nature can not override the Parisista they must be regarded as coming into force after the Garbhadhāna ceremony whenever it may be performed

4 That there are many exceptions to Parāsara's precept one of these being that contained in a text of Baudhāyana, in virtue of which a man may abstain from intercourse for less than three years

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ज्ञानमात्र क्रियते। ननु यद्यभ्यनुज्ञामात्रमेतद् भवेत्तर्हि ऋतु स्नाता तु यो भार्यां सनिधौ नोपगच्छति। घोराया भ्रूणहत्याया पच्यते नात्र सशय ॥ इत्यादि दोषश्रवण न स्यात्। नैष दोष.। मनसि कामे सत्यपि तस्यामरुच्या द्वेषादिना वा तामनुपगच्छतो दोषश्रवणोपपत्ते रिति सर्वमनवद्यम् ॥

5 That the authors of some of the Grhyasūtras enjoin abstinence for one year after puberty

6 That the precepts enjoining intercourse are permissive only according to the views of authors of great repute

V

It will be seen that Manu in his text III 45 as interpreted by Nanda Pandita and in IX 106 7 as also Yājñavalkya in I 80 mean to enjoin on a man the duty of begetting a son Nanda Pandita and Anantadeva taking their stand on a Vedic text interpret the precept of Parasara as having force only until a man has got a son Other texts inculcate abstinence when the wife has become old or has not arrived at the peculiar stage of growth From all this and much more that one may find in the religious books it is evident that in prescribing intercourse the law givers have no other object in view than to provide for the birth of a son And even the junctures at which one should have intercourse in order that a good son may be born are carefully mentioned The son plays an important part in the religious and domestic life of a Hindu The law givers must therefore be supposed to have harmonized their precepts with the teachings of the great Hindu medical authorities Susruta tells us that a man reaches the full development of his physical capacities at the age of twenty five and a woman at the age of sixteen[1] though the courses of the latter begin according to him at twelve

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1 पञ्चविंशे ततो वर्षे पुमान्नारी तु षोडशे ।
समत्वागतवीर्यौ तौ जानीयात्कुशलो भिषक् ॥ 35 8
समत्वागतवीर्यौविति समत्व परिपूर्णत्वमागत वीर्य ययोस्तौ समत्वागतवीर्यौ ।

2 रसादेव स्त्रिया रक्त रज सञ्ज प्रवर्तते ।
तद्वर्षाद्द्वादशादूर्ध्व याति पञ्चशत क्षयम् ॥ 14 2

And later on in describing the treatment necessary if a girl suffers from a peculiar disease previous to the establishment of intercourse he uses the word **तरुणी** which the commentator Dalvana interprets as a girl who has reached the age of sixteen [1] Similarly Vagbhata says in the Astanga samgraha that a man twenty five years old should act with the view of begetting a son when she [his wife] is sixteen years old For it is then that being themselves vigorous they generate a vigorous child while a fœtus placed by one who is less than twenty five years old in a girl who is less than sixteen either dies in the womb or becomes a short lived weak unhealthy insignificant child or a deformed child "[2] According to Vagbhata also the peculiar physical condition is reached at twelve Hence Manu enjoins marriage at twelve i e about the time of or immediately after puberty and he and others allow of a girl remaining unmarried for three years after puberty i e till she arrives at the age of sixteen In a text quoted from the Mahābharata in the Nirnayasindhu a man thirty years old is directed to marry a girl sixteen years old [3] And hence also does Baudhayana allow abstinence from intercourse with a wife for three years after maturity i e till becoming sixteen years old when she is able to bear a healthy and strong child These are indications that the sacred writers

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1 **तरुण्या षोडशवर्षप्राप्तायाः ।**

2 **तस्या षोडशवर्षायाः पञ्चविंशतिवर्षः पुरुषः पुत्रार्थं प्रयतेत । तदाहि तौ प्राप्तवीर्यौ वीर्यान्वितमपत्यं जनयतः । ऊनपञ्चविंशतिवर्षेणोनषोडशवर्षायामाहितो गर्भः कुक्षिस्थ एव विनाशमाप्नुयादल्पायुर्बलारोग्यविभवो वा स्याद्विकलेन्द्रियो वा ।**

3 **त्रिंशद्वर्षः षोडशाब्दां भार्यां विन्देदनग्निकाम् ।**

विन्देत नग्निकाम् is the reading in the two copies of the Nirnayasindhu that I have consulted But a woman sixteen years old cannot be a Nagnika according to the ordinary state of things wherefore **विन्देदनग्निका(म्)** must be the correct reading

had then eye on the teachings of Hindu medical science If so all the other indefinite texts must be interpreted so as to harmonize with these teachings

The following passage in Susruta has the same sense as that quoted from Vagbhata —

ऊनषोडशवर्षायामप्राप्त पञ्चविंशतिम्।
यदाधत्ते पुमान्गर्भं कुक्षिस्थ स विपद्यते॥
जातो वा न चिर जीवेज्जीवेद्वा दुर्बलेन्द्रिय ।
तस्माद्त्यन्तबालाया गर्भाधान न कारयेत्॥

X 13

When a man before he has reached the age of twenty five places an embryo in a girl less than sixteen years old it dies while in the womb Or if a child is born at all it will not live long and if it lives it will be weak Therefore one should not cause a man to place an embryo in an undeveloped girl '

When a writer such as Susiuta who is considered inspired says this so distinctly it is treating the Rsis most irreverently to assert that they command the placing of an embryo' in a girl eleven or twelve years old It will be tantamount to accusing them of ignorance

But apart from this consideration if the sole object of the legislators is to provide for the birth of a son possessed of capacity in order to carry out their instructions in the spirit in which they are conveyed we must see at what age a girl is able to bear a healthy child And the old Hindu medical authors tell us that it is sixteen Modern science also teaches that if a girl is violated before she reaches full development she often becomes incapable of bearing a child and when she does give birth to one it is weak and unhealthy This full development is not reached before the age of twenty But it

is certain that before the age of fourteen a girl is not in a condition to give birth to a healthy child These are not matters of speculation but of practical experience By performing the Garbhādhāna ceremony therefore when a girl is ten eleven or thirteen years of age the Hindus most irreverently defeat the object of the Rsis under the pretence of following their commands The endeavour therefore, to compel them to keep a girl untouched before the age of twelve should be welcomed by them as being conceived quite in the spirit of the old Rsis If it succeeds it will make them more faithful followers of those sages and more essentially religious Hindus than in these corrupt times they are

Thus the general results we arrive at as regards consummation of marriage are these —

1 That no text has been brought forward by Vijñanesvara Kamalakara Nanda Pandita Anantadeva, Mahesabhatta Candracuda and Kāsinatha Upādhyāya enjoining the Garbhādhāna or consummation ceremony on the occasion of the first or any specific course and that the Āsvalāyana Grhyaparisista allows the liberty of performing it at any time

2 That the texts which by some are construed as containing mandatory precepts as to intercourse on the occasion of a course have been interpreted by others as involving permissive precepts only

3 That even if the precepts are regarded as mandatory their operation must be delayed for one year after puberty in accordance with some Grhyasutras and for three years in accordance with a text of Baudhāyana

4 That this delay is quite what one might expect in view of the facts that marriage can according to the Dharmasāstra be deferred for three years after puberty and that the rituals con

tained in the Grhyasutras especially that of Āpastamba and Hiranyakesin presuppose a girl s having arrived at maturity

5 That this conclusion as regards delay in the consummation of marriage is confirmed by the circumstance that the sacred writers seem to have their eye on the doctrine of Hindu medical science that a girl is not in a condition to give birth to a healthy child before the age of sixteen

6 That the consummation of marriage only when the girl has fully developed is quite in keeping with the spirit of the Rsi legislators as the begetting of a son able to do credit to the father is their sole object and its early consummation is entirely opposed to their spirit as the result of it is barrenness or weak and sickly children

ADDITIONAL NOTE

I have also found in Sir Raja Rādhākāntadeva's Sabda kalpadruma an extract from Raghunandana's Samskartattva on the Garbhādhāna ceremony Raghunandana quotes Gobhila's Sūtra given by me above at p 542 (**यदा ऋतुमती** &c) and observes —

ऋतु प्रजाजननयोग्य काल । तन्निमित्तेन नैमित्तिक गमन कार्यम्। अकुर्वत प्रत्यवायान्नियम । यदुक्त स्मृतौ ।

ऋतुमती तु यो भार्या सनिधौ नोपसर्पति ।
अवाप्नोति स मन्दात्मा भ्रूणहत्यामृतावृतौ ॥

Rtu is the time fitted for generating offspring That is the condition and he should go [to his wife] when that condition exists If he does not he incurs sin therefore this is a manda tory precept For it is said in a Smrti That dull fellow who does not go to his wife on the occasion of a monthly course though she is at hand incurs [the sin of] killing an embryo at each monthly course '

It will be seen that he does not tell us in express terms to

perform the ceremony on the first occasion but says the same thing as Nanda Pandita and the rest so that I need not repeat in detail what I have said in connection with that point If it is a mandatory precept its operation must be delayed for the three years allowed by Baudhāyana or the one year allowed by some of the authors of the Grhyasūtras But it is not mandatory but permissive according to other authors

In this extract Raghunandana refutes the view of Bhava devabhatta on a certain point while Raghunandana s view on that point is again refuted by Candrakānta Tarkālamkāra (see p 541) the editor of the Gobhilasūtra (p 347) Thus as already pointed out by Mi Justice Telang Raghunandana is not regarded as infallible in Bengal, nor it may be added any other author of a Digest

APPENDIX A

(ON MR TARKACUDĀMANI'S PAMPHLET)

My attention has been called to a pamphlet published by Mr Sasadhara Tarkacudāmani a Bengali gentleman on the rites of Garbhādhana Mr Tarkacudāmani devotes a large portion of it to the explanation of the ceremony with which I am not concerned

Though I have on the strength of the little penance prescribed for the omission of the Garbhādhana considered the ceremony as necessary still Mr Tarkacūdamani makes such an awful thing of it that it is desirable to go into the matter further In all religious books" says he 'whether they be Vedas Smrtis Purānas rituals or commentaries this ceremony has been emphatically insisted on We may therefore safely conclude that Garbhādhāna has ever been an essential part of our religion ' pp 11 12

But Āsvalayana does not prescribe it in his Grhyasūtra which is intended for the followers of the Rgveda and therefore Nārāyana the author of the commentary says —

गर्भाधानमाचार्येणानुक्तमिति कृत्वा न कार्यमित्येके। अन्ये पुन शौनकोक्तमार्गेण कार्यमित्याहु ।

Some are of opinion that Garbhādhāna should not be performed since it is not prescribed by the Ācārya (teacher) Others hold that it should be performed in the manner shown by Śaunaka "

Thus then not only is it not emphatically insisted on ' but not even prescribed and this essential part of our religion ' may not be performed at all

Again he says Nay there are so many observances to be gone through that they would take up the whole day and a few hours of the night in the bargain Garbhādhāna is thus not an ordinary or common ceremony " p 14

No the ceremony does not take more than about two some times three hours while at night it is all an affair of women and religious formalities are not gone through Garbhādhana is a most ordinary ceremony at least in this part of the country A good many orthodox people even do not perform it and I learn it is not gone through in Gujarat

But Mr Tarkacudāmani reaches the climax in the following — The harms arising from the sins and crimes such as child murder in the opinion of the Hindus are less serious than those of not performing Garbhadhāna at the proper time " p 21

I must protest against this wholesale vilification of the Hindu race At any rate whatever it may be in Bengal the Hindus on this side of the country do not consider the harm arising from crimes such as child murder to be less serious than that arising from the omission of Garbhādhana Neither is the reason given by Mr Tarkacūdamani at all true He says ' sins and crimes like child murder can be atoned by penances but to neglect performing a Samskāra makes our life unholy for both this life and the next and no penances can save us ' But a penance ridiculously light *can* save us For the penance for the omission of Garbhādhāna is —

गर्भाधानस्याकरणात्तस्या जातस्तु दुष्यति ।
अकृत्वा गा द्विजे दत्वा कुर्यात्पुसवन पति ॥

If the Garbhādhāna ceremony is not performed he who is born [of the woman] is polluted the husband should, if he has not done it give a cow to a Brahman and perform Pumsavana (the next sacrament)"

This is a text quoted as from Āsvalayana by Nanda Pandita and Kamalakara and we see from it that the penance for the omission of Garbhadhana is the giving to a Brahman of one cow the price of which is about a Rupee and a half while the penance for child murder is a life of the most abject and humiliating self mortification for twelve years (see Yajñyavalkya III 261) And still this Hindu gentleman does not scruple to say that his countrymen consider the harms arising from child murder to be less serious than those arising from the omission of Garbhādhāna !

Passing over other such things that I find in the pamphlet I will notice the texts that Mr Tarkacudāmani brings forward to show that the Garbhādhana must be performed on the occasion of the first course and cannot be delayed He quotes what he calls Mantras in connection with this ceremony one of which only I will give here

स्वर्गदीप नमस्तेऽस्तु नमस्ते विश्वतापन ।
नवपुष्पोत्सवे चार्घ्यं गृहाण त्व दिवाकर ॥

O lamp of the heavens a bow to thee O thou, who givest warmth to the Universe a bow to thee do accept O sun this offering (of water flowers &c) on the occasion of the feast in celebration of the new *event* or flowers "

There are three more verses just of this stamp and these are quoted from Bhavadeva a writer on the domestic ceremonies of the Sāmavedins of Bengal Now in the first place Mr Cudāmani tells us (p 5) that *all* the Mantras in this con nection are taken from Rgveda ' Are these five verses taken from the Rgveda ? Do they occur there ? They certainly do not in the Rgveda known to the world Does not their language show that they belong quite to a profane age ? At the most you may call them Paurānika Mantras or Mantras taken from the Purānas And they are not used in connection with

the Garbhādhāna ceremony on this side of the country and are not given by Narayanabhatta Anantadeva Mahesabhatta or Candracūda And such a thing must be expected with reference to the so called Paurānika Mantras for any one can compose them and put them in They do not occur even in the Mantra Brāhmana of the Sāmaveda containing as it does all the Mantras used by the Sāmavedins For these reasons though they are given by Bhavadeva they possess no authoritativeness whatever

Again from the sense it appears that the verses refer to a feast to celebrate new Puspa Now it is quite possible that the new blossom of trees in spring is meant to be alluded to for there is nothing in the verses which necessitates our understanding them as containing an allusion to the celebration of the particular physical event And even if they are so understood they have nothing to do with the Garbhadhāna ceremony which is not a ceremony for celebrating the new physical event but a ceremony which consists in the placing of an embryo in a girl in the language of the medical writers

The next text adduced by Mr Tarkacūdāmani is that quoted by me from Gobhila [1] In this there is no word which means first" The author of the pamphlet acknowledges that but contends that the sense he wants is to be inferred from the expression the event after marriage" But there is nothing in the original which has the sense of that expression The mere fact that the rules about Garbhadhāna on the occasion of a course follow those about marriage cannot necessitate the course meant being taken as the first course For Paraskara speaks of the Garbhādhāna similarly but at the same time enjoins abstinence for one year Here evidently the performance of the Garbhādhana cannot be understood as being enjoined by

1 See above p 542 [N B U]

Pāraskara on the occasion of the first course And Gobhila like other authors of Grhyasutras supposes a girl to have arrived at maturity before marriage as he imposes abstinence for three days after marriage And this is admitted even by the recent Bengali commentator on Gobhila So that even if the text is understood as having reference to the first course after marriage it cannot mean the very first course It is therefore not applicable to the first course after an early marriage (see Section II of the present Note)

The third text brought forward by the author is that quoted by me at p 547 of my Note Mr Tarkacudamani misunderstands the whole matter here What is here enjoined on the occasion of the first course is not Garbhadhana or Garbhalambhana as it is called but Prajapatya which I have explained above p 548 On the contrary the absence of the word **प्रथम** or first ' when the Garbhādhāna is described is to be construed as I have done into a permission to perform it when one chooses This text therefore is entirely opposed to Mr Tarkacudāmani s view

Mr B G Tilak of Poona has pronounced my way of understanding this passage to be wrong But his only reason is based on his not knowing that the practice of performing the second ceremony without the first is enjoined by the highest authorities By taking the two as inseparable parts of each other he sets aside grammar and propriety for he thus makes the words **ऋतौ** a course and **अनुकूलायाम्** auspicious" occurring at the beginning of the second passage entirely useless and unmeaning and supplies the demonstrative before **ऋतौ** against all rules of syntax The whole style and manner of the passages require the two to be understood as separate ceremonies though they are sometimes performed together

In the next three quotations the author himself acknowledges that the word first" does not occur but he thinks it is

implied because the event" mentioned is the event after marriage' But there is nothing whatever about marriage here and it is a mere gratuitous assumption of the writer

Now our author proceeds to quote from digests Vacaspati does not say that the Garbhādhāna must necessarily be performed on the occasion of the first course as Mr Tarkacūdamani thinks but only that that time is better or more prosperous than any other (तत्रापि पूर्व श्रेयान्यथा गर्भाधाने प्रथमर्तु ।) He does not pronounce any sentence upon one who does not perform it on that occasion but recommends it and must evidently be supposed to allow of the ceremony being delayed

The next passage is the one I have quoted above from Raghu nandana[1] There is nothing in it which can bear the interpret ation at the time of the first Garbhādhāna is indispensably necessary" as one will see from the translation I have given above There is nothing corresponding to the word first"

Thus not a single one of the texts adduced by Mr Cuda mani contains an indication that the Garbhādhāna should be performed on the occasion of the first course but on the other hand that from Āsvalāyana Parisista points quite in the opposite way

And no other text has been brought forward by any body except the one from the spurious Āsvalāyana Smrti Vijñānesvara Mādhava Madanapāla Kamalākara, Renukacarya Raghunandana Nanda Pandita Nilakantha Nārāyanabhatta and Candracuda have not adduced any such text nor have I seen it in any Smrti And those authors of Nibandhas do not even on their own responsibility lay down in specific terms that the Garbhadhāna should be performed on the occasion of the first course, though what they state might be held to imply

1 Ante, p 557 [N B U]

that But this implied sense I have already dealt with in the Note Only one author so far as I have seen of a manual of rituals intended for the Madhyamdinas says that in specific terms but he gives no authority And even if such authoritative texts from the Smrtis were brought forward without another text imposing a religious penalty if the thing were not done on the first occasion they would not be binding but would have to be construed as permissive only For the authors of the Nibandhas attribute an obligatory nature to the precepts as to intercourse after courses only in consequence of other precepts which attach a penalty to abstinence The same principle would have to be applied in the case of the supposed texts And again Baudhayana s text allowing the consummation to be delayed for less than three years would have to be set against them all

The author notices the text of Paiāsara and another of the same sense which I have quoted above from Raghunandana These it will be remembered enjoin intercourse on the occasion of a course on pain of the deadly sin of killing an embryo He also speaks about the mandatory nature of the precepts about intercourse I have discussed these points fully in the Note and there is nothing new brought forward by Mr Tarkacudāmani which requires attention I will therefore not repeat what I have said already

APPENDIX B

(ON THE ARGUMENTS OF MR B G TILAK AND ANOTHER WRITER IN THE *MARATHA*)

Mr B G Tilak and a writer in the *Maratha* claim to have destroyed the fabric raised by me But he or they have evidently not taken the trouble of understanding my argument and excuse themselves a detailed examination of it by saying that the very foundation of my theory being destroyed it is needless to examine my other statements '—an excellent plea indeed for a man who wishes to destroy an opponent but cannot do so If Mr Tilak or the writer in the *Maratha* will carefully read Section IV of my Note a copy of which he will get for the mere asking at Mr Shivalkar's shop in Poona City he will see that what I say in that section is briefly this —

(1) Texts directly enjoining intercourse or the performance of the Garbhādhana ceremony on the occasion of the first course have not been produced by the authors of the Nibandhas or Digests but they rely on others which denounce one who has no intercourse on the occasion of courses generally from which the inference is legitimate that the first course also must be availed of But these texts can come into operation only after the Garbhādhana ceremony

(2) We find an indication in the Āsvalayana Grhyaparisista that the Garbhadhāna may be performed on the occasion of *any* course The operation of the obligatory precepts therefore must be delayed till that time

(3) It must be delayed also for three years in virtue of a precept of Baudhayana who attaches the same penalty that those precepts attach to abstinence generally to only continuous abstinence for three years

and (4) It must be delayed for one year in consequence of a provision in the Gṛhyasutras of Āsvalayana and Paraskara and even Baudhayana

Mr Tilak or the *Maratha* attacks the first two positions only and has got nothing to say against the last two and still he says he has destroyed my fabric This can deceive only one who wishes to be deceived

As to the fifth position viz that the precepts are permissive Mr Tilak disposes of it in a most general way and evidently does not seem to know anything about the matter as I shall show hereafter

Now as to Mr Tilak's or the *Maratha's* arguments He brings forward a text quoted as from the Āsvalayana Smrti by Anantadeva in which is enjoined the performance of the Garbhādhāna on the occasion of the first course I possess a copy of a Smrti attributed to Āsvalayana in which I had found this text but I rejected it on these grounds —Nanda Pandita Nārāyanabhatta and Kamalākara quote a verse[1] from Āsvalayana Smrti and another is cited by Kamalākara and Candracuda Again the first of these and six more describing the actual Garbhādhāna are quoted from the Smrti by the commentator on Āsvalayana Gṛhyakarikas[3] None of these eight occurs in my Manuscript And the verse enjoining the performance of the Garbhādhāna on the occasion of the first course which occurs in

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1 गर्भाधानस्याकरणात् &c as quoted before

2 प्राग्रजोदर्शनात्पत्नी नेयाद्वत्वा पतत्यध ।
व्यर्थीकारेण शुक्रस्य ब्रह्महत्यामवाप्नुयात् ॥

3 आचम्यारोपयित्वा ता पत्नी सम्यगलकृताम् &c ॥ १ ॥ आनयित्वाश्वगन्धाया मूलम् &c ॥ २ ॥ कपिलापयसा मिश्रम् &c ॥ ३ ॥ समन्त्रकमुदीर्ष्वेति &c ॥ ४ ॥ एव कृत्वा सकृद्धर्ता ॥ ५ ॥ पत्नीमृतुमती स्निग्धाम् &c ॥ ६ ॥

the Manuscript does not occur in any of the many Nibandhas examined by me except in the Samskarakaustubha nor does it occur in those examined by Mr Tarkacūdāmani and Mr Tilak with that exception For if it had occurred they would of course have stated the fact The Smrti therefore in which it occurs was unknown to all except Anantadeva who is but a recent author It must, therefore be condemned as spurious and so too consequently the text cited by Mr Tilak or the *Maratha* And *this is the only explicit Smṛti text occurring in the whole range of the literature* examined by Tarkacudamani Tilak Telang and myself which enjoins Garbhādhana on the occasion of the first course

Next as to the Parisista Mr Tilak wonders how it has escaped my critical eye that Prājāpatya is only one part of the Garbhādhāna ceremony and as one part cannot be performed on one day and the other on another the whole passage must be interpreted to mean that the Garbhādhāna ceremony must be performed on the first occurrence of the physical condition " Well I am compelled to say it has escaped my eye because it is a critical eye Mr Tilak thinks that our present practice prevails in all parts of the country and has descended to us from very olden times that there are or have been no variations that that alone is what the Śāstras sanction and he twists a passage n an old work so as to harmonise it with that practice in spite of grammar and propriety He thus belongs to the school of those who find the steam engine and the electric telegraph in the Vedas The *Maratha* has no doubt whatever that my first mistake is to suppose that the passage in the Parisista describes two different ceremonies— Prājapatya and Garbhādhāna I do not *suppose* that at all I come to it from grammar propriety and old usage as reported by several authors as well as the practice sanctioned by the Śāstras according even to recent writers That our present practice has not escaped me, Mr Tilak would have seen if he

had more carefully read my Note wherein I state that the Garbhadhāna ceremony consists of two parts (1) the kindling etc and (2) the rites preparatory etc And supposing they are parts of the same ceremony is it necessary that they should be performed on the same day ? Is the whole marriage ceremony performed in a single day ? Is not the last part of it to be performed if Āsvalāyana's rule about abstinence for one year is followed a year after the initial rites ?

Now my translation of the passage[1] we are concerned with is—(*a*) (First Ceremony) Now for the Prājapatya ceremony of a woman after a course On the occasion of the first course on an auspicious day he should etc (*b*) (Second Ceremony) Now for the Garbhalambhana On the occasion of a course on an auspicious night etc etc Mr Tilak or the *Maratha* translates (*a*) almost as I do only using the word favourable instead of auspicious but in (*b*) he puts in *the* for my *a* and says that the second ceremony is to be performed on the night of the day on which the first is performed But the word Rtu or course is used without any qualifying expression and Mr Tilak is not justified in inserting *the* simply because our present practice is to perform the two ceremonies on the same day And if practice is his only guide he ought to go a little further and make the word Nisi which means night' to mean day' for really that ceremony also except the physical portion is as I have said in my Note performed during the day along with the other And even Anantadeva whom Mr Tilak quotes says that Rtu here means Rtusāmanya i e a course generally and not a specific course showing that the force of grammar prevails over him Again if the author of the Parisista had meant that the two rites should be performed on the same day he would not have used the word

1 See p 547 f. of the Note गर्भलभनम् is printed in accordance with the Ed in Bibl Ind but perhaps it ought to be गर्भलम्भनम्

Rtu in speaking of the second ceremony since it had already been used in the case of the first To take the illustration given by Mr Tilak of the *Marathas* himself we say A train leaves Poona on Wednesday morning reaches Bombay in the evening and we do not generally say a train leaves Poona on Wednesday morning and reaches Bombay on Wednesday evening if the day we mean is the same And yet what we ordinary people in ordinary conversation do not say Mr Tilak makes the author of the Parisista to say though Hindu writers of his school are universally known not to use a superfluous word Again he would not have used the word favourable" or auspicious in speaking of the night If the night meant is the night of that particular day on which the first ceremony is performed we have no choice but must take that night whether favourable or unfavourable And if the night of the day that is favourable is to be considered favourable as a matter of course the use of that word in the case of the night is superflous as the author has already used it in speaking of the day Thus Mr Tilak has made the author to use two superfluous words and has brought in the definite article the notwithstanding that no grammatical rule nor propriety will have it I thought all this was perfectly plain and had no idea that a man like Mr Tilak would set aside grammar and propriety in order to support his pet theory that the Garbhādhāna must be performed on the occasion of the first course

Now as to the practice that has made Mr Tilak sacrifice grammar and propriety In the first place I will say that, according to the Parisista these are two ceremonies since the author gives two separate names to them says that the first has to do with a woman who has a course (ऋतुमत्या), that is to say looking to the word first that is used, to a woman who has begun to have courses and calls the second only Garbhalambhana, which Nārāyanabhatta takes as equivalent to

Garbhādhāna And grammar and propriety require that we should understand them as two as I have already shown Mr Tilak knows only one kind of practice But several are reported and allowed in the commentaries and Nibandhas Siddhantin as quoted by Anantadeva says that the Homa generally or the kindling of the fire and offering of oblations should be done according to some but according to others he should pour the juice of a certain plant into his wife's right nostril and this they call Garbhalambhana Anantadeva proceeds to say that Jayanta has adopted the view that Garbhalambhana as prescribed in the Sutra is simply the pouring of the juice into the nostril without the Homa He quotes other authorities also and lays down the doctrine to be followed even at the present day in spite of Mr Tilak that Homa is optional[1] The author of the Karikās also gives only the ceremony prescribed by Jayanta as Garbhādhana without the Homa So then the Garbhadhana is only that which corresponds to the second ceremony mentioned in the Parisista and the Prajāpatya fire oblations are another which is sometimes tacked on to it But it is by no means an essential part of the Garbhadhana as Mr Tilak thinks Some people may do the two together while others may neglect the first Hence they are separately mentioned in the Parisista If they had been given as constituting one whole it would not have been possible to dispense with the first Thus the only ground for Mr Tilak's sacrifice of grammar and propriety is removed And the portion of my fabric against which he or

1 सर्वथैव होमासभवेऽश्वगन्धामूल पेषयित्वोदीर्ष्वात पतिवतीत्येकयैव ऋचा दक्षिणस्या नासिकाया निषिच्योपगमन कार्यम् । यथोक्त सिद्धान्त(न्ति)भाष्ये । तत्रैक ऋतुकालेऽनादेशहोममिच्छन्ति । अपरे तूदीर्ष्वेत्यनया दक्षिणस्या नासिकाया नस्त करोतीत्येतद्गर्भलम्भनमिति। अनुसृत च होमरहितस्यैकयर्चा नस्त करणमात्रस्य सौत्रगर्भलम्भन पदार्थत्व जयन्तेन ।

the *Maratha* directed his attack is safe and sound and there are no express texts of Grihyaparisista and Smrtis' (mark the one spurious Smiti has become Smrtis here) so far as so many of us have examined them which warrant the Hindu divines or any body else to conclude that the Garbhadhana must be performed after the first course though this may be deduced as an inference

There is another glaring instance of the manner in which Mr Tilak or the *Maratha* sacrifices context, propriety and all rules of scholarship in order to make a text mean what he wishes it to mean Thus the *Maratha* says that a host of well known authorities begin the description of the Garbhadhāna ceremony by some such remark as that which he quotes from the Madanapārijāta and translates We first describe the time of the first course as it is needed for the Garbhādhana Now if the writer had just read the next line he would have seen that what Madanapāla describes in this section is the nights after a course that are eligible and ineligible and the first text quoted is the well known verse of Yājñyavalkya about the sixteen nights &c Therefore what is described is not the time of the first course but the eligible and ineligible nights of all courses There is nothing about the first course in what follows The thing is the *Maratha* has tacked the word Prathama which occurs in the passage to Rtukāla and made the whole a compound and translated it as the first course' But he ought to have seen that the context of what follows will not and cannot agree with this Therefore even if he had the word in his Manuscript just as he has printed it he ought to have suspected the reading and compared that Manuscript with another But that will not suit the purpose and therefore he set the context at defiance In my Manuscript the word Prathama is not compounded with Rtukala but has the form of Prathamam i e, it is an adverb so that the translation is we describe first the Rtukāla or nights after a

course because that is of use for the Garbhadhana ceremony' —wherefore first is not an adjective of course The *Maratha* has got the word first' twice while his own as well as my reading has it once only Instead of Upayukta I have Upayuktatvena[1] If then this is the way in which the host of well known authorities begin their description it is all right though however a good many begin by describing the good and evil conjunctions on the occasion of the first course and the pacificatory ceremonies without alluding to the Garbhadhāna But if Mr Tilak means that any one of them begins by saying that they will describe the time of the first course because it is needed for Garbhadhana it is absolutely incorrect and misleading

Mr Tilak is perfectly at sea as regards what Mr Telang calls obligatory and recommendatory precepts and what I call mandatory and permissive precepts He thinks that they are the translations of the words Nitya and Kāmya and appears never to have heard of Vidhi Niyama and Parisamkhyā He explains Kāmya as a certain act which ' has not purely spiritual benefit in view but serves the purpose of regulating the relation between man and man Where did Mr Tilak or the *Maratha* get this definition ? If he had read an ordinary Sanskrit treatise on philosophy or religious law he would have seen that Kāmya rites are those that enable a man to obtain heaven and such other desired objects such as Jyotiṣtoma and others Now does Jyotistoma or a Soma sacri fice regulate the relations between man and man ? But apart from this let us see if the permissive precepts have a bearing on the present question If it is made out that the Hindu Sāstra only permits a man if he wishes to have intercourse and does not command the legislator can prevent him

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[1] तत्र गर्भाधानोपयुक्तत्वेन प्रथम ऋतुकालो निरूप्यते ।

from having that intercourse and in doing so does not set himself in opposition against the Hindu Sastra while if the Sastra commands he does assume that attitude The illustrations given by Mr Tilak are not at all applicable in the present case For though idolatory is optional and not necessary the legislator ought not to prevent it because it is not a crime But the violation of a girl before 12 in a manner sometimes to injure her health permanently or even to cause her death is a crime and the legislator must prevent it If it were such a heavy crime as Suttee it would be his duty to prevent it at once whether the Hindu Śāstra commands it or not This is not so heavy nor does the violation produce bad results in all cases and therefore he may desist if by preventing he goes against the Hindu religion But if we can show that he does not and the Hindu religion does not command the violation of a girl, there is no reason whatever why he should desist

Again the *Maratha* concludes by saying that 'the reformers have been ill advised to take their stand on these strained interpretations of Sanskrit texts' Whom he means by reformers" I do not know but I may reply by saying that the reformers have been obliged to publish to the world what the true Hindu Śāstra is on the point by men like Sir Romesh Mr Tarkacudāmani, Mr Tilak, and others some of whom have been setting grammar context propriety and all rules of scholarship aside in order to make out that the Hindu Śāstras do command the performance of the Garbhādhāna on the occasion of the first course, and to frighten Government Tarkacūdāmani actually goes the length of saying that the harms arising from sins and crimes such as child murder in the opinion of the Hindus are less serious than those of not performing Garbhādhana at the proper time, and that sins and crimes like child murder can be atoned by penances but, 'no penance can save us if we neglect to perform a

Samskara While the fact is that the penance for the omission of Garbhadhana is giving one cow to a Brahman i e about a Rupee and a half while that for child murder is an abject and humiliating self mortification for twelve years And according to Nārāyana the commentator on the Grhyasutra of Āsvalāvana, the ceremony may safely be omitted without even being obliged to give a cow to a Brahman For says he ' some are of opinion that Garbhadhana should not be performed since Āsvalāyana has not prescribed it while others hold that it should be performed in the manner shown by Śaunaka " (Ed Bibl Ind p 59)

APPENDIX C

(ON MR TILAK'S REPLY)

As Mr Tilak's reply to my challenge has not appeared in the *Times of India* I did not intend to say anything with regard to it But the Manager of the "Native Opinion" had been good enough to send me a copy of the issue of that paper containing Mr Tilak's reply and it will hardly be courteous to him and to Mr Tilak himself not to notice it I will however be as brief as possible as it was brevity that I wanted when I gave the challenge

The first text from Smitis is that from the Āsvalāyana Smiti which is unknown to the authors of the many Nibandhas I have seen except Anantadeva and which is not the same as the Āsvalāyana Smṛti known to them To say that the one is Laghu and the other Brhat does not mend matters for the Āsvalāyana Smṛti known to the authors of Nibandhas is not called Brhat by them nor is the spurious Āsvalāyana Smrti called Laghu at all in the two Manuscripts of it that I possess, and even by Anantadeva who quotes it Whenever there are two Smrtis ascribed to the same author and distinguished from each other by the words Brhat or Vrddha and Laghu the authors of the Nibandhas use those epithets in referring to them Sometimes the second is omitted but not the first Again that which is called Brhat or Viddha is a larger work than that which is called Laghu but in the present case both are of about the same size Besides one of the two Manuscripts of Anantadeva's work existing in the Deccan College Collection does not contain the quotation from Āsvalayana at all so that until several Manuscripts of the Samskārakaustubha are procured and compared it must remain doubtful whether Anantadeva himself quotes the spurious Smṛti

The second text adduced by Mr Tilak is that from the true

Āsvalāyana Smṛti But any reader who knows Sanskṛit will see that all that the author says is that one should perform the Garbhādhāna when his wife has a course There is not the word first and still Mr Tilak calls it an express text Then he has recourse to an inference which I wanted him to avoid But one will see that the inference too is utterly unfounded For he thinks when the author of the Smṛti prescribes the performance of Abhyudaya or Nāndiśrāddha and Punyāhavācana during the day that it is the Prājapatya that he prescribes But Prājāpatya is not here prescribed but only such ceremonies as one has to go through when an auspicious rite such as even the dedication of a public work for public use is to be performed And the Garbhādhāna ceremony prescribed by the author is the same as that laid down by Śaunaka i e without the Prājāpatya Homa Hence all Mr Tilak's inference based as it is on this mistake is groundless

The third text is an express text But I must here quote what I have stated in an article published in the Subodhapatrikā of the 8th instant — And even if such authoritative texts from the Smṛtis were brought forward without another text imposing a religious penalty if the thing were not done on the first occasion they would not be binding but would have to be construed as permissive only" This therefore is not a text which enjoins but one which permits (As to this see below the observation on Gopinātha) If Parāśara's text is to be considered as the penal text valid in this case its exceptions and the case in which alone it holds according to Śridhara have been given in the Note Again this text is from a compilation of the views of twenty four Ṛsis and not from an actual Smṛti It has therefore the value of a statement occurring in a Nibandha and not the value of a Smṛti And as to Nibandhas I asked for express statements from the writings of ten authors who might be considered as laying down the law for all India I myself in my article published in the Subodhapatrikā stated that one

Prayoga did contain an express statement but no authority is given for it

Thus then my challenge in this part has not been met For I asked for texts from Smritis other than the Āsvalayana Smriti which is unknown to the authors of the Nibandhas and is different from that known to them and no such text has been brought forward Now as to Nibandhas —

Prayogapārijāta is not included in my challenge But even here there is no express statement but an inference based on the eternal Prajāpatya which Mr Tilak still persists in considering an essential part of the Garbhadhāna in spite of Saunaka Jayanta the author of the Kāśikā Anantadeva and others This inference too is groundless For the Prajāpatya is a ceremony consequent on the attainment of puberty and not a part of Garbhādhāna and consequently though the fit occasion is the first course still like the Santi or pacificatory ceremonies consequent on the first occurrence of the physical event at an inauspicious juncture it is performed at the same time with the Garbhādhāna Again it ought not to be supposed simply from the fact that a certain time is prescribed in the Sūtras or Parisistas that that same time must be meant by the authors of the Prayogas when they give the details of the ceremonies Āsvalāyana s Grhyasutra for instance prescribes the third month of pregnancy for the Pumsavana ceremony but Nārā yanabhatta gives other times also

The next statement is from Narāyanabhatta Mr Tilak in the first quotation connects **प्रथमरजोदर्शने** with **गर्भाधानस्य** (see ex tract in the *Kesari* of 17th February) simply because he wants to do so in order to make this out as a statement in his favour But it is utterly ungrammatical to skip over the intermediate words **मासादौ दुष्टे सति** The connection is **प्रथमरजोदर्शने मासादौ दुष्टे सति** । i e if the month and the others are inauspicious on the occasion of the first course As to Garbhādhāna when Nārāya-

nabhatta speaks of it he uses the words **रजोदर्शनात्** only not **प्रथमरजोदर्शनात्**, showing that according to him also it may be performed on the occasion of any course

As to the other quotation Mr Tilak entirely misses the point I have been insisting on from the beginning All I have been contending for is that the Sastra does not declare that Grabhādhāna must necessarily be performed on the occasion of the first course it may be performed on the first or any occasion The quotation prohibits intercourse on the occasion of the first course if the days and the stars are unfavourable but it does not command it if they are favourable And as to this very quotation Gopinātha says that what is implied in it is a simple permission (see below) It will thus be seen that no statement declaring in express terms that the Garbhādhāna should be necessarily performed on the first occasion has been adduced from Nārayanabhatta

In connection with Mahesabhatta Mr Tilak places before us an excellent specimen of logic Because Mahesabhatta says that in the morning Punyāhavacana &c should be performed and in the evening the Garbhādhana therefore it follows that he says they should be performed on the occasion of the first course! Similar logic we have in connection with Gopināthabhatta Nanda Pandita Kamalākara and others

Now as to Gopinathabhatta His name was not included by me in the challenge Still I am glad Mr Tilak has brought him forward He at least I hope will teach Mr Tilak to direct his attention to a broad distinction to which I have in spite of all my efforts failed to direct it Gopinatha says the performance of the Garbhadhana during that course is permitted (**अभ्यनुज्ञात**) —*Permitted* but not *enjoined*

Thus Mr Tilak has not brought forward a single statement from any Nibandha or Prayoga with the exception of the

Caturvimsatimata Even if the rank of a Smiti be assigned to this last the text cannot be mandatory If he had looked into my Article in the Subhodhapatrikā he would have found one Prayoga at least in his favour But no such writer of a ritual who makes a statement without authority, can come up to the rank of Vijñanesvara Madanapāla Mādhava Nārayanabhatta, Nilakantha Kamalākara, Raghunandana and others who were included in my challenge And from these Mr Tilak has not produced a single statement He has only taken advantage of my challenge to prepare a long article the effect of which unfortunately must be to delude the ignorant

One point more and I have done I have been carrying on literary controversies since 1864 but never did I hitherto meet with an opponent who treated me with such studied discourtesy as Mr Tilak has been doing My task has become disagreeable and even painful and I should have much preferred to remain silent now were it not for the fact that the silence was likely to be misconstrued

APPENDIX D

[ON VIJÑANEŚVARA'S VIEW]

I have stated in the Note that Vijñānesvara does not say decidedly what his own opinion is as regards the mandatory or permissive nature of the precept about intercourse on the occasion of a course This has been denied by some of my critics For they say Vijñanesvara begins his comments on I 81 with the remark having laid down a Niyama as regards intercourse on the eligible nights after a course he now gives a Niyama in regard to the others ' This is with reference to the verse 81 itself After the commentary on it is finished Vijñānesvara turns back to I 79 and discusses independently of I 81 the question as to whether the precept about inter course therein contained is a Vidhi Niyama or Parisamkhya He says that learned exegetists have regarded it as a Niyama Now, if that were his own decided opinion he certainly would not speak of learned exegetists generally here as holding that view according to the usual style of Sanskrit writers Then again he explains the nature of these three kinds of precepts and gives at length the reasons why it should be considered a Parisamkhyā ending with the expression **तस्मादृतावेव गच्छेन्ना न्यत्रेति परिसख्यैव युक्ता ।** Therefore it is proper that this should be regarded as Parisamkhyā to the effect that he should resort to her (if at all) on the occasion of courses alone and not at other times"

Then he proceeds to say that Bhāruci Viśvarūpa and others do not approve of this view and goes on giving their arguments and decisions up to the end of the section or the beginning of the commentary on the next verse I 82 There is nothing of his own in all this My Poona opponent considers Vijñānesvara's own observation to begin with **तस्मात्स्वार्थहानि-**

परार्थकल्पना परिसख्या न युक्ता । Therefore Parisamkhya which involves three faults is not proper

If this is Vijñānesvara's observation why is the one quoted above not his ? Both are worded in the same way He must therefore be considered as advocating Parisamkhyā also But this will not do Propriety requires that both should be regarded as conclusions deduced from the respective arguments by the advocates of the two views Again, if Vijñānesvara is to be regarded as having decidedly accepted the view of Bharuci and others he would have used it the close of their arguments some such expression as this alone is proper' (**इदमेव युक्तम्**), this alone is good (**एतदेव सम्यक्**) &c But there is nothing of the sort in the course of the whole discussion

If then the author does not state his own view decidedly here what is to be understood by the word Niyama occurring in the introduction to the comments on I 81 ? It must be understood in the most general sense of the word as involving **ऋतावेव गच्छेत्**, he should go on the occasion of a course only' i e a Parisamkhya and **ऋतौ गच्छेदेव** he should necessarily go on the occasion of a course' i e a Niyama And these two that it involves are evolved in the subsequent discussion when the author gives the technical definitions And that Niyama generally means both is plain to every one who has some knowledge of the Śāstras and Śridharasvāmin's beautiful commentary on Bhāgavata XI 5 11 will make it plain to any body Mādhava too speaks of the two as Niyamas (**ऋतौ गच्छेदेव न तु वर्जयेदित्येको नियम । ऋतावेव गच्छेन्नानृताविति परः ॥**)

I will notice one other point only My Poona opponent quotes the following verse which occurs in Baudhayana immediately after that in which abstinence for three years only is declared as religiously penal —

ऋतुस्नाता तु यो भार्यां सन्निधौ नोपगच्छति ।
पितरस्तस्य तन्मास तस्मित्रजसि शेरते ॥

The ancestors of him who does not resort to his wife who has bathed after a course and who is at hand wallow in the particular fluid for that month '

Here he argues is a penalty laid down for him who abstains generally i e even for one month after puberty while the above verse prescribes a higher penalty for a continuous abstinence for three years But is any penalty at all laid down in this verse for the man who abstains ? The penalty at the end of the third year the sin of fœticide, is certainly prescribed for him in the above verse He incurs this sin then but he incurs no sin of any sort nor does he himself wallow in the fluid according to this verse What then is the bearing of the verse ? It is simply this—Nanda Pandita Kulluk bhatta Madhava and others account for the penalty of the sin of fœticide prescribed by the authors of the Smritis by the circumstance that a man owes a liability to the manes or ancestors and when he does not resort to his wife for begetting a son he sets at naught this liability Baudhāyana prescribes punishment in the first verse and in the second he explains the same basis of the punishment in the form of a certain bad condition in which the manes are and the duty he owes to them to deliver them from that condition But as the punishment accrues only at the end of the third year the bad condition of the ancestors which brings this punishment on him must be understood as coming into existence likewise at the end of the third year To make the two verses harmonize with each other the general statement contained in the second must be considered as true for all time after the end of the third year and not as having any reference to the previous time during which no punishment is incurred

HISTORY OF CHILD MARRIAGE

[FROM THE ZEITSCHRIFT DER DEUTSCHEN MORGENLANDISCHEN GESELLSCHAFT VOL XLVII 1893 PP 143 156]

In his article on the History of Child Marriage published in Vol XLVI of this Journal (pp 413 426) Prof Jolly discusses from the historical standpoint the question which agitated Hindu society in the beginning of 1891 and was discussed by us in India from the legal point of view In the course of his treatment of the subject he expresses his disagreement with my views on some of the points sought to be made out by me in my Note on the Age of Marriage'[1] I deem it necessary in the interests of the history of the institution to notice his remarks on those points I have read and understood Prof Jolly's article but as I have had no practice whatever in speaking and writing German I beg the permission of the Editor of this Journal to write my reply in English

As to the Smrti texts adduced by Prof Jolly which prescribe marriage before puberty and lay down the limits of the age of the girl between which the ceremony should be solemnized, I have nothing to say But he takes the text from Manu IX 89 to be intended simply for emphasizing the choice of a good bridegroom If it were so and the text had no significance whatever as to the law and usage on the point, and it was considered a sin at the time when the text was written to delay marriage till after puberity Manu's language would certainly not be so strong as it is — 'Better that she should remain unmarried in a state of puberty till her death than that she should be wedded to an unworthy husband" Again the force of Api in the preceding verse (IX 88) should not be lost sight of

1 Printed in this Volume immediately before this article [N B U]

When a good husband is to be had one should give away the girl even (Api) if she has not arrived Apraptā [at the condition] This shows that usually a girl should not be given away unless she has arrived [at the condition] but this rule may be broken when a good bridegroom is available The word Aprāptā is vague and variously interpreted but if it is vague it must be so for the reason that the implied accusative pointed to an event ordinarily well known There is therefore no objection in taking the implied condition to be that of maturity so that the sense will be that the rule that a girl should be married after she becomes mature may be violated if a good husband is to be had Again verse IX 90 allows of the girl remaining unmarried for three years after puberty From all this one would not I think be far wrong in inferring that at the time when the Manu Samhita was written delaying marriage till after puberty was not considered such a sin as it was afterwards The direction to wait for three years occurs in Vasistha and Baudhāyana also

In giving the views of the commentators Prof Jolly assures us as regards Mandlik's edition and the Manuscripts of Medhātithi's Manubhāsya that they are highly untrustworthy and that **कन्याया न दानम्** in the sentence from Medhatithi quoted by me (**प्रागृतो कन्याया न दानम्**) must be a mistake for some such expression as **कन्याया प्रदानम्** Why it should be considered a mistake I fail to see **कन्याया प्रदानम्** makes no sense whatever here Medhātithi is here commenting on verse IX 89 which I have translated above His interpretation of **ऋतुमत्यपि तिष्ठेत्** is **ऋतुदर्शनेऽपि न दद्याद् यावद् गुणवान्वरो न प्राप्त ।** She should not be given away even when she is in a condition of puberty as long as a good husband has not become available Now this expression 'even when' (Skr Api) presupposes another condition in which she is certainly not to be given away and that is the condition before puberty Hence **प्रागृतो कन्याया न दानम्** is appropriate for the sense is as long as a worthy bridegroom is not avail

able she should of course be not given away before puberty but she should not be given away even after puberty ' Here she should be given before puberty as long as a worthy bridegroom is not available ' which is the translation of Prof Jolly s proposed reading will certainly not do In the translation of the passage given by me in my Note[1] which is A maiden is not to be given [in marriage] before puberty and she is not to be given even after puberty as long as a meritorious bridegroom is not to be had the semi colon after puberty which was put in before mature consideration is misleading I have therefore corrected it (in the Additions and Corrections ' given in the original Note) to a comma and added a comma after the puberty in the next line in order to connect as long as a meritorious etc with both the clauses There is therefore no mistake whatever here the sentence is appropriate and Prof Jolly's emendation spoils the sense entirely [1]

It will be seen from this that Medhātithi interprets Manu IX 89 not as simply emphasizing the choice of a good husband—which is the sense put on it by Rāghavānanda and accepted by Prof Jolly—but as positively enjoining that a girl should not be married before puberty so long as a good husband is not to be had Medhatithi therefore is not such an enemy of late marriages as Prof Jolly supposes In his comment on IX 93 he only follows Manu and the case they speak of is different from that mentioned in IX 89 As to the comment on IX 88 I will not discuss it on account of the hopelessly corrupt reading though I think Medhātithi there also takes Apiapta in the sense of one who has not arrived at maturity

The next point I am concerned with is the time of the Garbhādhāna ceremony That it should be performed on the occasion of the first course is laid down in a Smrti attributed to

1 'On the Age of Marriage [N B U]

Āsvalayana which however is not the Smṛti that is quoted by the authors of the Nibandhas under that name In the last the text does not occur and is quoted by none but Anantadeva In one Manuscript of Anantadeva's work however it does not occur Still Prof Jolly thinks the injunction contained in it is confirmed by Sankha's precept **गर्भस्य स्पष्टताज्ञाने निषेक परिकीर्तित ।** and Viṣnu's **गर्भस्य स्पष्टताज्ञाने निषेककर्म** Now even taking Garbha in the sense of Rtu the meaning is after the clear observation of Rtu the Garbhādhana should be performed This prescribes that the ceremony should be performed on the occasion of a course from the fifth to the sixteenth night after the occurrence We have got nothing corresponding to the word first ' here Nandapandita quotes in his comment on the latter passage as the Professor observes the passage from Āsvalayana Grhyapariṣṭa **अथर्तुमत्या प्राजापत्य ऋतौ प्रथमे ।** But this Rtau prathame or on the occasion of the first course refers only to the Prajapatya ceremony which is intended as remarked by Nandapandita also for the consecration of the woman The Garbhadhana ceremony is mentioned further on in the Pariśiṣta in the words **अथ गर्भलम्भनम् । ऋतावनुकूलाया निशि** etc where the word Prathame does not occur and we have **ऋतौ** generally So that we have no authority here for the necessary performance of the ceremony on the first occasion

Prof Jolly admits that in other Smṛtis we have the word Rtau generally But he says that the texts in which it occurs may refer to the repetition of the ceremony every month They may and they may also simply show that the ceremony should be performed during the Rtukāla (5th—16th nights) and not on a later day and consequently they involve no implication as to its being gone through necessarily on the occasion of the first course Again some later writers reject the doctrine of the repetition of Garbhadhana and according to these Prof Jolly thinks the time for its performance is the first course and even according to the others the first of the repeated

ceremonies must take place during the first Rtu The reason given by Prof Jolly for the first statement is the observation of Nandapandita quoted above But I have shown that what the Parisista directs to be done at the first Rtu is the Prajapatya and not Garbhadhāna Again in this matter what one scholar says ought not to be considered as the view of all In support of the second statement Prof Jolly refers to the doctrine of the sin incurred at each Rtu of the daughter when her marriage is delayed But this sin is incurred by the father according to the text and once he gives his daughter in marriage the provision ceases to be operative on him and cannot operate on any other Its only object is to compel the father to marry before puberty and evidently not to compel the husband to begin intercourse on the first occasion and it is just on this account that the text is nowhere quoted in support of Garbhādhana at the first Rtu If in the Smrtis we have got the word Rtau generally we ought to understand Rtu generally i e any Rtu and not Rtu specifically i e the first

If however we discuss the point from the legal and scholastic and not scholarly point of view we have to go through all that I have stated in my Note And of the fourteen or fifteen Nibandhas and Prayogas that I consulted on the occasion of the controversy a great many following the Smrtis prescribe Rtu generally for the Garbhādhāna ceremony one states that the first Rtu is better than any other one that it is allowable to perform it at the first Rtu and one or two only that it should be performed on the first occasion[1] Nandapandita in his work on the Samskāras does not prescribe the first Rtu only as the proper time and it is doubtful whether he does so in the passage referred to by Prof Jolly He quotes the Parisista only to show that the Garbhadhāna is intended to consecrate the woman And supposing even that he does so still

1 See the preceding article [NBU]

to draw a general conclusion from what one or two say is not warrantable So that the first Rtu is not and cannot be compulsory

Prof Jolly brings in here an argument used by one of my opponents The opponent quoting from Madanapala **तत्र गर्भाधानोपयुक्तत्वेन प्रथमर्तुकालो निरूप्यते।** and translating it as we now explain the time of the first Rtu as it is of use for the Garbhadhāna sought to make out that Madanapala lays down the first Rtu as the time of the Garbhadhana and stated generally that a host of well known authorities begin the description of the Garbhādhana ceremony in that way I pointed out that the reading **प्रथमर्तुकाल** was absolutely wrong because it did not occur in the Manuscripts I consulted and the context was entirely opposed to it What Madanapala gives in the section so introduced is the Rtukala generally i e the sixteen nights and nothing special with reference to the first Rtu So that what according to him is of use for the Garbhādhana is the Rtukala and not the first Rtu The true reading is **प्रथमं ऋतुकालो निरूप्यते।** i e We first explain the Rtukāla And as to the host of well known authorities which he spoke of I said that some began the section on Garbhādhāna as Madanapāla did by explain ing the Rtukala consisting of the sixteen nights while others did so by giving the good and evil conjunction of stars on the occasion of the first occurrence of the physical event and the pacificatory ceremonies if it took place in an evil conjuncture His quotation was not **अथ गर्भाधानम्। तत्र प्रथमरजोदर्शने** as Prof Jolly takes it

The argument of the opponent based as it was on the misreading **प्रथमर्तुकालो** will thus be seen to have no bearing whatever on the question whether the Garbhadhāna must be performed on the occasion of the first Rtu or course Still Prof Jolly takes it up without showing the connection without giving any reason and without even knowing what his quot

ation was The quotation however attributed to my opponent Prof Jolly brings forward from the Nirnayasindhu But what is the connection ? Does the mere occurrence of the expression **तत्र प्रथमरजोदर्शने** without context without connection show that the Garbhadhāna must be performed on the first occasion? What we have in the Nirnayasindhu is this —**तत्रादौ सस्कारेषु गर्भाधानम्। तत्र प्रथमरजोदर्शने दुष्टमासग्रहणसक्रमादि फल तत्र शान्त्यादि च पितृकृतभट्टकृत प्रयोगरत्ने ज्ञेयम्।** Among Samskaras we have first Garbhadhāna The effect of the first appearance of the physical phenomenon in an inauspicious month and on the occasion of an eclipse or the sun s transit and the pacificatory ceremonies consequent on that should be known from the Prayogaratna composed by my father and the Bhatta i e Nārāyanabhatta ' Now Kamalakara here speaks of the evil effects of the first appearance of the physical phenomenon at an inauspicious juncture and of the pacificatory ceremonies in consequence of it What possible bearing can the words first appearance " have on the question whether the Garbhādhāna should be performed on the occasion of the first appearance ? Yet Professor Jolly thinks that the expression does support the view that it should be performed on that occasion As a matter of fact the Sāntis on account of the first occurrence at an inauspicious juncture are independent ceremonies independently performed and are omitted when the juncture is not inauspicious

And what the Smrtis and the authors of the Nibandhas and Prayogas say is confirmed by the actual practice Garbhadhana is unknown in Gujarat and some other parts of India Professor Jolly is misinformed when he says that it is regularly performed in the whole of Bengal In a pamphlet published in the course of the controversy Mr Mohini Mohan Chatterji M A B L says but it is a matter of public notoriety that the highest class among the Brahmans of Bengal—the Kulins—disregard the obligation (of performing Garbhadhāna) every day without incurring any social penalty ' Another writer

says We find that the ceremony is not performed by the great majority of the Hindus of India In half of Bengal it is unknown But in Mahārastra it is generally performed but nobody considers it obligatory to perform it on the first occasion and often especially when the girl's health is not good or the husband a mere boy it is delayed for a year or longer after the first appearance of the physical phenomenon and no Prayascitta or atonement is done for the delay Thus we practically act as if the Smitis and the Nibandhas which have the expression Rtau generally mean by it any Rtu that suits our convenience In the face of this to say that they all mean to prescribe the first Rtu as obligatory is hazardous And there is an inherent improbability in the circumstance that the authors of the older Smrtis should mean this when we find (as is acknowledged by Professor Jolly) that Vātsyayana the author of the Kāmsūtra speaks of late marriages and the medical authorities including Vāgbhata prohibit intercourse till the girl is sixteen years old The Smrtis when they give new rules i e rules inconsistent with those laid down in older books must be supposed to have an eye at or to sanctify the prevailing usage or opinion and if Vatsyāyana the medical authorities and even poets represent the prevailing opinion to be unfavourable to early intercourse though not quite to early marriage we must suppose the older Smrti writers to represent or sanction the same opinion

The last point I shall notice is about the age of marriage indicated in the Grhya Sutras Professor Jolly says Although the Gihya literature has the rule about Nagnikā in common with the Smrtis still distinct indications that the ceremonies of Vivāha have reference rather to a grown up bride are not wanting ' One of these indications and the rules concerning it noticed by me in my Note are not appropriate he says in the case of a Nagnikā Now if the marriage ceremonies have reference to a grown up bride how is it

possible that the Grhya literature in which those ceremonies are given should lay down the rule about the marriage of a girl when she is Nagnikā or immature ?

He says In those few passages in the Grhyasūtras which have reference to the age of marriage a Nagnika only is spoken of Here too Professor Jolly seems to have generalized the statement in some of the Sutras and made it applicable to all just as he has generalized that about the performance of the Garbhādhana at the first Rtu But in the case of these Sutras which give the ceremonies that befit grown up girls only and are silent as regards the age ought not one to suppose that they mean that grown up girls only should be married and that their silence is due to the fact that there was in their time no question about marrying immature girls ? The marriage of grown up girls was the prevailing custom and therefore it was not necessary to say anything about the mature or immature age of the girls

But let us examine the Sūtras in which the marriage of a Nagnika is enjoined Gobhila (3 4) has **नग्निका तु श्रेष्ठा** which means but a Nagnikā is the best The word Tu but ' shows a qualification of the previous statement which is He should after being permitted marry a wife who is not of the same Gotra with him and is not a kinswoman of his mother The previous statement is general having reference to both a grown up and an immature girl but this qualifies it and is to the effect that an immature girl is the best " Professor Jolly thinks the original reading was **नग्निकास्तु श्रेष्ठान्** and observes that the object of the Sūtra is not to recommend Nagnikā as the best but to direct that he should marry a Nagnikā and the best Even supposing the reading was as he takes it the only difference is that we have an accusative in the place of a nominative and consequently instead of our having an independent statement we have to bring on Kurvita and Dārān from Sutra 3 [a process known to grammarians by the

name of tho Anuvitti] But the sense is exactly the same and the process [atur of Anuvitti does not and cannot deprive Tu of its sense of but [ow v and confer upon it the sense of and When there is An [sen anuvitti of the two words the sentence means but he should [ding marry a Nagnikā as the best The word Tu is fatal to Profes [pts sor Jolly's interpretation Besides he seems to connect the w[t is ords Sreshthān with Daran taking it away from Nagnikā as if it h [nust d no connection with it and to understand the whole to mea[s on he should marry a wife who is the best and Nagnikā But wh[inal at is the propriety of the comparison involved in the word Sr[ed h estha ? A wife who is the best The best of whom Of wom[n nkind generally ? If so the comparison is purposeless unless Gob[priat hila were a poet a good woman would have quite served the [oring purpose But when you say but marry a Nagnikā as the best [we h when the word Śrestha is connected with Nagnikā the but" sh[acc ows this—you have told a man before to marry one of several kinds [t to out one of the Nagnikā kind is the best of all those Here the word [nd s Śrestha as involving comparison is proper So that it appears to [ks w ie that the plain direct and appropriate sense of the Sutra [O s he should marry a Nagnikā as the best or [rd K a Nagni kā is the best And hence Gobhila does not prohibi[vin marriage with a grown up girl but recommends [immature one as the best i e he first goes on in the same manner as the authors of other Sutras mention ing no age and thus leaving the old custom of marrying grown up girls undisturbed, but afterwards adds something new viz, that it is best to marry an immature girl Here he does in effect what he does more formally in his precepts about inter course after marriage i e gives the views of others first and afterwards his own with the difference however that in the latter case he teaches his own doctrine in supersession of that of others while in the other he does not supersede the other doctrine but recommends his own as the best It thus appears to me that Gobhila wrote his Sutra when the old custom of

marrying grown up girls was falling into disrepute but ceremonies become obsolete and the new one of marrying marriage of a girls which we find generally prevalent in the times metrical Smritis was coming in

The next passage to be examined is that in the Grihyasu ken of ' of Gobhilaputra in which he directs the marriage of An tatement or a grown up girl (**तां प्रयच्छेत्त्वनग्निकाम्** II 17) Prof as he has conjectures that the true reading here must be **तां प्रयच्छेत्तु** lhana at he should give a Nagnikā in marriage re changes give the to **नग्निका** And one of the two reasons he gives is that th silent as can the passage be rendered consistent with II 20 in wh mean that author directs the giving away in marriage of an imm ien silence and the other is that in this way the inconsistency b stion about teaching of the father and of the son is removed wn up girls last inconsistency is due to Prof Jolly's having n ot necessary sense of Tu in Gobhila's **नग्निका तु श्रेष्ठा**, and depriv e of the girls comparative sense as we have seen and now to the inconsistency thus created he proposes to chae marriage of ing of the son's text The first inconsistency a **तु श्रेष्ठा** which Prof Jolly's having changed the **कन्यका तु प्रशस्यते** but ' shows a **पिता** and in my opinion does not exist In II 20 Gobe should does not command the giving away of an immature girl, ame simply says it is to be commended (**कन्यका तु प्रशस्यते**), and in II 17 he gives the general rule that a grown up girl should be given in marriage There is thus no inconsistency between the two texts and it will be seen that this is what the father says also For we have seen that Gobhila in **नग्निका तु श्रेष्ठा** only says that the best course is to marry an immature girl and the implication in the three preceding Sūtras is that a grown up girl should be married according to custom since the marriage ceremonies are such as to befit a grown up girl only The son by his II 17 only develops what is involved in the father's Sūtras Thus then there is no inconsistency anywhere Gobhila putra must be regarded as enjoining the marriage of a grown up

girl though according to him as to his alleged father an immature girl is to be preferred

Now **कन्यका तु प्रशस्यते** violates the rules of grammar and makes no sense It is on that account that Prof Jolly instead of that reading adopts that which he finds in his old Nepalese Manu scripts of the Nārada Smrti where also this text occurs and that is **दद्याद्दुहितर पिता** Now if this Śloka is found elsewhere it must be common property it must be one of those floating texts or verses of which we have so many in Sanskrit but the original authorship of which is unknown and which are appropriated by any writer It is quite possible that Gobhilaputra in appropriating it for himself meant to change the reading so as to bring out the sense that such a girl is to be commended Hence we have Prasasyate in the text as we find it in his book Now the accusative must be changed to the nominative and we ought to have **कन्यका तु प्रशस्यते** Probably it was so changed and somebody afterwards knowing what the words in other books were restored the original without looking to the grammar Or Gobhilaputra means this to be a quotation up to the word Kanyakām and then without completing the verse by giving the remaining words puts in his own to express that what is stated in the verse so quoted is commendable Such a supposition howsoever unusual it may appear is not improbable in the varied fate to which our old literature has been subject At any rate this supposition or any other that will meet the case is better than that we should reject the reading of a whole Pāda and with it the peculiar sense is commendable' intended to be conveyed and adopt that found in another book and having a different sense and to remove the inconsistency thus caused between II 20 and II 17 change the negative **अनग्निका** into the positive **नग्निका** This is a very responsible proceeding and no scholar ought to resort to it unless there is the clearest evidence for it and no other recourse is to be had —I must here enter my humble protest in the interest of true

scholarship against the practice which has recently come into vogue of changing the readings of original texts in a light hearted manner Such changes only are allowable as at once fully satisfy one s sense of propriety and admit of explanation on the natural or historical processes of transition from one form to another

The third passage to be discussed is that in Hiranyakesin's Grhya Sūtra which is **भार्यामुपयच्छेत्सजातानग्निका ब्रह्मचारिणीम्** । Another reading which is found in three of the six Manuscripts collated by Dr Kirste for his edition is **सजाता नग्निकाम्** This Prof Jolly accepts as the correct reading while I accepted in my Note the first My grounds are that it is the reading of three of Dr Kirste s Manuscripts and now it appears it is the reading of a Grantha Manuscript also which he has got since It is the reading of two more Manuscripts consulted by me here in Poona and it is the reading of the Poona Hiranyakesin Brahmans that is to say those who as a religious duty have got the whole of the Taittiriya Samhitā and Brahmana and Hiranyakesin s Sūtra by heart repeat this particular Sutra with **सजातानग्निका** as the reading Again I have stated that this is the correct reading because we have in the Sutra the epithet **ब्रह्मचारिणीम्** and as a Nagnika or immature girl is necessarily a **ब्रह्मचारिणी** it is not necessary to add this condition and since it is added **अनग्निका** must be the correct reading As to this Prof Jolly has in the first place got Prof Kirste to give his reasons for choos ing **सजाता नग्निकाम्** Prof Kirste says he was guided by the analogy of the following Sutra from Manavagrhya **बन्धुमती कन्यामसमृष्टमैथुनामुपयच्छेत् समानवर्णामसमानप्रवरा यवीयसी नग्निका श्रेष्ठाम्** । That anology speaks for the separation of **सजाता** and **नग्निकाम्** and allows no scope for the choice of a maiden not naked any longer.' His remaining reason is that it is the reading of Mātridatta

As to this I have to observe that because you have got Nagnika in another book with certain epithets, therefore

you must have Nagnikā in this book also containing as it does similar epithets and because you are told to marry a Nagnika there therefore you are told to marry a Nagnika here also — this is no good reasoning If we follow a reasoning of this nature we shall have to give up all idea of a historical development And as against the evidence of so many Manuscripts and of the Veda repeating Brahmans of Poona and the impropriety of the use of the epithet Brahmacarinim this reasoning has no value whatever As to Matridatta I have already said in my Note that he gives the sense that the context requires but had a bad reading before him Prof Jolly also adopts Prof Kirste s reasoning against all evidence to the contrary when he says 'the above passages speak decidedly for the latter reading **सजाता नग्निकाम्** and adds especially as the epithet **असंसृष्टमैथुनाम्** in Manavagrhya stands by the side of **नग्निका** as **ब्रह्मचारिणीम्** does in Hiranyakesin —that is Prof Jolly accounts for one impropriety by bringing forward another of the like nature But two improprieties cannot constitute one propriety both are improprieties and must be removed in both the places And I cannot here refrain from expressing my surprise that while Prof Jolly would alter **न दानम्** to **प्रदानम्** and **अनग्निका** to **नग्निका** i e turn the negative into positive and make such other changes in the readings of texts without any authority from Manuscripts to remove fancied impropriеties he should not accept a reading occurring in good Manuscripts and in the mouths of Vaidika Brahmans to remove an impropriety admitted to be so by himself

But the impropriety in Hiranyakesin is removed by adopting the reading **सजातानग्निका,** and the way to remove it in the Mānava grhya is as follows —The passage quoted as one Sutra must be divided into three or at least two Sūtras The first ends with **उपयच्छेत्** or **यवीयसीम्** and means He should marry a virgin who has brothers and has had no intercourse with a man who is of the same caste but of different Pravaras and is younger Here

what the author requires is that she should not have had inter course with a man which implies its possibility i e her being a grown up girl so that his command here is that he should marry a grown up girl The next Sutra is **नग्निका श्रेष्ठाम्** in which he adds that one should marry a Nagnikā as the best" In this Sutra Anuvitti should be made of the verb **उपयच्छेत्** Now the impropriety disappears **असंसृष्टमैथुनाम्** is not an adjective of **नग्निकाम्** but of **कन्याम्** and this result we arrive at simply by a division of the Sutra different from that which has been made in Prof Jolly s quotation by somebody whom I do not know and not by violent changes of reading And this division of mine bears a close analogy to the Sutras of Gobhila discussed above the last of which is **नग्निका तु श्रेष्ठा** only we have not got Tu here but simply the superlative degree of comparison The evidence of analogy having thus disappeared there is no question that **सजातानग्निका** is the true reading in Hiranyakesin And the translation of this expression to **सजाता नग्निकाम्** is a matter that admits of any easy explanation since it is a question of the addition of a mere dot and since later readers of the Sūtra among whom child marriages only prevailed would consider the dot as proper Thus then Hiranyakesin requires one to marry a grown up girl expressly as probably in his time the practice of child marriages was coming into vogue because he is going to prescribe intercourse on the fourth night Āpas tamba and the rest go upon the supposition of the bride being a grown up girl as they enjoin intercourse after marriage and it was not necessary to name Anagnikā then because child marriages were not thought of or were rare when they wrote

Prof Jolly s change of Ratā to Rikī in Āpastamba is of a piece with his other changes and the sense of Rata given by the commentator **रतिशीला** shows that that author also contemplates a grown up girl

I have said enough to show the nature of the evidence brought forward and of the arguments used by Prof Jolly to prove

that the Smrtis contain nothing that is favourable to late marriages that the Garbhādhana ceremony should be performed on the occasion of the first appearance of the signs of puberty and that the Nagnikā rule is common to the Sūtra literature with the Smitis My own view as regards the history of child marriages as gathered from the religious literature beginning with the Grhyasutras is it will have been seen from the foregoing pages this —In the time of Āsvalayana and many other authors of Grhyasutras marriages after puberty were a matter of course the evidence being the nature of the ceremonies prescribed and their silence about the age of the bride In the time of Hiranyakesin child marriages were coming into practice and therefore he tells his followers that they are absurd since the ceremonies required the bride to be in a condition of maturity When Gobhila and the author of the Mānavagrhya flourished late marriages were falling into disrepute though they were in practice and hence they lay down marriage before puberty as the best course When the Smitis of Manu and Baudhāyana were written child marriages were in full vogue but late marriages were not rare And in the time of the authors of the later Smitis the custom of late marriage became entirely obsolete as it is at the present day Still however it was not the custom when the latter flourished to begin inter course necessarily on the first appearance of signs of puberty as it is not now It was entirely optional some people following the practice others not I would therefore arrange these authors chronologically thus 1 Āsvalayana and others 2 Hiranyakesin 3 Gobhila Gobhilaputra and the author of Mānavagrhya 4 Manu Samhita Vasistha Baudhāyana &c the rest

NOTE I

Since I wrote and despatched my article on Prof Jolly's paper I met K Rangacharya the Panditaratna in the service of the Maharaja of Mysore who is one of those employed to form a library for the Maharaja and had conversation with him on

this as on many other subjects He told me that he had seen a passage in the Jaimini Grihyasutra in which marriage with an Anagnikā was enjoined and that the commentator had taken that as the correct reading I told him to send me a copy of the passage after his return to Mysore and this he has done The passage is as follows —

No 7 of the Maharaja s Library—Jaimini Grihyasutra with a commentory entitled Subodhini

Fol 7 सू०—जाया विन्देतानग्निका समानजातीयाम्
व्या०— अनग्निका यस्मिन्वयसि स्वयमेव लज्जया वास परिधाति तद्वयस्काम्

Trans—(Sutra) He should marry a wife of the same caste with himself who is not a Nagnikā

Com Not a Nagnikā i e of that age at which through bashfulness she wears a piece of cloth of her own accord

Now I think this text will amply corroborate the arguments which I contend are in themselves conclusive for regarding **सजतानग्निका** as the true reading of Hiranyakesin It will show that the Nagnikā rule is certainly not common to the Sutras with the Smritis as is laid down so positively by Prof Jolly and when taken in conjunction with Hiranyakesin s precept it will indicate the existence of a condition of society in which its religious leaders found it necessary to direct their followers expressly not to marry little undeveloped girls while there was another when the leaders did not find it necessary to do so as nobody did it against the spirit of the ceremonies which required that the bride should be a grown up woman And all this will necessitate our giving to the words **श्रेष्ठा** and **तु** in Gobhila, **श्रेष्ठाम्** in the Mānavagrhya and **प्रशस्यते** in Gobhilaputra their proper legitimate sense which the Professor has entirely neglected and to infer the existence of the third condition of society in which the religious leaders recommended not enjoined, marriage with an undeveloped girl These three

conditions might be synchronous if we supposed the countries in which the legislators lived were different and far distant from each other or the sects for which they legislated were unamenable to each other's influence while they will have to be regarded as existing at different periods of time if we do not make these suppositions This last view is the only one that is reasonable

And thus the Grhyasutras when properly understood and compared with each other place before us vividly the different stages by which late marriages fall into disrepute and present to our view the new custom of early marriages in the very process as it were of formation In early times girls were married only when they were fully developed but after some time marriage before puberty began to find favour Still the feeling against it was strong and hence Hiranyakesin and Jaimini expressly prohibit it But the downward movement gradually became more powerful and we find the authors of some Grhyasūtras recommending child marriage as the best course But they do not prohibit late marriages That was reserved for the Metrical Smrtis to do But even among these we may discover different stages Manu's attitude towards late marriages is not so decidedly hostile as that of some later writers He allows girls to remain unmarried till the age of twelve or for three years after puberty if not given away till then and permits marriage being deferred if a good bride groom is not to be had And in all this we find it will be seen fresh evidence for the view that all Metrical Smrtis are later than the Grhyasūtras

This I humbly contend is the way to arrive at the true social history of past times, and not by resorting to objectionable processes and reducing all texts to a dull uniformity so as to bring out one sense only which no Grhya text hitherto discovered can bear viz a positive and unconditional command to marry a Nagnika or an undeveloped girl This

procedure of making all Grihyas and all Smritis tell the same tale forcibly reminds me of the Ekavākyatā of the Pandits who in all cases make the texts of the Vedas the Sutras the Smritis, and the Purānas mean the same thing viz that which is in keeping with the custom of the day If it is not the mission of European and especially German Critical Scholarship to check this spirit of Ekavākyata I have greatly misunderstood it

NOTE II

When in December 1892 I worte the above article I had no idea that I had two Manuscripts of the Mānavagrihya close to my writing table The title they bear on the wrapper is Maitrāyaniya Grihyasutra They form Nos 94 and 95 of our Collection of 1880 81 Now the Sutras which are joined into one in Prof Jolly's quotation are thus given in No 95 **विवहते बधुमती कन्या । मस्पृष्टमैथुना । मुपयच्छेत । समानवर्णा । मसमानप्रवराँयवीयसी । न्नग्निकाँश्रेष्ठा ।** No 94 joins the second and the third of these into one and after **समानवर्णा** has no stop in about three lines Thus it is perfectly evident that **अस्पृष्टमैथुनाम्** is an adjective of **कन्याम्** occurring in the first Sūtra or **कन्याम्** understood if that Sutra is to be independently interpreted as the verb **विवहन्ते** would show and the sense is complete with **उपयच्छेत** while **नग्निकाश्रेष्ठाम्** is an independent Sūtra The author thus does not bring together two inconsistent conditions viz that she should be an undeveloped or immature girl and that she should at the same time have had no intercourse with a man but lays down that one should marry a girl (fully developed) who has had no intercourse but it is best to marry an undeveloped girl

BASIS OF THEISM, AND ITS RELATION TO THE SO-CALLED REVEALED RELIGIONS

[Being the substance of a lecture delivered by Sir R G Bhandarkar at the anniversary of the Prathana Samaj originally published in 1883 by the Cheap Literature Committee of the Theistic Association of Bombay —N B U]

Gentlemen—I have been asked by the Secretary to deliver an English address to you Those to whom this duty was first assigned have been prevented by other engagements from being present to day Since therefore no other person is available and the thing must be done I appear before you to do it

And why must it be done ? What is the necessity of an English address ? Why is a day assigned to it in the programme of our Anniversary ceremonies ? Our usual service is conducted in Marathi we pray to our Almighty father in Marathi we discuss theological questions in Marathi —we do not expect, at least for a long time to find converts to our views among those whose mother tongue is English Why then should we have an English address ?

I will answer this question, in part by referring to some thing that I have said in my evidence before the Education Commission In reply to one of the questions of the Commission I have stated my belief that there are some sceptics and atheists among educated natives but that this fact is not due to the instruction imparted in Government Colleges In English thought the agnostic and athestic side has at present acquired a prominence and as India is now intellectually affiliated to England as it is politically that side of thought must be expected to cast its reflection here To this influence the students

of Missionary as well as Government Institutions are equally open and the result in both cases is the same My idea therefore is that the religious views of a good many of our brethren are influenced by those of some of the leading authors of England Their mode of thought is European and English and hence can best be dealt with in English

And there is another reason The prevailing Hindu Religion is a religion in which we find various shades of belief and modes of action confused together We cannot say it is not monotheism we cannot say it is not polytheism or even fetishism It is neither simply a religion of external observances nor is it a religion enjoining purity of heart only We are dissatisfied with this state of things and have been seeking a more consistent and rational system of religious faith and action A foreign religion has for some time been knocking at our door and claiming admission If we have deliberately refused to admit it we must give our reasons And this can only be properly done in the language in which its claims are enforced

And the first thing that I wish to say to both these classes of my hearers is that our religious basis is that supplied to us by the critical method This method of comparison and criticism has been successfully applied to the determination of historical and literary truth It has brought about in the short space of about twenty five years a complete and remarkable revolution in philology The favourite theories of centuries have been entirely exploded and the true relations between the many languages spoken by civilized man have been ascertained, and the principles that determine the origin and growth of human speech have been discovered We expect similar results from the application of this method to religion to find out how it is that God reveals himself to man, to determine what is essential and necessary in religion and what is

purely accidental to separate the truth that God himself has taught to man, from the error with which in his mental and moral weakness man has mixed it up

The fact that we have all of us to face in the beginning is that religion is not confined to one people or one country but that human beings in all ages and all countries whether savage or civilized have had some religion Religion is inseparable from humanity Man has always believed in some Invisible Power from which all that is visible has sprung in something Infinite on which all that is finite rests in a Power on which he is dependent and which is beneficial and has felt reverence for that power and worshipped it The belief may be found to have assumed a distinct shape in some conditions of society and to have remained indistinct in others it may have led to a variety of superstitions and absurdities but if you endeavour to find the inmost principle of all religions you will I believe find it to be as I have stated it Along with a belief in one's own existence and in the reality of the world, we find a belief in an Invisible Power and in something greater than the finite and beyond the finite existing everywhere Is it proper that as philosophers and thinkers we should make light of this fact? Should we not recognize it as fully as any other fact and make it the subject of serious thought? And what are we to conclude from it?—That poor weak humanity is everywhere subject to hallucinations and that this is a remarkable instance of its gullibility? Why then is the belief in the existence of the external world not to be considered a hallucination similarly? All our knowledge is phenomenal—we can perceive nothing but appearances These appearances depend upon certain motions of the nerves These motions may be produced by certain laws of our bodily nature and to these may be due the appearances which we attribute to something outside of us As in certain conditions or diseases of

the brain, a man sees before him things that really do not exist so may the appearance of things outside himself be due to man s physical conditions But men have ever believed in the existence of the external world though there have not been wanting philosophers to tell them that this belief is groundless Similarly they have believed and will continue to believe in an Infinite and Invisible Power upon which they depend and which exacts their reverence though there have been philoso phers to tell them that they are the victims of a delusion And in every branch of that most certain department of human knowledge physical science, do we not believe in things that do not fall within the range of our senses ? We see that under certain conditions fire burns our fingers and immediately come to believe that under those conditions fire will burn not only here but there not only in this country but in that not only now but hereafter Do we in such cases stop where our senses cease to operate—do we not naturally go far beyond ? The so called general laws in science are all beliefs of this nature Are these beliefs or that general one in the constancy of nature on which these may be said to depend a delusion then ? If it is not, why should the belief in God which the grand aspect of nature forces upon man be a delusion ?

And the function of religious belief in the development of man is higher than that of physical knowledge The use of this last is to satisfy the wants of his bodily nature to enable him to live comfortably But purity of heart, the elevation of the feelings the depth of the soul a firm adherence to truth without regard to practical effects, equanimity in the midst of the severest troubles of life—these and such other virtues it is religion alone that can induce Man can attain to the full measure of his capabilities only through the instrumentality of religious belief Without it he will be a superior kind of beast with aims and aspirations low and stunted But as he is he is

a child of the Infinite with his aspirations ever increasing ever widening Are we then to believe that that belief which is at the root of the man s higher development is to be considered to have nothing corresponding to it in the world of reality while that which satisfies his lower nature only is alone real and certain ?

The truth is that this universality of belief in the Infinite and Invisible is as much necessitated by man s apprehensive powers as the belief in an external world and in the constancy of nature At the very dawning of human intelligence when the heavens above and the earth below excited the wonder and admiration of man when practically his eyes apprehended no limit to the scene by which he was surrounded when he saw the play of powers about him which acted independently of him, and on which depended his happiness the Invisible and the Infinite forced itself upon him and evoked his reverence and love and he fell down and worshipped And does not the whole aspect of nature the vault of heaven with the Sun Moon and countless myriads of stars and the earth with the mountains the rivers the wide ocean and the extensive plains continue to make as solemn and deep an impression on us as they did on our early ancestors ? When we take our stand on a high mountain and behold a succession of hills one behind another stretching as far as our eyes can reach and the dales and valleys at our feet smiling with vegetation or the bold and deep gorges below or when standing on a plain we behold darkness just beginning to disappear before dawning light or at night the rays of the Moon steeping everything in soft and serene lustre when I say we meditate on scenery do we not feel a vista into Infinity opened up before us are we not conscious of something unspeakably grand, does not our heart become dilated with ineffable joy and is not our spirit filled with reverence and love ?

A sympathetic chord in our own hearts does the poet touch when he says ? —

I have felt
A presence that disturbs me with the joy
Of elevated thoughts a sense sublime
Of something far more deeply interfused
Whose dwelling is the light of setting suns,
And the round ocean and the living air
And the blue sky and in the mind of man
A motion and a spirit that impels
All thinking things all objects of all thoughts
And rolls through all things

Yes man has ever been seeing his God in the Universe—the True, the Good and the Beautiful has ever manifested Himself to him and love and joy ever greeted him in the vast scene in which he finds himself

My answer to the second class of persons spoken of before who have placed before us a religion which they say was alone revealed by God in all its parts at a certain period in the history of man and who call upon us to accept in on that ground also rests similarly on the basis supplied to us by the critical method Christianity is not the only religion professed by man Hinduism Buddhism Mohammedanism and a variety of other religions have flourished in the world and are flourishing Are these the work of self deception ? If we say so we shall simply be playing into the hands of the opponents of all religions What are the special claims of one of these religions to be considered as the only Revelation ? There is truth in all and all have something objectionable which the light derived from the others should enable us to discover and cast aside All have been revealed by God, but man from the very weakness of his apprehension, has mixed a great deal of falsehood with the truth communi

cated to him by his Father It certainly is not consistent with our ideas of God s love for man to think Him to have communi cated that truth which it is so important for men to know only at a late period in the history of the world and only to a certain people If religion is of supreme importance to man we must expect that it should have been revealed to him in the very beginning being implanted by God in his very nature so that wherever he went he might carry it with him like his shadow And this is what we actually find Man has been carrying religious belief like his shadow wherever he goes religion is as widely spread as humanity itself

Thus then God s Revelation to man was made not only at a certain period in the world s history but it began with the dawning of human intelligence and went on progressing through all ages and it is going on still and will go on God is ever with us communicating more and more of his truth to us as our powers of apprehension become purer and keener The latest phase of His Revelation to man is that embodied in the movement which we here represent It is therefore turning a deaf ear to this appeal from the High to accept one religion only as exclusively revealed by Him It is disregarding the grand fact that God has ever been the Father of man and has ever been educating him into a knowledge of Himself

And not only does the comparison of the different religions that prevail or have prevailed in the world enable us to determine the significance of each—the idea or ideas which it elaborates and to distinguish the essence of religion from its accidents—but the study of the development of religious thought and action in one and the same country serves the same purpose No country in the world has undergone such strange and wonderful religious revolutions as ours and no where will the faithful servant of God be able to trace more clearly the manner in which He gradually unfolds His truth to

man I will therefore devote the remaining portion of the time at my disposal to the consideration necessarily very brief, of what our religious history has to teach us

It was in the phenomena of Nature that the ancient Āryans first discovered their God or rather God discovered Himself to them The heavens above and the earth below, the Sun that traversed the sky from day to day and fructified the earth the rising Dawn before which the darkness of the night gradually disappeared and which gave a lovely appearance to the universe about them the waters that periodically fell from heaven and cooled and refreshed the earth parched by the summer heat of the Punjab —these and such other phenomena excited the wonder and admiration of our remote ancestors, and in the visible they saw the Invisible and found in these phenomena the Gods Dyaus Prithvi Surya Savitr Usas Indra and others and even Aditi or the Illimitable the mother of them all The happiness of man depended upon the operations of nature that is, on the powers of these Gods and they were invoked to protect and bestow blessings Observing the regularity with which some of these phenomena repeated themselves they elaborated the idea of order The outside order was likened to the order within the violation of which constituted sin and Varuna Savitr and others who were the guardians of Order were invoked to rescue them from sin and not to visit them with the severe punishment which their transgression of the Order deserved To most of these Gods the creation of heaven and earth and supreme power which none could transgress were ascribed In the course of time men found that each of the Gods possessed the attributes of the Supreme Godhead and since the Supreme can be but One they came to regard Indra Mitra, Varuna and Agni as but several names of the One Supreme and declared that the creator of heaven and earth was but one God"

After they had arrived at this stage there was a halt As in the history of the physical social and political advancement of man there are periods when the human spirit after having worked actively for sometime becomes dormant and there is no further progress so are there in the history of man s religious advancement Along with the development of the religious ideas which I have sketched grew a worship of the gods This worship gradually became complicated and acquired such an importance that every minute point in connection with it became the subject of an inviolable rule Cold and dead formalities took the place of warm and living devotion and the very verses and hymns which contained the fervent prayers of the old Ṛṣis were repeated mechanically in the course of the formal worship without even an attempt to apprehend the sense Not only were there certain kinds of sacrificial performances to be gone through morning and evening and on the new and full moon days as well as during the four rainy months but there were grand Soma sacrifices to be performed whenever there was opportunity Of these there were seven kinds each of which occupied six days and on the fifth day the principal ceremonies, which collectively were called Sutyā or extracting the juice of Soma and offering it to the Gods were performed Then there were Sattras or sacrificial sessions the shortest of which lasted for twelve days the Sūtyā being performed on each occasion and the longest for twelve years Longer sessions even are heard of This sacrificial religion became so thoroughly mechanical that the fruit arising from its exercise was considered to be due not to the favour of the deities worshipped but to some miraculous or magic charm in the rites themselves The deities lost all importance and in the course of time the theologians of this religion denied God and pro claimed sacrificial rites as the saviour of mankind

But error by its very excesses rouses the dormant human spirit

and brings on its own destruction The reaction was on the one hand led by the authors of the Upanisads and on the other by the Philosophers principally of the Sāmkhya school, and by Buddhism The Upanisads declared that sacrificial rites were but frail boats ' and enjoined contemplation of the Omniscient Soul whose greatness we observe in the world—the author source and pervader of the universe the lord of all, the unborn the unchangeable and the pure or holy ' and when a man saw him in his heart and everywhere else he was free from death and attained eternal happiness This contemplation and the resulting perception of Him were not possible to one who did not refrain from evil deeds who had not subdued his passions and whose soul was not serene In some of the Upanisads this perception of the Lord of all is spoken of as the perception of one s own self The individual souls are considered as forms of the Supreme and are related to the Supreme as the sparks of fire to the fire or as earthen jars to the earth of which they are made or like rivers they have an independent existence at first and lose their individuality when united with the Supreme Spirit as rivers do when united with the ocean

The Philosophers taught that eternal happiness was to be attained by rooting out the cause of all misery which consisted in a union between the individual soul and a certain inanimate principle called Prakrti This Prakiti was the cause of all the finite or definite thought and developed in the form of the world A perception or feeling of the distinctness of one s soul from the Prakiti freed the soul from its effects viz all definite thought and consequently from all misery God was not recognized as either the Creator or the Saviour and friend of man

The Buddhists adopted this mode of thought and equally with the others declared that the sacrificial rites were inefficacious and denied the authority of the Vedas on which it was contended

they were based Eternal happiness was according to them to be attained by a strict course of moral discipline by restraining the passions and purifying and ennobling the heart Buddhism was also a protest against the exclusiveness of the Brahmanical religion of sacrifices which could be exercised only by the three regenerate classes and of which Brahmans alone could be priests It was not only a religion for all classes of the Indian community but for the whole world the Mlecchas or barbarians included

But how was the standard of moral purity which Buddhism set up to be practically attained by frail humanity? It is all very well to talk of curbing the passions and purifying the heart Sin is a very subtle enemy of the human soul It contaminates at the very core of what man considers his most exalted and generous actions and no one is more alive to his helplessness against his enemy than the man who honestly endeavours to attain purity and has already made some progress In his despair man naturally cries for help It was here that Buddhism was found wanting By denying God it deprived man of his friend and saviour Even the theistic Upanisads trusted too much to man's powers Though they placed the highest happiness in the contemplation of God and in beholding His face and represented moral purity as indispensable they left all this to be done by the unassisted efforts of man To supply this defect the doctrine of Bhakti arose and the work in which it was distinctly enunciated was the Bhagavad gitā The Gitā derives its theism from the Upanisads equally with them it enjoins moral purity and the contemplation of God but in addition it teaches man to love God and not himself to live for Him and not for himself and to place unlimited faith in Him

The idea of a religion for all and not for certain classes only which Buddhism first realized was taken up by the Bhakti

school and its method of salvation was open to all But the purity of religion it was difficult to maintain in a country the population of which was composed of various elements The doctrine of Bhakti was first set forth in connection with the worship of Visnu to whom all the attributes of Godhead as laid down in the Upanişads were ascribed Then came in the worship of Śiva and various other gods and goddesses who must originally have been the objects of adoration with the aborigines of the country Ceremonial religion of another kind than that which prevailed before came to be practised and vows fasts and observances were multiplied Purānas were written to heighten the glories of particular gods and to inculcate the practice of the various observances Amidst all this confusion however the monotheism of the Upanisads and the Bhagavadgitā was not entirely lost It became curiously blended with popular polytheism The votaries of each one of the various gods claimed the attributes of Supreme Godhead for their deity and Rāma Krsna Vithobā Śiva Mahākala, Bhairava Khandobā and others were in turns the one supreme God And even at the present day every one of the innumerable ceremonies performed by the Brahmans in honour of innumerable gods begins with a declaration that it is going to be performed for the propitiation of Parameśvara or the Supreme Lord of all and ends with the expression of a hope that the performance will please the Supreme god But all this was a drop in the ocean and failed to correct the popular tendencies and religion again came to be as mechanical as the sacrificial religion was before All religious merit was again thought to lie in the practice of those observances and internal purity and spiritual worship were neglected

Then there arose the Sādhus or the pious men of the mediaeval period who protested against this artificial religion re asserted the doctrine of Bhakti with vigour and inculcated purity of

heart and the last Great Sadhu in this part of the country was our own Tukarama of Dehu What the mission of these men was generally may best be seen from an Abhanga of Tukārāma in which he states the purpose of his coming into the world I translate it as follows —

I am a denizen of Vaikuntha and have come for this purpose viz to bring into practice that which was taught by the Rsis we will sweep clean the ways of (constructed by) the sages the world is over grown with weeds we will accept the portion that has remained

Truth has disappeared in consequence of the Puranas ruin has been effected by word knowledge

The heart is addicted to pleasures and the way (to God) is destroyed

We will beat the drum of Bhakti the terror of the Kali age says Tukā —raise shouts of victory through joy

And this is our mission also The Indian world still remains over grown with the weeds of falsehood notwithstanding the efforts of those great men The truth taught by the Rsis of the Upanisads still remains neglected and ceremonial practices have still usurped the place of spiritual worship Though the mediaeval Sādhus taught a purer form of faith they did not as a general rule set their face against the popular beliefs and modes of worship with sufficient firmness and decision This appears to me to be the principal reason why their mission was not completely successful Let us therefore while endeavouring to realize their humility and single hearted devotion attempt to supply this defect

Let us like Tukarāma exert ourselves to bring into practice the teaching of the old Rsis and learn from all the sources now available to us indigenous as well as foreign Let us learn from the Vedic hymns that the temple in which we should find God and worship him is the universe and the

heart of man from the sacrificial religion which once prevailed that we should not over grow and destroy the tender plant of spiritual worship from the rise of Buddhism, that religion is not a privilege of a favoured class and that without high moral feeling and action it is an empty nothing and from its failure that mere morality will not exalt the spirit and satisfy the religious craving of the heart and cannot be attained from the Upanisads that purity of heart is the way of arriving at God, and contemplation brings us face to face with Him and elevates the soul and from the Gītī and the Bhaktī school, that man by his own efforts cannot effect his salvation that God alone is our Father Friend and Saviour, and that we should lay our souls at His feet live in Him, and for Him and not for ourselves If in all humility we learn this, and learn whatever else is to be learnt from the other sources that God in His mercy has laid open to us and follow our guide fearlessly and faithfully we need not be afraid of our future

THE POSITION OF THE PRARTHANA SAMAJ IN THE RELIGIOUS WORLD

[Being the substance of a lecture delivered by Sir P G Bhandarkar on the occasion of the 32nd Anniversary of the Poona Prarthana Samaj in 1903 Originally published as No) of the Maharāstra Brahmo Postal Mission Liberal Religious series" —N B U]

The subject of to night s discourse is the position of the Prarthana Samaj in the religious world We are surrounded by men who profess Mohamedanism Christanity Hinduism in its various forms and phases Buddhism and Jainism What relation does the religion of the Samaj bear to these is the question to be discussed To arrive at something like a satisfactory conclusion we must cast a glance at the history and evolution of religion from the earliest times to the present The leading thinkers of Europe have recently formulated what is called by them the Science of Religion The object of this science is to collect information about all religions that have prevailed and do prevail and to trace the evolution of religion from the primitive form in which it was professed by savages to the highest that has been presented to us by Christianity—or I may say by the religion of the Upaniṣads and the Bhagavad gitā The conclusion arrived at is that one same principle like a seed has been developing in a variety of forms corresponding to the branches of the tree which spring up from the seed The essence of religion has been considered to consist in a belief in some higher Power which may be benevolent or malevolent to man In both cases however the belief is that the Power can be made favourable to man s purposes if but the proper methods are followed, which methods are believed to be

communicated by the Power itself Revelation thus comes in even in the very earliest form of religion

The constituents of religion have been given by Professor Tiele as emotions, conceptions sentiments words and deeds Emotion is that which moves a man towards that spiritual condition which we call religious It may be man's feeling of dependence upon an external power or a perception of the grandeur of nature or the transitoriness of the world When man's mind is, by any such emotion, directed towards religion he necessarily forms some conception of the nature of the higher Power which he worships The Power may be conceived as a spirit dwelling in a natural object or a spirit free to move about or a spirit presiding over a phenomenon of nature such as thunder rain or wind or an all pervading Spirit which is the ripest conception of the nature of God Next we have sentiments and they may be reverence love or the like In keeping with such a sentiment, there are certain words used to propitiate the Deity and bring it into man's power such as prayers or charms and associated with these words there are deeds such as the offering of sacrifices and various other modes of conducting worship In every one of the various forms of religion that have existed we can discover these five constituents

The question is asked why is it that man s spirit thinks at all of religion Professor Max Muller as well as Professor Tiele say that there is a vague sense of the Infinite in man He is not content with things as they are but always looks for something beyond Looking for something beyond therefore whenever he observes any operation in the external world, he traces it to such a power as he himself is conscious of in his nature, viz , the power of Will Thus behind the external operation he discovers a Will, that is a Willing Spirit This is the rudiment of religion which develops in the course of man s history In

the earliest form this spirit is believed to dwell in such object as a tree or a rock A further step in the progress is to believe that the spirit is not confined to a particular object but free to move Sometimes such a spirit is looked upon as being forced to live in a certain object and that object is believed to afford protection and work miracles It then becomes a fetish The various phenomena of nature are personified and believed to proceed from the will of certain spirits such as Agni, Vayu Indra Uṣas etc These personified deities assume definite character and then they are believed to be gods and afterwards are located in a certain happy place called heaven The Vedic conception of the deities or the Greek or the Roman conception presents this stage of progress In the course of time as we see in the Vedas, these different gods are considered to be but mere names The various phenomena over which they are considered to preside come to be attributed to one Power and thus dawns the conception of One Supreme Spirit Who has created the heaven and the earth

Even from the beginning a sort of morality becomes connected with religion Savages have certain customs which if they violate will they believe bring upon them the wrath of the spirits whom they worship Then as man s knowledge of the world develops and he progresses in civilization higher moral conceptions are developed and these are considered as representing the will of their gods In the course of man s history certain religions came to be deliberately founded with the object of bringing about a moral revolution such as Buddhism and Christianity

Some times the development takes different directions amongst different races Thus the mighty and inscrutable natures of God are emphasized in the Semitic religions Names are given to God which are significant of His Lordship or Sovereignty and with reference to which

his human worshippers are called servants or slaves Amongst the Āryans the name that we prominently find is Dyauspitar amongst the Vedic Indians Zeus Pater amongst the Greeks and Jupiter among the Romans It means Father in Heaven" Even from this and the various other modes in which the deity is named and addressed the idea most emphasized by the Āryans appears to be that God is our Father and men are His children Amongst both races these ideas have become corrupt the former having led men to the propagation of their religion by the shedding of blood and the latter to the attributing of the lowest human qualities to God Various other characteristics are presented by this evolution of religion but we must not stop to go over them It would be sufficient to say that the evolution is towards a clearer and clearer realization of the Idea of the Infinite that was implicit in the beginning leading men to find God everywhere and to form a conception of perfect holiness

Now the conceptions and the other constituents of religion that I have mentioned the Prarthana Samaj adopts from the most developed forms of religion as contained in the Upanisads and the Bhagavadgitā in the Bible, or in the literature of the progressive religious thought of the day We believe God to be immanent in the world directing the process of physical and spiritual evolution that has ever been going on This is an idea adopted by the advanced religious philosophy of the day and there is a shade of it in the Upanisads — That soul who is awake while all the rest are asleep creating as He wills is the light is Brahma that alone is called the Immortal All worlds (or beings) find their support in Him none can transgrace him" The great soul the Lord brings forth good" ' He evolves righteousness and drives away sin ' We believe that God's

> Dwelling is the light of setting suns
> And the round ocean and living air
> And the blue sky and in the mind of man

And He is

A motion and a spirit that impels
All thinking things all objects of all thoughts,
And rolls through all things

And the Bṛihadaranyaka tells us — He is the inward controlling Soul who dwelling in the earth the waters fire, ether air the sun the moon the stars, the quarters lightening thunder all worlds all Vedas all sacrifices all beings the breath speech, the eye the ear the mind the skin light darkness seminal fluid and the soul (of individual) is different from them Whom these do not know Whose body all these are and Who controls these from the inside' Similarly the Bhagavadgita says — God dwells in the hearts of all beings and placing them as on a wheel moves them by His wonderful power

Another constituent of religion—the sentiments—are with us, those of reverence and love and our words and deeds which together make up our worship are fervent prayers an attitude of humility an unquestioning faith self surrender a readiness to follow where God leads contemplation mutual converse love of man and loving acts and fidelity to truth All these have been taught to us by the Bhagavadgīta by Christ and in an impressive manner by our own Tukarāma

I have already observed in the beginning that it is of the essence of religious belief that religion should be regarded as revealed by the higher Power that is worshipped This belief can I believe stand the test of reason If Lord Kelvin has recently told us that evolution in external nature is under the direction of a higher Power should we not consider the evolution of religion also to be under the direction of that Power? Hence then our doctrine and belief is that God has been leading men from the times when they were in the primitive condition to the present day towards the realization of higher and higher religious truth The evolution of religion therefore means a continuous Revelation

And there is also another sense in which religious evolution must be considered a Revelation Just as in the case of a poet or an artist there are flashes of light which he gives expressions to by means of words or colour in the same way from time to time in the cases of certain individuals there are flashes of religious truth which those individuals convey to others less gifted Our own Tukārāma says in one place What possibility is there that an insignificant person like myself should speak such words ? It is the Sustainer of the universe that made me speak " and in another I have broken open the treasure the things belong to the Lord I am simply a porter to carry them to you" And in the Abhanga sung by us on the morning of the first day he said I have been sent to communicate the message ' When Tukārāma gives expressions to such ideas as these are we to consider that he is telling lies ? Certainly not He says so because he really did see flashes of light of which ordinary men have no experience It is in this special sense therefore that the religious evolution is under the direction of God

If therefore, the doctrines adopted by the Prarthana Samaj are those found in the most developed forms of religion be sure our religion is a revealed religion It is also a revealed religion in two other special senses For it is the only religion that acknowledges the influence and hand work of God in all the religions that existed or now exist and therefore imposes upon us an attitude of sympathy towards all religious beliefs while hitherto antipathy between different religions has been the general rule And the study of all these religions has had the effect of clearing the religious vision so as to enable the leaders of the Samaj to distinguish between truth and falsehood and has led them to adopt the highest form of truth that has hitherto dawned upon the human mind It is in these two special senses that the dispensation followed by the Prarthana Samaj may be considered a New Dispensation

Thus then here is a religion which God himself has placed before us in the fullness of time when all the races of the world have come together and have been as it were comparing note The question is whether you will adopt this new Revelation the main doctrines of which however are those of the most highly developed religions which for this country may be considered to be those of the Upaniṣads and the Bhagavadgītā and of the teachings of Saints and Prophets like Tukārāma Will you then accept the best portions of the Upaniṣads the Bhagavadgītā and of the teachings of the mediaeval saints supplemented by certain ideas from Buddhism or from the Bible or will you adhere to all the religions that go under the name of ordinary Hinduism the religions which represent all the stages of evolution beginning from the most primitive such as the worship of trees and stones serpents and cows and of fetishes ? Will you accept merely mechanical ceremonials which can have no connection with your moral advancement as your worship of God or take up the spiritual mode chosen by the Prarthana Samaj which alone is calculated to purify the heart and elevate it and prepare you to perform your duties in life ? The existing forms of religion belonging as they do to earlier stages of civilization are destined if India is to advance to disappear, and along with their disappearance all that is good in the higher religious thought of the country is also in danger of disappearing unless we deliberately choose it and make it alone our religion And the existing mechanical modes of worship must be entirely thrown away and the spiritual mode substituted to bring about the moral reformation of the country which is so urgently needed

THE INCORPORATION OF PRE-MAHOMEDAN FOREIGNERS INTO THE HINDU SOCIAL ORGANISATION

FROM THE DNYAN PRAKASH OF POONA, DATED WEDNESDAY 1ST SEPTEMBER 1909

[The following was originally delivered as a lecture at Poona by Sir R G Bhandarkar in Marathi and was printed in the Poona paper referred to above It is here translated by me —N B U]

As already announced Dr Bhandarkar delivered a lecture under the auspices of the Deccan Sabha on the subject referred to in the above heading with Prof Kashinath Bapuji Pathak in the chair Dr Bhandarkar in mentioning at the outset the reason which led him to choose this subject for his lecture said —

On the day on which Mr Gopalrao Gokhale delivered a lecture at this Sabha on the subject of The Hindu Muslim Question ' I incidentally remarked that all those foreigners who came into India before the Mahomedans became included in the Hindu Society Had not the Mahomedan religion come into existence the present Hindu Muslim Question would not have arisen at all Like the foreigners before them, they too would have been incorporated within our society As soon as I remarked thus Mr Gokhale said Do please then speak on this subject" and thus left me no alternative but to take up that subject for this lecture The subject of to day's lecture is to show how the foreigners that come to India before the Mahomedans became absorbed in the Hindu Society To day's lecture is not of the nature of merely popular commonplaces every statement therein must be substantiated by proofs Owing to my failing eyesight this work of finding out the references was done by

[Mr] Devadatta [Bhandarkar] and during the course of to day s lecture he would read out the references as required

EVIDENCE OF THE PURANAS

The Mauriya Dynasty is one of the royal Dynasties mentioned in the Puranas Candragupta founded the Maurya Dynasty soon after the invasion of Alexander the Great The Empire of the Mauryas was then extended over the whole of Northern India i e from Ganjam to Kathiawad After the dynasty of the Mauryas the Purānas mention the Sunga Āndhrabhrtya Kānvayana and some other dynasties The Śātavāhana or the Salivahana line of kings at Paithan is also mentioned in the Purānas The Purānas prophetically describe these kingly lines as ruling in the future Among such lines it is mentioned there that the Śaka Yavana and other kingly lines would reign Such in general are the statements in the Puranas but the (details of the) dynasties themselves have to be established from the evidence of Inscriptions and Coins

WHO WERE CALLED THE YAVANAS ?

Yavanas are mentioned in the Vāyu Purāna It is necessary to determine first who the Yavanas were In an Inscription of Asoka reference is made in one place to अतियोको नाम योणराजा The name Antiochus is well known to students of European History Alexander died soon after his invasion of India After him Seleucus established his sovereignty from Syria to India Antiochus is the grandson of Seleucus He has been frequently mentioned in connection with the Mauryas The Antiochus whom Asoka the Emperor of Pātaliputra refers to in his Inscription is Antiochus II who ruled from B C 261 to 241 They were Macedonian Greek kings and so Asoka calls them Yona or Yavana The word Yavana denotes a Macedonian Greek The earliest allusion to their having founded a kingdom in India is to be had in the Mahabhāsya of Patañjali There

is a Vārtika in the Mahābhāsya in connection with the usage of the Past Tense technically called Lang the Vārtika being **परोक्षे च लोकविज्ञाते प्रयोक्तुर्दर्शनविषये** This Vārtika means that the Lang is to be used in speaking about a thing which the speaker has not seen but which is well known to the people and which if he had a desire, he could see The instance that is given in illustration of this Vārtika is **अरुणद् यवन साकेतम्।** It therefore follows from this that the event of the Yavanas having laid a siege to Saketa occurred in Patañjali s time The eastern part of Persia was formerly called Bactria, where the Greeks re established their kingdom These Bactrians had, at one time come over to and established their power in India

THE YAVANA KINGS

The Yavana mentioned by Patañjali is probably Menander the Bactrian Greek It appears from what the Roman historians have written that his date is *circa* 142 B C There is also another evidence to prove that Patañjali lived at that time which however it is not necessary to allude to here This Menander had established his kingdom over the provinces of Panjab and Afghanistan both of which were at that time included in India The fact that Menander had established his kingdom in India can be proved from his coins as well It was the practice to mention on the coins of those times, the name of the king as well his epithet The name and the epithet were written in Pali The Pali is the earliest Prakrit form of Sanskrit It was current in Ceylon and the Buddhist works are written in Pali The letters on Menander's coins are engraved in Pali wherefore the conclusion is not unwarranted that the subjects of Menander were also a Pali speaking people His coins bear in Pali the legend (literally the words) **महाराजस्स त्रदरस्स मिलिन्द्रस** There is a work called Milindra Panho It contains an account of the discourse between king Milindra and Nāgasena, the Buddhist The capital of

Milindra was at the town of Sākala in the Panjab The Menander referred to above and Milindra are one and the same person It is also stated that Milindra in the end became a Buddhist So much then with regard to Yavana kings We may now proceed to the consideration of the Yavana subjects

COMMON PEOPLE OF THE YAVANA CASTE

In the Karla caves, there is a stone Inscription which contains the following —

(1) धेनुकाकटा यवनस सिहधयान थभोदान ।

(2) धेनुकाकटा धम- यवनस ।

(3) रञो वासिठिपुतस सिरिपुळुमाविस सवछरे चतुविसे २४ हेमतान परवे ततीये ३ दिवसे बितीये २ उपासकस हरफरणस सेतफरण पुत्तम्य सो [व] सकस्य अबुलमाय वथवस्य इम देयधम मडपो ।

The town Dhenukākata was on the banks of the Sapta Godavari Dhenukakata and Dhanakataka the Capital of Śātavāhana, are probably identical A Yavana of this place seems to have taken the name of Sihadhayana and led a Hindu religious life

The name of the second Yavana in this Inscription is given as Dhamma (Dharma) which is certainly a Sanskrit name

It is said in extract (3) above that Harapharana the son of Setapharana made a gift of the Mandapa (the Hall) This Haraphaiana should be probably Hallophurnus There does not appear anything like Hindu about this name still he made a gift and is called an Upasaka (devotee) There is therefore a very good ground to hold that he had embraced a religion of this country

There is an Inscription at Junnar which is as follows —

यवनस इरिळस गतान देयधम बे पोढियो ।

This Inscription mentions that a Yavana named Irilasa (had)

constructed two tanks From this it appears that these Yavanas had become the followers of the Buddha and that in their ways of making religious gifts they followed the Hindus

यवणास चिटस गतान भोजण मटयो देयधम सघे ।

The name Citra (Citasa) the Yavana who is spoken of in the Inscription here referred to as having given the Dining Hall is also a Hindu name

यवनस चंदान देयधम गभदार ।

The name Candra (Candanam) in this Inscription is a Hindu name

In the Nasik Inscriptions occurs the following —

सिधं ओतराहस दतामितियकस योणकस धमदेवपुतस इद्राग्निद तस धम्मत्मना ।

The word Otarāha (Auttarāha) here shows that the Yavana referred to in this Inscription belonged to the North This Inscription mentions the Yavana Indrāgnidatta son of Dharmadeva of the town of Dattāmitra (Dattāmiti) in the province of Sauvira near Sind (Sidha) in the North The names Dharmadeva and Indrāgnidatta show that the names of the Yavanas were not like modern Shaikh Wallad, Shaikh Mahomed (&c) but were completely Hinduised From this it must be concluded that after they (the Yavanas) came here they fully became Hindus

THE SAKA KINGS

The Śaka kings came after the Yavanas They are known by the name of Kṣatrapas An Inscription in connection with them too has been found at Nasik, which contains the following —

सिद्धं राज्ञ. क्षहरातस्य क्षत्रपस्य नहपानस्य जामात्रा दीनीकपुत्रेण उषवदातेन त्रिगोशतसहस्त्रदेन देवताभ्य ब्राह्मणेभ्यश्च षोडश-ग्रामदेन अनुवर्ष ब्राह्मणशतसाहस्री भोजापयित्रा ।

The name Usavadata in this may perhaps be a Hindu name since it could be either from Visabhadatta or Psabhadatta But Dinika Nahapāna and Ksaharata are not Hindu names Usavadāta was a Śaka and was the son in law of a Ksatrapa of the name of Nahapāna Some twenty four thousand coins bearing the name of Nahapāna have recently been found This Nahapāna did not originally belong to India but belonged to outside (or Nahapāna was not an Indian but a foreigner) He did establish a kingdom but it lasted for only fifty years and Gautamiputra soon defeated and extirpated his dynasty and founded the Śatavāhana Dynasty Some coins of the time of Nahapana are found in the Nasik District and they bear the stamps of both Nahapana and Gautamiputra The Inscription just now referred to mentions that Usavadata the son of Dinika and the son in law of this Nahapana gave three lacs of cows to Brahmans and fed annually a lac of Brahmans

This same Inscription also speaks of him as **प्रभासे पुण्यतीर्थे ब्राह्मणेभ्य अष्टभार्याप्रदेन** In the town of Prabhasa i e Somanatha Pattana he gave the wherewithal of marriages to eight Brahmans He constructed a cave at Nasik for the residence of the Bhiksus He made a provision for a permanent income by way of interest for meeting the expense for the new clothes &c of the Bhiksus The maximum interest at that time was from five to seven and a half per cent It was not twenty five per cent as at present It will be seen from the above-mentioned evidence that the mode of making religious gifts of the Ksatrapas was exactly like that of the Hindus

There was another Ksatrapa or Mahaksatrapa Dynasty at Ujjayini comprising nineteen or twenty kings and they in all ruled for 200 or 225 years Their rule lasted from about the beginning of the Christan era to 389 Śaka

If at all we wanted to give a derivation to the word Ksatrapa we could show that it is a Sanskrit word but such a word (as

Kṣatrapa) is nowhere to be met with in the Sanskrit Literature The word Ksatrapa or Khatrapa and the word ' Satrap " occurring in the Persian history seem to be identical This last means the officer or the Viceroy of the Emperor The Ksatrapas at once took up Hindu customs and manners

The geographer Ptolemy says that a king of the name of Tiastenes was ruling at Ujjayini He also says that Pulumāyi ruled at Paithan In some of the Inscriptions and coins on our side occurs the name Castana which is the same as Tiastenes He is the founder of the Ujjayini Ksatrapas His name Castana looks foreign but the first part in the names of his son and grandson Jaya dāma and Rudra dāma is Hindu and the names Rudra simha &c of the subsequent kings in this Dynasty are all Hindu names

In the Kanneri Caves near Bombay occurs the following —

[वा] सिष्ठी पुत्रस्य श्रीसातकर्णीस्य देव्या कार्द्दमकराजवश प्रभवाया महाक्षत्रपरु [द्र] पुत्र्या श्य श्वविश्वस्यस्य अमात्यस्य शतेरकस्य पानीयभाजन देयधर्म्म ।

The name Sātakarni here is the name of a king of the Sātavāhana Dynasty The present Inscription says that his wife came from the Ksatrapa Dynasty and proves beyond the possibility of doubt that a Hindu king had married a Śaka woman

On a stone Inscription at Junagad the Mahākṣatrapa Rudradāman is in one place spoken of as **शब्दार्थ-गान्धर्व्व-न्याया द्याना विद्याना महतीना पारण-धारण-विज्ञान-प्रयोगावाप्तविपुल-कीर्तिता ।** That is this Inscription describes him as having mastered the art of Music Logic and other sciences Rudradāman was the grandson of Caṣtana

In one of the caves at Nasik, there is an Inscription to the following effect —

सिद्ध शकस दामचिकस लेखकस वुधीकस विष्णुदतपुतस दशपुरवाधवस लेण पोथियो च दो ।

Of this Dāmacika may be the name of a place Vudhika may either be a name or if it be not a name it means a money lender As he (the donor) is called a Lekhaka (i e a writer) his profession seems to have been that of a writer Visnudatta is the name given of his father and he is called a Saka

Vişnudatta was also a name borne by the Marathas since in an Inscription on a cistern at Bhaja there occurs the following –

महारठिस कोसिकीपुतस विण्हुदतस देयधम पोढि ।

This Inscription shows that this Visnudatta the son of Kausiki was a Maratha That is it follows that there was generally speaking no difference whatever in those days between the Śakas and the Marathas

The following occurs in another Inscription at Nasik —

सिद्ध राज्ञ माढरीपुत्रस्य शिवदत्ताभीरपुत्रस्य आभीरेश्वरसेनस्य संवत्सरे नवम ९ गिम्हपखे चोथे ४ दिवस त्रयोदश १३ एताय पुवय शकाग्निवर्मण दुहित्रा गणपकस्य रेभिलस्य भार्यया गणपकस्य विश्व वर्मस्य मात्रा शकनिकया उपासिकया विष्णुदत्तया गिलानभेषजार्थं अक्षयनीवी प्रयुक्ता ।

The substance of this Inscription is that the lady Visnu dattā" the daughter of Agnivarman and mother of Visvavar man laid at deposit bearing interest an Aksaya nīvī ' i e a large amount for charitable purposes for treatment of sick persons Visnudatta was a Sakanikā i e a Saka woman (Marathi Śakina) The termination Varman is suffixed to the names of Ksatriyas It therefore follows from this that the Śakas got incorporated with the Ksatriyas The Inscription mentions the era of the Ābhira Kings whence it follows that the Ābhiras were the rulers of the country at that time The method of reckoning time in those days was not based on the

month but followed the seasons and hence the statement in this Inscription to the effect that (the event took place) in the summer (**गिम्ह पखे**) in the ninth year of Īsvarasena

MEN OF THE ĀBHIRA TRIBE

The Ābhiras followed the Śakas They may possibly belong to Central Asia A mention is made of their name in the [Mahā]Bhārata and the Viṣnupurāṇa They are there called Mle(n)cchas Varahamihira in the Śloka **म्लेच्छाहि यवनास्तेषु** &c, includes the Yavanas among the Mlecchas

The Ābhiras are thus referred to in an Inscription at Gunda in Kathiawad —

आभीरेण सेनापतिबाहकस्य पुत्रेण सेनापतिरुद्रभूतिना ।

There is historical evidence to show that this Rudrabhuti made many religious gifts The Inscription belongs to the time of Rudrasimha who ruled in 102 Śaka The Ābhiras were free booters and later they established their kingdom here When after the demise of Śri Krsna Arjuna was escorting the wives of Krsna they were plundered on the way by robbers These robbers were the Ābhiras themselves who are there called Mlecchas With regard to the Mlecchas it is said in one place —

रोहिन्स कूपकग्राम पूर्व्वमासीदनाश्रय ।
असेव्य साधुलोकानामाभीरजनदारुण ॥

THE ABHIRAS ARE THE PRESENT DAY AHIRS

The people that are now known to belong to the Ahir caste were orginally Ābhiras The Ahirs are to be found among goldsmiths carpenters cowherds and even among Brahmans The Ahir goldsmiths of Poona wear the sacred thread (Marathi Jānavem̆) those of khandesh do not wear it There arose recently a dispute between those two Ahir Sects As the Poona Ahir goldsmiths put on the sacred thread they were excommunicated by the Khandesh Ahirs The Poona Ahirs

had come to me (in this connection) when I told them to the following effect — 'All these your classes were originally Ābhīra ones The Ābhiras had no sacred thread The Khandesh Ahirs have preserved their original practice and it is likely enough for that reason that they have excommunicated you

THE TURUSKAS OR THE TURKISH KINGS

The Rājatarangini calls the kings who ruled in the North about this time as Turuskas" or 'Kusanas ' These Turuskas belonged to the Turkish stock Hima Kadphises one of the kings of this dynasty is described on his coins as **राजाधिराजस्य सर्वलोकैकेश्वरस्य माहेश्वरस्य** The name of this king is by no means Hindu but from the description given of him it appears that he had become a staunch Śaivite The date of this king may possibly be the second or the third century after Christ On one side of his coins there is an effigy of him with the Turkish hat the Fez On the other side of his coins there is an image of Nandin (=the bull of Śiva) and near it the image of a person having a trident (the Trisula) in his hand wherefore it follows that the image must be of Śiva himself It thus clearly follows that this king was undoubtedly a devotee of Śiva

THE MAGAS BECOME BRAHMANS

There are also other instances to show that the foreigners coming from outside became Brahmans The Magas are one of such people They first established colonies in Rajputana Marwar Agra and Bengal There is an Inscription of Śaka 1028 concerning the Magas which contains the following account of them —

देवो जीयात्त्रिलोकी मणिरयमरुणो यन्निवासेन पुण्य
शाकद्वीपस्स दुग्धाम्बुनिधिवलयितो यत्र विप्रा मगाख्या ।
वशास्तत्र द्विजाना भ्रमिलिखिततनोर्भास्वत स्वाङ्गमुक्त
शाम्बो यानानिनाय स्वयमिह महितास्ते जगत्या जयन्ति ॥

There was a tribe called Maga in the Śākadvipa whom Śāmba or Sāmba brought over here Six men of this family became famous poets The Bhavisya Purana contains an account of Śāmba who brought the family to India Śamba constructed a temple on the bank of the Candrabhāga The river of Chenab was formerly called Candrabhāga The Brahmans of that time looked with disfavour upon becoming the worshippers of gods and so Śāmba could not secure any worshipper He was then asked by the preceptor of Ugrasena to bring over from Śākadvipa the Magas and to make them the worshippers Accordingly Śāmba brought the Magas and assigned to them the duty of worshipping the god There was formerly at Multan a golden temple of the Sun This was the same temple that was destroyed by the Mahomedans in the last but one century (lit in the century preceding the last century)

Varāhamihira lays down the rule that the Bhāgavatas should set up (the worship &c of) Visnu the Magas that of the Sun &c (He says —)

विष्णोर्भागवतान्मगाश्च सवितु शम्भो सभस्मद्विजान्
मातृणामपि मातृमण्डलविदो विप्रान्विदुर्ब्रह्मण ।
शाक्यान्सर्वहितस्य शान्तमनसो नग्नाञ्जिनाना विदु
ये य देवमुपाश्रिता स्वविधिना तैस्तस्य कार्या क्रिया ॥

From this it clearly follows that the Magas had a colony (or settlement) here at the time of Varāhamihira The date of Varāhamihira is 509 Saka From the Śloka given above it appears that the practice of consecrating (the temples of) the Sun at the hands of the Magas was in vogue to about that time

We may now consider for a while who these Magas were The priests of the Persians are known under the name of the Magi in the history of Persia The Magi' and the Magas' are probably identical The language of the Avesta, the

sacred work of the Persians and that of our Vedas are very nearly similar Though the Persians regard some of our deities as evil spirits still the deity Mitra is common to both The worship of this god had even extended to Syria Asia Minor Rome and other places and it must have extended to India in the east as it had spread to Rome in the west The Magi of the Persians are our Indian Magas

The Magas came to be regarded as Brahmans after they came over to India They wore round their necks a sacred thread known as Avyanga which was a cord made of the cast off skin of serpents The Bhavisya Purāna contains an account of this (Avyanga) which also says that this cord was to be tied round the middle part of the Sun's image The Magas afterwards gave up the Avyanga-cord and began to wear the Hindu sacred thread (Marathi Jānavem̆)

THE HŪNAS

About the time of the downfall of the Gupta Empire – i e about the end of the fifth century A D – the Hunas penetrated into India Two kings of this line are very well known from Inscriptions viz Toramāna and Mihirakula Karnadeva the ruler of Cedi (Chattisgad) had married the Hūna princess Āvalladevi Among the various Rajput Gotras there is one called Hūna From these two facts it follows that the Hūnas got incorporated with the Hindus One tribe of these Hūnas went over to Hungary and established itself there where it still flourishes

INCLUSION OF THE GURJARA KINGS AMONG THE KSATRIYAS

It now remains to consider the Gurjars who were the last of the foreigners to come over into India The word Gujjara was Sanskritised into Gurjara and their country was called Gujarath from the twelfth century Before that that country was known as the Lāta country The 'Lāti Riti" is referred

to in the Kāvyapiakāsa also There is a District known as 'Gujarath in the Panjab which was the original place of the Gurjaras A copper plate Inscription and a stone one were found at Didwāna and Ghatiyāla bearing date Vikrama Śaka 9 In these Inscriptions the province of Gujarath is called Gurja iatrā (i e the land that gives shelter to the Gurjaras) The province of Lata acquired that name when these people belonging to the Gurjara tribe moved down to the South They established their rule in Marwar and in that dynasty there were six kings viz Devasaktı Nāgabhata Rāmabhadra Bhoja raja Mahendrapāla and Mahipala Bhoja established his power over Kanauj and his descendants Mahendrapāla and Mahipala had their capital at Kanauj itself The Rāṣtrakutas of Mahārastra and the Gurjaia kings of Marwar and Kanauj were constantly at war with each other A Mahomedan historian says that the two Kingdoms of the Jurja" and Balharā" adjoined each other 'Jurja" is Gurjara and Balharā is the Rāstrakuta dynasty An Inscription says about these [Gurjara] Kings that they belonged to the Pratihāri Dynasty The Poet Rājasekhara was the preceptor of King Mahendrapāla of Kanauj The poet in his Bala Rīmāyana includes this king in the family of Raghu and describes him as Raghukulacūdāmani (i e the crest jewel of the family of Raghu) A tribe known as Guzr is found even to this day to have spread itself to the sea of Azab in Russia From this it follows that after these tribes of cowherds or shepherds wandering in central Asia came to have dominions in India they were by Rājasekhara called Kings belonging to the Dynasty of Raghu ' and were completely Ksatriyaised

THE EXPANSION OF THE GURJARA TRIBE

Tod mentions four families of the Rajputs viz , (1) Padi hara (2) Pramara or Paramara (3) Cāhumāna (Cavhāna) and (4) Solankī None of these is a Sanskrit name To seek a Sanskrit etymology for these names would be as (ridiculous

as) deriving the word खुर्ची (Khurchi=a chair) as खुरा चीयन्ते अस्याम् — Of the four families mentioned above the Padihara family is in some places called also by the name Gurjara' From this it is reasonable to conclude that these four families were Gurjara families Of those the Solanki Branch was established at Anahilapattana in 961 It was from this time forward that that province was called Gujarath It appears that like the Ābhiras the Gurjaras came in large hordes since among the existing (Gurjara) classes there are Gujar Gauda Brahmanas (these are to be found in Rajaputana) Gujar goldsmiths, carpenters blacksmiths &c

CONCLUSION

Thus all the foreigners viz the Yavanas the Sakas the Ābhiras the Turks (Turuṣkas) the Magas the Hunas and the Gujars who came into India at different periods got absorbed in the Hindu Society None of the tribes is to be (now) found as distinct from the Hindus Such was not however the case with the Mahomedans the reason being that religion is their predominant instinct As G K Gokhale (Original— Gopalrao only) said we must also freely mix with them Our tradition from early times has been to incorporate within ourselves all (others) if this tradition were to be kept up in the future even the aggressive tendency of the Mahomedans is likely to be curbed The foreigners who came here before the Mahomedans were absorbed so quickly and on such a large scale in the Hindu social organisation, that in the modern society (of India) any attempt to decide who is an Āryan and who a non Āryan would be quite futile Mr Jackson has in one of his wrtings expressed a similar opinion [His words are —]

It remains to refer to certain kinds of mental bias that are apt to affect the judgment in questions of Indian history There is in the first place what may be called the patriotic bias though it is shared more or less by European as well as

Indian scholars It shows itself in a tendency to exaggerate the freedom of India from foreign influences and to claim entire orginality for such inventions as the Indian Alphabet which bear their foreign origin on their face This school loves to trace the leading castes of the present day to an Āryan origin and to accentuate the Hindu orthodoxy of the kings and conquerors of old When these are looked upon as Hindus from the beginning, the most important fact in Hindu history is overlooked I mean the attractive power of Hindu civilisation, which has enabled it to assimilate and absorb into itself every foreign invader except the Moslem and the European Those Indians have indeed a poor idea of their country's greatness who do not realise how it has tamed and civilised the nomads of Central Asia so that wild Turkman tribes have been transformed into some of the most famous of the Rajput Royal races "

CHRONOLOGY OF THE WRITINGS, AND OF THE WORKS FROM WHICH EXTRACTS HAVE BEEN INCLUDED IN THIS VOLUME

1864

1 First Book of Sanskrit Extracts from the Prefaces to—[First Edition published in 1864] (pp 413–414)

1868

2 Second Book of Sanskrit Extracts from the Prefaces to [First Edition published in 1868] (pp 415–421)

1876

3 On Bhavabhūti being extracts from the Preface to the Second Edition of the Malati Mādhava of Bhavabhuti with the Commentary of Jagaddhara Bombay Sanskrit Series [First Edition 1876 Second Edition 1905] (pp 422–438)

1883

4 Basis of Theism and its relation to the so called Revealed Religions (pp 603–616)

1884

5 Report on the Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts during the Year 1882–83 and on the State of the Present Collections of Manuscripts Extracts from— (pp 1–57)

1887

6 Report on the Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts during the Year 1883–84 Extracts from— (pp 58–291)

1891

7 A Note on the Age of Marriage and its Consummation according to Hindu Religious Law (pp 538–583)

1893

8 History of Child Marriage (pp 584–602)

1894

9 Report on the Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts during the Years 1884-85 1885-86 1886-87 Extracts from—(pp 292-348)

10 Social Reform and the Programme of the Madras Hindu Social Reform Association (pp 503-517)

1895

11 Presidential Address at the Ninth Indian Social Conference held in 1895 (pp 487-502)

1897

12 Report on the Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts during the Years 1887-88 1888-89, 1889-90 1890-91 Extracts from (pp 349-412)

1901

13 Social History of India (pp 443-470)

1902

14 Presidential Address at the Bombay Provincial Social Conference held in 1902 (pp 518-526)

15 Presidential Address at the National Social Conference held at Ahmedabad in 1902 (pp 527-537)

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16 The Position of the Prārthanā Samāja in the Religious world (pp 617-623)

17 A Note on Ekāvali (pp 439-442)

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18 The Incorporation of Pre Mahomedan Foreigners into the Hindu Social Organisation (pp 624-638)

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19 The Indian Caste System (pp, 471-486)

INDEXES

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE FOLLOWING INDEXES

C =Country
Cā =Cālukya
Cen =Century
Com =Commentary or Commentator
D =Digāmbara
D or Dy =Dynasty
Ds=Dharmasāstra
F =Family
Gr =Grammar
H P =High Priest
J =Jain
K =King
Lit =Literature
Mbh =Mahābhārata
Med =Medicine
Mss =Manuscripts
N =Name
Phi =Philosophy
Rās =Rāstrakūta
Rg or Rv =Rgveda
S =System
S =Śvetāmbara
Sk or Skr =Sanskrit
Tān =Tāntric
U =Upanisads
VV =Verses etc

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